

A
HISTORY
OF
TASMANIA

FROM
ITS DISCOVERY IN 1642 TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
JAMES FENTON.

WITH MAP OF THE ISLAND AND PORTRAITS OF ABORIGINES
IN CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHY

Tasmania :
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P R E F A C E.

TASMANIA having of late years taken a more prominent place as a British Colony, it appeared to the writer desirable to collect and publish such records of her rise and progress as might prove interesting or valuable to her people, and especially to those who would serve their country in the sphere of politics.

Thirty years have elapsed since Mr. West's valuable book was published. At that time the young Colony was bowed down under the burden of a penal system, which made it a land of sorrow, and threatened to shatter the social fabric which the early colonists had attempted to rear. The events which have subsequently occurred—the wonderful results which followed the discovery of gold in Australia, the abolition of Transportation; the establishment of a liberal form of Representative Government; and the more recent Mineral discoveries—all of which have contributed so largely to the present prosperity of Tasmania—are for the first time recorded in a connected form in this volume.

For much of the information concerning the earlier days of colonisation in Tasmania, the writer has to acknowledge his indebtedness to the late Mr. West's History, and to the books of Mr. James Bonwick, from these he has freely quoted. Many other authorities relating to the earlier

history have been consulted, and details of more recent events have been derived from files of the Hobart *Mercury* and *Launceston Examiner* newspapers, supplemented by the writer's own observation and recollections, extending over a period of fifty years.

Many kind friends and old colonists have supplied interesting facts; and heads of Government departments have been prompt and courteous in giving information from official records, whenever it was required.

Mr. A. Johnston, of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, merits special thanks for the obligations he has conferred in giving access to books of reference. And last, but not least, the writer has to acknowledge the valuable assistance he has received from Mr. James Backhouse Walker, of Hobart, who has laboured most assiduously at the task of revising the manuscript for the press, and has contributed the list of books relating to Tasmania, and the notes on Bruny and Risdon, which appear in the Appendix.

J. F.

Brisbane Street, Launceston,

May, 1884.

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NOTE.—The portraits of Tasmanian aborigines were taken from life by the late Mr. Bock, for Lady Franklin, who permitted the artist to make copies for Henry Dowling, Esq., in 1838. The Tasmanian Government, in whose possession the portraits now are, has kindly allowed selections to be engraved for this volume. Mr. Dowling says:—"From my personal acquaintance with the subjects themselves, during the years 1831-33, I can confidently speak to the faithfulness of the portraiture."

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HISTORY OF TASMANIA.

CHAPTER I.

TASMAN'S DISCOVERY—PRIOR DISCOVERIES IN AUSTRALIA—DE QUIROS, TORRES, THE DUYTREN, DIRK HARTOG, VAN DEELS, NUYTS, CARPENTER, TASMAN—V. D. LAND VISITED BY MARION DU FRENE, FURNEAUX, COOK, COX, BLIGH, D'ENTRECASTEAUX, HAYES, BASS, AND FLINDERS—DISCOVERY OF BASS STRAITS—BAUDIN'S EXPEDITION—ABORIGINES.

TASMANIA (formerly called VAN DIEMEN'S LAND) was discovered by Commodore ABEL JANS* TASMAN, a Dutch navigator, who had been commanded by General Anthony Van Diemen, Governor of the Dutch Settlements in the Indian Archipelago, to explore the coast of the "Great South Land," that being the name by which Australia† was then known. Tasman sailed from Batavia on 14th August, 1642, in the *Heemskirk*, with his brother Gerritt Tasman in the fly-boat *Zeehaan* in company. The vessels arrived at Mauritius on 5th September, and sailed again in an easterly direction on 8th October. Bearing

* Called in his letter of instruction Abel Jansen Tasman.

† Australia was the name finally applied to the continent by Flinders after it had borne the names of Great Java, Great South Land, New Holland, Notasia, &c.

considerably to the south of east, over an unknown sea, he continued his course without interruption until he sighted the west coast of Tasmania.

The Dutch had already visited the north, west, and part of the south coasts of Australia, and had given names to various places. The Spaniards, too, encouraged by the success of their Peruvian discoveries, sought further treasures in the unknown regions of the south.

As early as 1594 Fernandez De Quiros, a Spaniard, was pilot major of an expedition fitted out by the Viceroy of Peru to establish a colony upon one of the Solomon Islands. He again sailed from Callao on 21st December, 1605, in command of two ships and a launch, Luis Vaes de Torres being second in command. They sighted several islands in the Pacific, and at length, on 20th April, 1606, discovered what appeared to be "a vast territory, which seemed to have no end, and was full of great mountains." De Quiros named the new region Australia del Espiritu Santo, took formal possession of it in the name of Philip the Second of Spain, and founded a city which he named La Nueva Jerusalem. The fruits of this expedition were nipped in the bud. The natives were warlike; a collision took place, several blacks were slain, and in less than a month De Quiros abandoned the place. Torres, however, parted company with his commander and returned with his ship *La Almiranta* to his former anchorage, where he remained another fortnight. He then set sail and steered along the west side of the land, which he now found to be an island, and not the true Australian continent. For two months Torres explored the dangerous seas which lie to the north-east of Australia. Steering westward, he saw the eastern shores of New Guinea, and sailed along the southern side of that island as far as the strait that now bears his name. He sighted Cape York, but returned without making further explorations to the south.

About the same time that the Spanish navigator was exploring the intricate passage of Torres Strait, the Dutch yacht *Duyfhen* (Dove) was despatched from Bantam, in Java, to explore the coast of New Guinea. In March, 1606, this vessel sailed southward along the western coast of the peninsula of Cape York as far as Cape Keer-weer (Turn Again) on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, observing about 220 miles of Australian coast. The commander of the *Duyfhen* was not aware of the existence of Torres Strait, and therefore was ignorant of the fact that he was exploring a great continent separated by water from New Guinea. He had to make a hasty retreat on account of scarcity of provisions.

The Dutch East India Company, established in 1602, were noted for maritime enterprise. They formed various settlements in the Indian Archipelago, their head quarters being Batavia, in the island of Java. This mercantile company fitted out their fleets on a liberal scale, and their commanders were men of great energy and perseverance.

Before the date of Tasman's voyage these bold navigators had explored a large extent of coast on the Australian continent; but it was reserved for three Englishmen—Cook, Bass, and Flinders—at later periods to discover that portion which now forms the great centres of trade and commerce in the British Colonies of Australia.

In 1616, Dirk Hartog, in the *Eendracht*, visited the west coast at about the 25th parallel of south latitude. An island near Shark's Bay still bears his name. In 1697, and again in 1801, there was seen on Dirk Hartog's Island a plate of tin bearing the following inscription—"Anno 1616, 25th October, arrived here the ship *Eendracht* of Amsterdam; the first merchant, Gillis Michals, of Luik; Dirk Hartog, captain. Sailed from hence to Bantam on 27th of the same month."

In 1618 Zeachen discovered and surveyed the land ex-

tending from North-West Cape to the 15th parallel of south latitude, and also a considerable portion of the north coast, which he named *Arnheim's Land*. In the year following Van Edels visited the western coast about the 29th parallel of latitude. In 1622 the South-West Cape was discovered, and the coast of Western Australia. Cape Leeuwin was named after the discovery ship. Five years later a considerable portion of the south coast was discovered. That sterile region was named Nuyts' Land in honour of Pieter de Nuyts, ambassador to Japan, who was on board the discovery ship.

In the following year (1628) the country lying between Eendracht's Land and the discoveries of Zeachen was named De Witt's Land in honour of the commodore of the Dutch East India squadron. The whole of the coast line of the Gulf of Carpentaria, lying between Arnheim's Land and Cape Keer-weer, was explored in 1628 by Captain Peter Carpenter (a Dutchman, who gave his name to the gulf), and by other navigators belonging to the Dutch East India Company.*

Thus it will be seen that Tasman was continuing a series of grand discoveries by the Dutch when he sighted the coast of Tasmania, and rounded what was then believed to be part of the Australian continent. Tasman was a pious sailor. The original manuscript journal of his voyage was brought to England and purchased by Sir Joseph Banks in 1771. It commences thus:—"Journal or description by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a voyage from Batavia for making discoveries of the Unknown South Land, 1642. May God Almighty be pleased to give His blessing to this voyage! Amen." When he weighed anchor and stood out to sea he entered in his log-book "the Lord be praised."

On the 24th day of November, 1642, at 4 p.m., Tasman first sighted the island which now bears his name. The

* Tasman also in his second voyage in 1644, with the *Zinnen*, *Reemearw*, and *Brak*, surveyed several hundred miles of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The narrative appears to have been lost, but the charts exist.

land seen was Point Hibbs, a cape on the west coast, about thirty miles south of Macquarie Harbour. As the explorers neared the coast they observed lofty mountains rising in the back ground, two of which bear the names of Tasman's vessels—*Heemskirk* and *Zeehaan*—so named by Flinders. Tasman named the country "VAN DIEMEN'S LAND," in honour of his friend and patron, the Governor of Batavia. The frail little vessels passed along the unploughed waters of the south coast, rounded the entrance to Storm Bay, and were then driven back by a northerly wind until the navigators almost lost sight of land. Recovering their lost ground, they sailed up Storm Bay, and in the afternoon of December 1st cast anchor in Fredrik Hendrik Bay. On the following day the boats were manned and pulled to shore. The strangers observed signs that the country was inhabited, but they saw no natives. "I fancied I heard the sound of people upon the shore (wrote Tasman), but I saw none. . . . I observed smoke in several places; however, we did nothing more than set up a post, on which every one cut his name or his mark, and upon which I hoisted a flag." Tasman then weighed anchor, rounded Cape Pillar, passed Maria Island, which he named after a member of Van Diemen's family, thence along the lofty shores of Schouten Island—so named after the Dutch commander who first rounded Cape Horn in 1610—and lost sight of land at St. Patrick's Head. Tasman steered towards New Zealand (which he also discovered), and finally arrived at Batavia on 15th June,* 1643.

It is a remarkable fact that more than a century passed away before any effort was made by the maritime nations of Europe to follow up Tasman's discoveries in the temperate meridians of the south. The eyes of the Old World were turned towards America, whose marvellous resources and boundless extent of territory absorbed every interest, to the complete suspension of exploration in other quarters.

Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, and lastly England, found ample scope in the wide domains of the western world for colonisation, and that, too, at a comparatively easy distance from home. Thus the resources of Australasia lay dormant for one hundred and thirty years, when the story of Tasman's white sails on the Southern Ocean had doubtless faded from the traditions of the aborigines.

The French were the next to visit Van Diemen's Land. On the 4th March, 1772, Captain Marion du Fresne, with two vessels, the *Mascarin* and *Castries*, arrived at Fredrik Hendrik Bay. The natives came with confidence down to the boats, and remained near the strangers with their children and their wives. A number of presents of the kind usually most esteemed by savage nations were distributed among them. When the captain landed one of the aborigines, advancing in front of him, offered him a lighted fire-brand that he might set fire to a pile of wood heaped up on the shore. He took it, believing that it was a formality intended to give confidence to the savages; but when the timber was ignited the aborigines retired in a mass towards a little mound from whence they threw a volley of stones, wounding both the captains. The French repelled the attack by several discharges of muskets, killing one man and wounding others. The natives fled towards the woods. The vessels remained six days in the bay and then proceeded to New Zealand, where the commander of the expedition was killed by the natives of that place.*

In the following year (March 9th, 1773) Captain Tobias Furneaux, in the *Adventure*, entered Storm Bay and cast anchor in the bay which bears the name of his ship. This was the first visit of the English to Van Diemen's Land, and it was the result of accident. He was sailing with Captain Cook, whose ship was the *Resolution*. Cook's instructions were to search for what was then called the

* M. Rienzi's account.

"Terra Australis Incognita," which was believed to lie south of Tasman's discoveries. The ships separated in a fog, and Furneaux touched at Van Diemen's Land. He did not see any natives, but came upon their fires and found some rude huts, from which he removed a few baskets and spears, leaving nails and trinkets in return. He ran along the east coast, and made this entry in his journal:—"The country here appears to be very thickly inhabited, as there was a continual fire along shore as we sailed." This occurred during Cook's second voyage.

It may be interesting to refer back to Captain Cook's first voyage when, in 1770, he discovered New South Wales. On that occasion Cook sailed from England in 1768, in a small ship, the *Endeavour*, of 370 tons, for the purpose of making observations in the southern seas of the transit of Venus over the sun's disc. He arrived at Tahiti (or Otaheite, as he wrote it) on the 13th of April in the following year, and the transit was observed on 3d June. Leaving Tahiti on 13th July, Cook called at New Zealand, which had not been visited by Europeans since the time of its discovery by Tasman. He spent six months exploring the New Zealand coast, then sailed westward, and reached the coast of Australia on the 19th April, 1770. He named the country "New South Wales," and took possession of it in the name of Great Britain. Cook explored a large portion of the east coast, and passed between New Guinea and New Holland, thus proving (what had hitherto been doubted) that they were separated by a strait.

During Cook's third and last voyage, on January 26th, 1777, his ship the *Resolution*, and the *Discovery*, commanded by Captain Clerke, entered Adventure Bay. Anxious to fall in with the natives he went with a party of marines some miles into the country. At length they heard a rustling sound in the underwood and captured a girl, naked and alone. Cook soothed his terrified captive by binding a

handkerchief round her neck, placing a cap upon her head, and allowing her to depart. Shortly afterwards eight men and a boy approached without fear. They were unarmed, except that one of them carried a stick pointed at the end (probably a waddy). "They were quite naked, wore no ornaments, were of middle stature, rather slender, with skin and hair black, and the latter as woolly as that of the natives of New Guinea, but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips or flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes, and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty."* They rejected bread and the flesh of the sea elephant, but accepted some birds, which they signified their intention to eat. Cook persuaded a native to throw the stick at a mark thirty yards distant, but he failed after repeated trials. There was an Otaheitian with Cook named Omai, whom he had taken with him on a previous voyage. Omai, to show his skill, fired off a musket. At the report the natives fled, and so great was their fear that they dropped the axe and knives they had received.

A dead calm prevented Cook's departure on the following day, when a party again went on shore. About twenty natives soon joined them; one, who was conspicuously deformed, amused the sailors by the drollery of his gestures and the seeming humour of his speeches. Some wore three or four folds of fur round the neck, and round the ankle a slip of kangaroo skin. Captain Cook returned on board, leaving Lieutenant King in charge of the party on shore. Soon after several women and children arrived, and were introduced to the English by the men. The children were thought pretty, but the account given of the women did not extol their beauty. Mr. Anderson, Captain Cook's surgeon, who had several interviews with the aborigines, says:—
' They had little of that fierce or wild appearance common

* Cook's Voyages.

to people in their situation ; but on the contrary, seemed mild and cheerful, without reserve or jealousy of strangers."

Twelve years elapsed before Van Diemen's Land was again visited, and at that time New South Wales had been occupied by the founders of that colony.

On the 3rd July, 1789, Captain John Henry Cox, in the brig *Mercury*, sailed inside the Schouten and Maria Islands, and discovered Oyster Bay.

Lieutenant Bligh, on his way to Tahiti to collect bread fruit trees for the West India Colonies, touched at Van Diemen's Land in the *Bounty* in 1789. He spent twelve days in Adventure Bay, and observed an English record engraved upon a tree—"A.D. 1773." At Fredrik Hendrik Bay he had an interview with the natives, but did not land on account of a heavy surf. The boat approached within twenty yards of the shore, where twelve men and eight women were assembled to receive the strangers in a friendly manner. Presents tied up in paper were thrown on shore. Brown, assistant botanist to the expedition, in his search for plants met an old man, a young woman, and two or three children. The man at first appeared alarmed, but became familiar on being presented with a knife.

The story of Bligh's voyage, the mutiny of his crew, and the sojourn of the mutineers at Pitcairn's Island, was made the subject of Lord Byron's poem entitled "The Island." Bligh having ultimately reached England, was again sent out to collect bread fruit trees for the West Indies. He then called at Van Diemen's Land a second time (1792), and planted several trees on the south side of the island.

The next visitors were the illustrious French navigators, Rear-Admiral Bruné D'Entrecasteaux in the *Recherche*, and Captain Huon Kermadec in the *l'Espérance*. The expedition was sent out by the French Government to ascertain the fate of the unfortunate *La Pérouse*, which was at

that time involved in darkness. D'Entrecasteaux's expedition called at Van Diemen's Land in 1792, and executed some valuable surveys in the vicinity of Storm Bay. The Admiral remained a month and returned again in January, 1793, to complete his surveys. D'Entrecasteaux discovered and surveyed the channel that bears his name, the Huon and Kermadec rivers, Port Esperance, Recherche Bay, and the river Derwent, which he named the "Rivière du Nord"—an obvious misnomer, corrected by Captain Hayes, who, with the ships *Duke* and *Duchess* from India, visited the river in 1794, and not aware of its previous discovery named it the Derwent. Many of the bays, rivers, and headlands in the south of the island retain the names given by the French, whose charts Flinders afterwards pronounced to be the finest specimens of marine surveying ever made in a new country.

M. Labillardière accompanied D'Entrecasteaux's expedition as naturalist and historian. His account of various interviews with the natives is interesting. In some parts of the narrative, however, there is a tone of romance and sentiment, due perhaps to the national character of the French. An interview with one party, consisting of twenty-two savages, he describes as follows:—

"We got ready a few cartridges and set out towards the place where we had seen the natives. We had gone only a few steps before we met them. The men and youths were ranged in front, nearly in a semi-circle; the women, children, and girls, were a few paces behind. As their manner did not seem to indicate any hostile design, I hesitated not to go up to the oldest, who accepted with a very good grace a piece of biscuit I offered him, of which he had seen me eat. I then held out my hand to him as a sign of friendship, and had the pleasure to perceive that he comprehended my meaning very well. . . . My companions also advanced up to the others, and immediately

the best understanding prevailed among us. They received with great joy the neckcloths which we offered them. The young people approached nearer to us, and one of them had the generosity to give me a few small shells of the whelk kind pierced near the middle and strung like a necklace. This ornament, which he called *Canlaride*, was the only one he possessed, and he wore it round his head. A handkerchief supplied the place of this present, gratifying the utmost wishes of my savage, who advanced towards me that I might tie it round his head for him. He expressed the greatest joy as he lifted up his hand to feel it again and again. We wore abundance of clothes, as I have already observed, on account of the coldness of the nights, and we bestowed the greater part on these islanders. The women were very desirous of coming nearer to us, and though the men made signs to them to keep at a distance, their curiosity was ready every moment to break through all considerations. The gradual increase of confidence, however, that took place, obtained them permission to approach.

. . . I had given them several things without requiring anything in return ; but I wished to get a kangaroo's skin, when, among the savages around us, there happened to be only a young girl who had one. When I proposed to her to give it me in exchange for a pair of pantaloons she ran away to hide herself in the woods . The other natives appeared to be truly hurt at her refusal, and called to her several times. At length she yielded to their entreaties, and came to bring me the skin. Perhaps it was from timidity only she could not prevail upon herself to part with this kind of garment, in return for which she received a pair of pantaloons, less useful to her according to the custom of ladies in this country than the skin, which served to cover the shoulders. . . . Desirous of avoiding every cause of offence we behaved with all the gravity we could on the occasion."

These simple narratives tend to show the gentle and confiding nature, in their primitive condition, of a race of human beings who have been annihilated by the cruel hand of Englishmen or by the accursed vices they introduced.

Labillardière relates the following touching story of female innocence and chastity:—"Four young girls of a party received with indifference the garments we gave them, and, that they might not be encumbered with a useless burden, immediately hung them on the bushes near the path, intending, no doubt, to take them on their return. . . . No doubt we lost much by not understanding the language of these natives, for one of the girls said a good deal to us; she talked a long time with extraordinary volubility, though she must have perceived that we could not understand her meaning: no matter, *she must talk*. The others attempted more than once to charm us by songs, with the modulation of which I was singularly struck, from the great analogy of the tunes to those of the Arabs in Asia Minor. Several times two sang the same tune at once, but always a third above the other, forming a concord, with the greatest exactness. Soon after we reached the entrance of the port two of the girls followed the different windings of the shore without mistrust, at a distance from the other natives, with three of our sailors, who took the opportunity to treat them with a degree of freedom which was received in a very different manner from what they had hoped. The young women immediately flew to the rocks projecting into the sea, and appeared ready to leap into it and swim away if our men had followed them." The same writer thus describes a dinner party:—"At noon we saw them prepare their repast. Hitherto we had but a faint idea of the pains the women take to prepare the food requisite for the subsistence of their families. They each took a basket, and were followed by their daughters, who did the same. Getting on the rocks that projected into



Jinny, Native of Port Sorell.

J Walch & Sons Hobart

the sea they plunged from them to the bottom in search of shell fish. When they had been down some time we became very uneasy on their account; for where they had dived were sea weeds of great length, among which we observed the *Fucus pyriferus*, and we feared they might have been entangled in these so as to be unable to regain the surface again. At length, however, they appeared, and convinced us that they were capable of remaining under water twice as long as our ablest divers. An instant was sufficient for them to take breath, and then they dived again. This they did repeatedly till their baskets were nearly full. Most of them were provided with a little bit of wood cut in the shape of a spatula, and with these they separated from the rocks, at great depths, very large *sea ears*. Perhaps they chose the biggest, for all they brought up were of great size. On seeing the large lobsters (crayfish) we were afraid they must have wounded these poor women terribly with their large claws, but we soon found they had taken the precaution to kill them as soon as they caught them. They quitted the water only to bring their husbands the fruits of their labour, and frequently returned almost immediately to their diving till they had procured a sufficient meal for their families. At other times they stayed a little time to warm themselves, with their faces towards the fire on which the fish were roasting, and other little fires burning behind them, that they might be warmed on all sides at once. It seemed as if they were unwilling to lose a moment's time, for while they were warming themselves they were employed roasting fish, some of which they laid on the coals with the utmost caution, though they took little care of the lobsters, which they threw anywhere into the fire, and when they were ready they divided the claws among the men and children, reserving the body for themselves, which they sometimes ate before they returned into the water."

For ten years following the settlement of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land was supposed to be the southern extremity of New Holland. Hunter, who was Governor of New South Wales in 1796, suspected the existence of a dividing strait, but the honour of its discovery was reserved for GEORGE BASS, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, who was officially attached to the colony at Port Jackson.

In the year 1798, in a six-oared whaleboat, with six men and only six weeks' provisions, Bass left Port Jackson for the purpose of exploring the coast line to the south. He rounded Cape Howe, and proceeded far enough to the westward to enable him to decide from the strong current and other indications, that an open channel did exist.* Returning to Sydney, he stated his conviction to Governor Hunter, who thereupon instructed Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass to sail through the channel in the *Norfolk*, a little sloop of 25 tons, built at Norfolk Island of the pine indigenous to that place. The voyagers were allowed only twelve weeks for their survey, and were supplied with rations for that period.

In October, 1798, the party left Port Jackson in the *Norfolk*. After examining the islands which lie at the entrance of the strait they sighted Cape Portland, which they named in honour of the Duke of Portland, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Thence they passed Waterhouse Island, and named it after the captain of H.M.S. *Reliance*. Sailing along the coast they entered the Tamar, passed up the river, and gave names to Green Island, West Arm, Middle Island, Whirlpool Reach, Swan Point, Long Reach, Point Rapid, and Crescent Shore. Returning, they proceeded westward along the coast, discovering and naming Table Cape, Rocky Cape, Circular

*The whaleboat in which Bass made this voyage was long preserved at Sydney.

Head, Trefoil and Hunter's Islands, and Cape Grim. They rounded the latter cape and sailed along the stormy western coast of the island, observing the mountains mentioned by Tasman, two of which they named in honour of Tasman's vessels. Point Hibbs was so named after the captain of the *Norfolk*. The Derwent was entered on the 18th December; the sloop sailed up the river as far as Herdsman's Cove at the mouth of the Jordan, a tributary stream. The chart of Captain Hayes was found to be most incorrect.

Flinders observed three aborigines on the banks of the Tamar, who made off when approached. At the Derwent he was more successful. He writes—"Our attention was suddenly called from contemplating the country by the sound of a human voice coming from the hills. There were three people; and, as they would not comply with our signs to come down, we landed and went up to them, taking with us a swan. Two women ran off, but a man, who had two or three spears in his hand, stayed to receive us, and accepted the swan with rapture. He seemed entirely ignorant of muskets, nor did anything excite his attention or desire except the swan and the red kerchiefs on our necks. He knew, however, that we came from the sloop, and where it was lying. A little knowledge of the Port Jackson and of the South Sea languages was of no use in making ourselves understood by this man; but the quickness with which he comprehended our signs spoke in favour of his intelligence."

The *Norfolk* sailed from the Derwent on the 31st Dec., and continued her voyage round the east coast of Van Diemen's Land. She arrived at Port Jackson in safety, no accident having occurred either to the little cutter or the bold seamen who embarked on such a dangerous enterprise over unknown seas, and along a coast inhabited only by savages. Thus was the insular position of Van Diemen's Land satisfactorily proved by the discovery of Bass

Strait, a maritime highway which thereafter became valuable to the trade and commerce of Australia.*

In the early part of 1802 another French expedition visited the island. It consisted of the ships *Geographe* and *Naturaliste*, with the corvette *Casuarina*, and was under the command of Commodore Baudin, with M. Peron naturalist for the voyage, Captain Hamelin second in command, and M. Monge, surgeon. There were in all twenty-three scientific gentlemen with the expedition, twenty of whom it is said died before the ships returned home. The surgeon, Monge, died of consumption, and was buried at Maria Island. Baudin executed a careful survey of the eastern coast; and a splendid addition was made to natural history from material collected during the voyage. Freycinet's Peninsula, on the east coast, was so named after a lieutenant of the *Geographe*. When the vessels sailed they encountered frightful storms round South Cape, and parted company. Eventually both vessels reached Port Jackson.

In M. Peron's history of this voyage he supplies much interesting information concerning the aborigines, whom he describes as a quiet, intelligent, and virtuous race. Peron's accounts are, perhaps, too highly coloured: indeed, it would appear that the Frenchmen were somewhat enamoured of the sable beauties of the wilderness, of whom the affectionate naturalist writes with no small degree of ardour.

On the 13th January the voyagers fell in with the first natives they had seen. The vessels were anchored off

*Flinders was afterwards singularly unfortunate. He obtained command of a scientific expedition for the exploration of the Australian coasts, and spent two years in the service. Returning to Port Jackson he then sailed for England. On his way he was taken prisoner by the French, then at war with Great Britain, and was detained for six and a half years at the Mauritius. In 1810 he was liberated and went to England, when he gave the world the result of his surveys from the mutilated charts and memoranda which he was enabled to preserve from destruction during his long confinement. He died in July, 1814, on the day that his book was published.

The subsequent fate of Bass is uncertain. He wrote long letters to his mother narrating his discoveries. When she died they came into possession

Port Cygnet, near the entrance to D'Entrecasteaux Channel, when two persons were observed running along, expressing astonishment at the strangers. A party including M. Peron and Lieutenant Freycinet were on shore, and, making signs of friendship to the blacks, "a young man," says Peron, "of from 22 to 24 years of age, of an apparently strong constitution, having no other defect than a slenderness of legs and arms, came bounding from a rock, and in the twinkling of an eye was in the midst of us. His physiognomy exhibited neither austerity nor ferocity; his eyes were quick and sparkling, and looks at once expressed benevolence and surprise. That which appeared to affect him most was the whiteness of our skins. Wishing to assure himself without doubt if that colour were the same all over the body, he opened our waistcoats and shirts, and his astonishment was manifested by loud cries of surprise, and above all by extremely quick stamping of the feet." The boat appeared to engage his special attention. He examined it from stem to stern, undisturbed by the presence of the sailors whom he found there. One of them presented him with a wine bottle containing grog. The brightness of the glass called forth a cry of astonishment from the black, but his curiosity was still led to the cutter, and he threw the bottle into the sea, greatly to the disappointment of the sailor, who did not expect to lose his rum in such a summary manner. The other native (an old man), called two women who were in the bushes. They hesitated to approach the strangers, but at length the elder one came, and the other followed, timid and fearful. Peron says, "she (the elder woman) appeared, like the old man, kind and benevolent. The young woman, of from 25 to 28

of a Miss Calder, with whose family Mrs. Bass resided until her death. When Miss Calder, at a later period, searched for the old letters, they were gone. In *Ross's Hobart Town Almanac*, 1835, p. 141, Jorgenson says that Bass sailed in the *Venus* to Valparaiso, and that he and his people were seized and sent to the quicksilver mines, where they were never more heard of.

years, was of a pretty robust constitution; she had a kangaroo skin round her shoulder, in which she carried a little girl whom she still suckled. . . . This young woman, like the elderly man and woman, whom we presumed to be her father and mother, had an interesting physiognomy. Her eyes had expression and something of the *spirituel* which surprised us, and which since then we have never found in any other female of that nation. She appeared also to cherish her child much—her care for her had that affectionate and gentle character which is exhibited among all races as the particular attribute of maternal tenderness.”

The French historian's next interview with an aboriginal family group is described with fervour. The family consisted of a father and mother, a young man, a little boy of five years, a younger girl, and a *belle sauvage* of sixteen or seventeen, named Ourá Ourá. Peron politely drew off his glove to salute this beauty of the forest, who was thereupon struck with horror and alarm at the facility with which her admirer apparently peeled off his skin, and was not easily relieved of her fears for his safety. The old man invited the visitors to his evening meal of cockles and mussels. Peron sang for his supper the Marscillaise Hymn. He says—“The young man tore his hair, scratched his head with both hands, agitated himself in a hundred different ways, and repeatedly iterated his approving clamour.” It is not necessary to transcribe Peron's gushing description of the forest-maiden, Ourá Ourá. He was charmed with “the softness of her looks, their affectionate and sparkling expression, her lively air, and perfect innocence.” Peron desired a reed bag of “an elegant and singular construction” which the girl carried. He says—“Immediately, and without hesitation, she put it in my hand, accompanying the present with a pleasing smile and some affectionate phrases, which I regretted not being able

to understand." She received a tomahawk and handkerchief in return, and M. Breton presented her with a long red feather. "She leaped for joy, and called her father and brothers. She cried, she laughed; in a word, she seemed intoxicated with pleasure and happiness."

Another day, wandering in the bush with some officers, Peron encountered a company of women. "One of the oldest among them," he says, "made signs for us to stop and sit down, crying out loudly to us, *mèdi, mèdi* (sit down, sit down). She seemed also to ask us to lay down our arms, the view of which alarmed her. These preliminary conditions having been complied with, the women squatted upon their heels, and from that moment abandoned themselves without reserve to the vivacity of their character, speaking all together, questioning us all at once; making, in a word, a thousand gestures, a thousand contortions as singular as varied. M. Bellefin (surgeon) began to sing, accompanying himself with very lively and animated gestures. The women kept silence, observing with much attention the gestures of M. Bellefin, as if by them to interpret his singing. Hardly had one couplet been completed when some of them applauded with loud cries, others laughed to the echo, while the young girls, more timid doubtless, kept silence, evidencing, nevertheless, by their movements and by the expression of their physiognomy, their surprise and satisfaction. All the women, with the exception of kangaroo skins, which some of them carried on their shoulders, were uncovered. Among the more aged females some had a gross and ignoble figure; others, much fewer in number, had a fierce and sombre look. Almost all were covered with scars, sad fruits of ill treatment from their ferocious husbands. One only, in the midst of all her companions, preserved a dignified aspect. After M. Bellefin had ended his song she began to mimic with her gestures and her tone of voice in a very

original and pleasant manner, which much diverted her companions. Then she began to sing herself in so rapid a way that it would be difficult to apply such music to the ordinary principles of our own. Their song, nevertheless, is here in accordance with their language, for such is the volubility of speech in these people that it is impossible to distinguish any precise sound in their pronunciation. It is a sort of thrilling sentiment, for which we cannot find any terms of comparison or analogy in our European languages. . . . Whilst all this passed I employed myself to collect and note accurately the details that were presented, and which I now describe. It was remarked, doubtless, by the same woman who was dancing, for hardly had she finished her dance than she approached me with an obliging air, took from a reed bag similar to that I have described elsewhere some charcoal which she crushed in her hand and began to lay on me a plaster of *rouge* of those regions. I willingly lent myself to this obliging caprice. M. Heirisson had the same complacency, and received a similar mask. We then appeared to be great objects of admiration to these women. They seemed to regard us with a sweet satisfaction, and to felicitate us upon the new adornments which we had just acquired. . . . The deference which we paid to these women and, perhaps, also, the new charms which we owed to their attentions (the charcoal rouge), seemed to add to their kindness, to their confidence in us ; but nothing could induce them, however, to be approached nearer. The least movement we made, or appeared to make, to pass the prescribed line caused them to spring up from their heels and take to flight. . . . As they were returning from fishing when we perceived them, they were laden with large crabs, lobsters, and shell fish of different kinds, grilled upon ashes, and carried in reed baskets. These baskets were tied round in front by a circle of cord,

and hung behind the back." The writer then describes the alarm of the women when they discovered other Europeans at the landing place, and it was with much difficulty the party, who had gained their confidence, now allayed their excitement. At length the women returned to the beach, "near which," says Peron, "all the husbands of these poor women had been gathered together for some time. In spite of the least equivocal evidence of the benevolence and generosity of our countrymen, they (the male natives) exhibited a restless and sombre physiognomy; their look was ferocious and threatening, and in their attitude we distinguished a constraint, malevolence, and perfidy which they sought to dissemble in vain. At this inauspicious meeting all the women who followed us appeared much concerned. Their furious husbands cast upon them glances of anger and rage. After having laid the products of their fishing at the feet of these men, who partook of them immediately without offering them any, they retired behind their husbands, and seated themselves on the other side of a large sand-hill, and there, during the rest of our interview, these unfortunate creatures dared neither to raise their eyes, nor speak, nor smile."

Two more incidents occurred during the visit of the French, which further illustrate the aboriginal character in its primitive condition. A boat's crew landed on Bruné Island. A fine athletic native had been exhibiting his powers, when a French midshipman engaged him in a wrestling match, and, with superior science, threw him. He got up sulkily and threw a spear at his victor.

At another time MM. Petit, Leschenault, and Hamelin went ashore at Bruné. Petit, who was an artist, began taking likenesses of the natives who were present. This liberty was resented by a man, who rushed forward to seize the portraits, which were saved with difficulty. Blows were struck on both sides, and a shower of stones closed

the interview. Leschenault, an eye witness of the attack, observes, "I am surprised to hear persons of sense still affirm that man, in his natural state, is not of a bad disposition, but worthy of confidence." Peron, however, continued to think otherwise. He closes his narrative thus:—"The gentle confidence of the people in us, these affectionate evidences of benevolence which they never ceased to manifest towards us, the sincerity of their demonstrations, the frankness of their manners, the touching ingenuousness of their caresses, all concurred to excite within us sentiments of the tenderest interest. The intimate union of different individuals of a family, the sort of patriarchal life of which we had been spectators, had strongly moved us. I saw with an inexpressible pleasure the realisation of those brilliant descriptions of the happiness and simplicity of the state of nature of which I had so many times in reading felt the seductive charm."

Baudin's ships were the last to touch at Van Diemen's Land prior to its occupancy by the British two years later. The attention of the French was at that time directed to the south as a field for emigration, and a source of wealth to the State in the acquirement of wider dominion, but when the opportunity offered they were engaged in sanguinary conflicts both at home and abroad, in which their energies were entirely absorbed. Those events at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century contributed, without doubt, to the establishment of an undivided nationality and British supremacy in the southern world.

There is, however, a feature in British colonisation which wears a forbidding aspect—the cruel treatment the aboriginal inhabitant received at the hands of the white man. To form a correct judgment on this question it is important to follow the natives from the day they were first seen and their blood was spilt by Europeans, until

they were totally exterminated. It is, therefore, the duty of the historian to record what may appear even trivial details from the narratives of the early voyagers concerning the manners and customs of a race whose destinies became so dark when the powers of "civilisation" came upon them as a destructive flood. The true character of the aborigines can only be ascertained from those who saw them, undisturbed by strangers, wandering at large in primitive simplicity over the beautiful island then all their own, with its open grass-covered plains and countless herds of kangaroo—with its headlands and bays abounding with fish and birds which afforded ample means of support—before European vices and war and starvation and disease had thinned their numbers—before their hunting grounds were taken from them, and they were scattered abroad in broken families to mix with hostile tribes in the most inhospitable and unproductive regions of the interior.





CHAPTER II.

NEW SOUTH WALES OCCUPIED—CAUSES WHICH LED TO THAT EVENT—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND OCCUPIED—LIEUTENANT BOWEN'S PARTY—COLLINS AT PORT PHILLIP—FAWKNER'S ACCOUNT—BUCKLEY—PORT PHILLIP ABANDONED—FLEET SAILED FOR THE DERWENT—COLLINS LIEUT.-GOVERNOR—THE TAMAR SETTLEMENT—SETTLERS FROM NORFOLK ISLAND ARRIVE—A THREATENED FAMINE—METHODS OF AGRICULTURE—CONVICT REGULATIONS—PAPER CURRENCY—BLIGH'S DEPOSITION IN N. S. WALES—HE VISITS V. D. LAND—FIRST NEWSPAPER—COLLISION WITH THE NATIVES—DEATH OF COLLINS—ACTING GOVERNORS—MACQUARIE'S VISIT.

NEW SOUTH WALES was the first colony established by Great Britain in the Southern Hemisphere. The causes which led to its occupation may be briefly explained. Transportation of criminals from the British dominions began early in the 17th century, when they were removed to the plantations of America, and were treated as slaves. Even in the 18th century this horrible system still prevailed. Criminals were handed over to ship-masters, who were under bonds to the Government for the disposal of the convicts according to law: they were to be landed in America, and then sold by auction to the colonists for the term of their sentence, the proceeds going to remunerate the contractors for their service. It is said that this inhuman traffic proved so lucrative to the ship-masters that young lads were kidnapped in Britain, taken across to America as convicts, and sold. These practices continued under modifications until the American revolution of 1776 put a stop to transportation.

Great alarm was then felt in Britain that the country

would be overrun with crime, nor was that feeling without foundation. The gaols were soon crowded; the chief towns were haunted by thieves; armed men attacked people by night and day; even in the streets of London the wildest disorder prevailed. At this period the British Government resolved to establish a penal colony at Botany Bay.

The first fleet of convict ships left England on May 13th, 1787, and anchored at Botany Bay on January 20th, 1788, after a voyage of eight months and one week. It consisted of His Majesty's ships *Sirius* and *Supply*, three storeships, and six transports. The expedition was under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip. It comprised 757 convicts (of whom 192 were women), and 18 children; also a detachment of 212 marines and their officers. The fleet brought out one bull, four cows, one calf, one stallion, three mares and three colts, some sheep, goats, and pigs, and plants and seeds of various useful kinds.

Phillip was the first Governor of the new settlement. Hunter succeeded him in 1795, and in 1800 Captain King became Governor. It was during the administration of the latter that Van Diemen's Land was taken possession of and occupied as a dependency of New South Wales.

The chief cause which contributed to this event was a desire to relieve Port Jackson from the most dangerous and riotous of the convicts. Nearly 7,000 prisoners had been transported thither, many of whom were Irish who had been implicated in the rebellion of 1798. West says—"Dispersion became necessary to security—to repress alike the vices of the convicts, and the growing malversation of their taskmasters. The want of prisons, or places of punishment, and the indolence and intemperance of emancipist settlers endangered authority. . . In this unsatisfactory condition was the colony of Port Jackson when Van Diemen's Land was occupied. Its remote

distance, its comparatively small extent and insular form, fitted it for the purposes of penal restraint—a place where the most turbulent and rapacious could find no scope for their passions. Its ports, closed against commerce, afforded few means of escape. . . . Thus Van Diemen's Land was colonised; first, as a place of exile for the more felonious of felons—the Botany Bay of Botany Bay."

The first British occupants of Van Diemen's Land entered the Derwent from Sydney in June or July of the year 1803. There is a discrepancy in the date which various writers assign to this event. The Sydney "Muster Roll" of 29th March, 1803, has the following announcement:—"It being expedient to establish His Majesty's right to Van Diemen's Land, His Excellency has been pleased to direct Lieutenant John Bowen, of H.M.S. *Glatton*, to form a settlement on that island." Evans (Surveyor-General) and Bent (a colonial printer of 1816) name the 13th June as the day of landing.* Others name June 11th and July 11th as the date on which the expedition left Sydney. The former writers are probably correct. Lieutenant Bowen, with Dr. Mountgarrett, surgeon, and a few soldiers and convicts, landed on the shore of a little bay on the eastern side of the Derwent, about four miles higher up the river than the site of Hobart. The place where they made their encampment was named Risdon or Restdown.†

* About the same time Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins,‡

*Calder's account

† Probably first-named Restdown. Bent, who arrived at Hobart Town only eleven years later, says in his "Tasmanian Almanac" for 1825—"Captain Bowen, in His Majesty's colonial brig *Lady Nelson*, with a small party of soldiers and prisoners on board from Port Jackson, disembarked at Restdown." Bent, however, in his Almanac for 1827, says "they disembarked at a place called Risdon." Melville in his "Van Diemen's Land Almanac, 1831, says—"Risdon, or Restdown, on the eastern bank of the Derwent, was the spot selected for the settlement."

‡ Collins had seen much active service. He was son of General Arthur Tooker Collins, of King's County, Ireland—was Lieutenant of Marines at the age of fourteen—was at the battle of Bunker's Hill five years later,

having proceeded home from Sydney, where he had acted in the capacity of Judge-Advocate during the administration of the first Governor, was sent from England with a small armed force and a party of convicts in order to form a settlement on the shores of Port Phillip, then recently discovered by Captain Murray in 1799, and reported on favourably by Flinders, who had sailed up the bay in the *Investigator* on April 26, 1802.

In 1803 Mr. Grimes, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, discovered and rowed up the river at the head of Port Phillip Bay, then, as now, known by its native name, Yarra Yarra, or ever flowing. This discovery was made while Collins was yet on his voyage from England; he was, therefore, not aware of the existence of a fresh-water river at the head of the bay.

Collins's expedition arrived in the Bay of Port Phillip on the 7th and 11th October, 1803, in H.M.S. *Calcutta*, Captain Woodruff, 50 guns, 1,200 tons; and the tender *Ocean*, Captain Mathews, 600 tons. Among those on board were Lieutenant Fosbrooke, commissariat officer; G. P. Harris, surveyor; W. H. Humphrey, mineralogist; Rev. Robert Knopwood, chaplain; Messrs. R. J. Anson, M. Bowden, and J. Hopley, surgeons; Brevet-Captain Sladen, and Messrs. Anderson, Johnson, and Edward Lord, subalterns. There were also Robert Collins, superintendent; Thomas Clarke, agricultural superintendent; James Paterson, town overseer; John Ingle and Richard Parish, overseers; twelve male settlers, of whom six had wives, and one a sister; one widow, eight boys, and seven girls; Mr. Coke, a missionary to the aborigines, with his wife and son; fifteen wives of prisoners, with four boys and two girls; and prisoners and marines, making in all 402 souls.*

where he distinguished himself in company with his father. Collins published *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* when he returned to England. It was favourably known to the public, and received favourable notice in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1803.

* J. P. Fawcner's account.

Lieutenant-Governor Collins, instead of making a survey of the bay in order to find the most eligible site for a town, had tents erected some four or five miles within the Heads, on the Point Nepean side, near the present site of Sorrento. No fresh water could be found at this place, except such as could be obtained by sinking holes in the sand just above the tide water of the bay. Mr. J. P. Fawcner, one of the party, writes—"I was 11 years of age the day after I landed (October 20th, 1803). The folly of Great Britain in entrusting a marine officer to form a settlement in a wild and distant country was eminently shown here. The Governor would not send round the bay to search for a more eligible site. He would not look for water or useful timber (for building purposes), although the bad water was fast sending the men into hospital. . . . Many prisoners ran away from the settlement. . . . Only one, that I can remember, came back; he settled at Launceston, reared a large family, and became a good citizen. He reported having found the Yarra river, but the Governor would not send to examine it, for he had made up his mind to leave this country; and, having communicated with the Sydney Government, the sloop *Lady Nelson* was sent round to inform him that he might go to Van Diemen's Land. . . . Before this news arrived Governor Collins had sent over to Port Dalrymple (the Tamar) an open six-oared boat, in charge of Superintendent Collins, with Mr. Clarke, the agriculturist, to examine the land. The report made by them on their return was—'a most difficult river, and very poor land.' . . . The Governor then engaged Captain Mathews at a certain sum per month to take the people and stores to the Derwent, V. D. Land; and the first trip left Port Phillip about the middle of January, 1804. The Governor and half of the prisoners, some marines, and most of the settlers were in the first trip; amongst others our family went, and we suffered dreadfully on this trip for the

want of cooked food. . . . Here let me observe—the Home Government found men, stores, clothing, tools, goods, and cash to a large amount for three years, and yet Governor D. Collins could not form a colony at Port Phillip."

Fawcner states that many prisoners ran away from the settlement at Port Phillip. Other accounts name only three, one of whom was the historical WILLIAM BUCKLEY. This remarkable man lived in a wild state with the aborigines of Port Phillip for 33 years. When a young man Buckley enlisted as a soldier in the 4th regiment, and was shortly afterwards transported for striking his superior officer. With three others he ran away from the settlement at Port Phillip Bay ; one was shot when making his escape ; the others (Pye and Marmon) soon parted from Buckley. Marmon left at Indented Head, intending to return to the camp. Pye was left behind at the Yarra through exhaustion.* Buckley lived on berries and shell-fish for some time, when at length three native women saw him, and brought the men of their tribe to him. He was kindly treated by the natives, who named him Murragark, after a dead friend, whom he was supposed to resemble. His history for the long period of 32 years is involved in darkness ; the accounts he gave are conflicting, arising probably from his desire to hide in oblivion a career so inglorious. He was a man of large stature and powerful frame, measuring 6ft. 6in. in height. Hence he became a chief of the tribe who received him. While adopting the rude manners and customs of the people, he made no subsequent effort to improve their condition, or contribute to their comfort by initiating a more civilised state of existence. On July 12th, 1835, Buckley gave himself up to Batman, whose party were the next to visit Port Phillip. He was partly clad in kangaroo skin, and was armed with native spears. His skin, by exposure, was almost as dark as that of the

* Mr. Wedge's account.

natives; he had entirely forgotten his own language. Approaching Batman's party on the beach he could find no words to express himself. One, suspecting him to be a white man, offered him bread, calling it by name. After several efforts to pronounce the word "bread" he succeeded in doing so. He then showed his arm, upon which the letters W. B. were punctured. In less than a fortnight he could speak freely with his countrymen. Buckley (who was in fact an outlaw) received a free pardon from Governor Arthur in 1835, and shortly afterwards went to Hobart Town, where he died in 1856, aged 76 years. Before leaving Port Phillip Collins issued a garrison order, dated December 31st, 1803, in which he stated that he hurried the departure of the vessels "from so unpromising and unproductive a country!"

The party were taken to the Derwent in the *Ocean* and the *Lady Nelson*, where they arrived in two divisions on the 30th January and 16th February, 1804. The vessels anchored in Sullivan's Cove, and Collins landed on the spot where Hobart now stands. There he fixed the site of a town, naming it after Lord Hobart, who was at the time Secretary of State for the Colonies. The little party under the command of Lieutenant Bowen, who had arrived from Sydney in the *Lady Nelson* some six months before, "were found in a most wretched state by Colonel Collins, almost approaching to starvation. The commander, Lieutenant Bowen, having sailed (previously to the arrival of Lieut.-Governor Collins) on his return to Sydney, left a Lieutenant Moore in command, together with Dr. Mountgarrett."*

While Collins was actively engaged in preliminaries connected with founding the infant colony at Hobart Town, King, the Governor-General, ordered the captain of the *Lady Nelson* to proceed to the Tamar, and inspect that part of Van Diemen's Land in view of settlement. The

*Bent's *Tasmanian Almanac*, 1827.

report being favourable, King despatched a small party of prisoners under Colonel Patterson, who landed at West Arm, in Port Dalrymple, in October, 1804. Here Patterson fixed the site of a town, which he named York Town. It was soon abandoned, and George Town was chosen for head quarters. The settlement was, however, removed in the year 1806 to the spot where Launceston now stands. Patterson named the Tamar after a Cornish stream, and the valley of Launceston after Governor King's birthplace in England.

For some time there was no intercourse between the settlements on the Derwent and the Tamar. Patterson was commandant at Launceston, subject only to the Sydney Governor-in-Chief, while Collins was Lieutenant-Governor of the Hobart Town settlement alone; nor was it until the year 1812 that both sides of the island were united under the same government. The first overland journey between the two places was performed by Lieutenant Laycock and his party, who occupied nine days on the route from Launceston to Hobart Town.*

The settlers of Norfolk Island, which had been occupied by the English in 1788, were removed in 1805. They were permitted to choose either New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land for their future residence: most of them decided in favour of the latter place. They left their beautiful island home with much reluctance; but they were encouraged by grants of land double in extent to those they had to abandon, and were rationed, as new settlers, from the public stores. These settlers divided into three classes, according to their origin or wealth, and located at Hobart Town and Pittwater, at New Norfolk, and at Norfolk Plains. They received grants of thirty, forty, and fifty acres of land; cattle were supplied on loan, and rations issued to them, but their subsequent career was not satisfactory: they became idle and dissipated

* West.

—some sold their farms or mortgaged them for a keg of rum; only a few rose to wealth by reason of their enterprise and diligence.

The early settlers had to struggle with many difficulties, and to endure no trifling hardships. In 1806 a disaster occurred in New South Wales which seriously affected all the settlements. Heavy rains caused the Hawkesbury to overflow its banks. The farmers lost their stacks of corn, their live stock, and in some instances their dwellings. The river rose to the height of sixty and eighty feet in a few hours.* Great was the consternation thus caused, for all were depending on the stores of wheat which were swept away in the flood. Van Diemen's Land looked to New South Wales for supplies of food; but it was now left to its own resources, and the population were almost in a starving condition. Nor did the following harvest bring relief; the wheat crop was a failure. A few coarse biscuits were distributed while they lasted* but the substitute for bread was the dried and pounded flesh of kangaroo, for which the commissariat allowed 1s. 6d. per pound. Wheat rose to £4 per bushel, which would make flour about £200 per ton. The selling rate was regulated by a garrison order; armed sentinels mounted guard over the wheat fields, so valuable had corn become. In 1808 the settlement was bordering on absolute starvation. By July all the maize and wheat was consumed, and in the following month there remained neither salt beef nor pork. In October all the barley was eaten up, and a pound and a half of rice was issued as a weekly ration to each man. This, with kangaroo meat, was all they had for the support of life. The Government, unable to feed the prisoners, permitted them to roam at large in search of food. A cargo of wheat arrived from India in 1810, and relieved the settlers from the apprehension of absolute famine.

* West.

In the early days of the colony the methods of agriculture were slovenly in the extreme. The hoe was the only implement of husbandry, the seed grain often of inferior quality, and the return inadequate to the labour expended.

The system of assignment, or of employing convicts in the service of settlers, was established by Governor King in 1804. The master was bound by indenture to retain his servant for one year, or to pay a penalty of one shilling per day if returned to the Government before that period.* These conditions were often evaded: false accusations were made against the men in view of getting them removed, or they were allowed to roam at large and shift for themselves. The convict regulations, however, were constantly undergoing change, not unfrequently from bad to worse.

Business was transacted in a truly primitive fashion. The Government store was the grand depot for all sorts of provisions. Stock and material were sold there to the settlers, whose promissory notes, payable in three years, either in money or kind, were accepted as payment. All miscellaneous purchases were made by means of paper money, varying from sixpence to a dollar. The promissory notes held by the Government were often dishonoured when they became due, and the officer in charge of the stores had to hunt up the settlers, and call in their cows and sheep in payment.

During the administration of Collins the progress of the colony was barely perceptible. There were no roads in the interior—no public buildings. The house of the Governor was a mere cottage, too mean for the accommodation of a modern mechanic.† At the close of 1805 Collins was still living in a tent.‡

The deposition of Governor Bligh at Sydney, in January, 1808, was an incident in colonial history which belongs

*West.

†West.

‡Holt.

more to New South Wales than Van Diemen's Land. Collins, however, was involved in the affair. Bligh (formerly of the *Bounty*) succeeded King as Governor-General in 1806. On his arrival he found the settlers in a depressed condition on account of the monopoly enjoyed by the New South Wales Corps—a colonial regiment. The officers became merchants, were permitted to draw goods from the public store established for the benefit of the settlers, and to retail them at a profit of from 50 to 500 per cent.* Bligh put a stop to this system, and permitted the farmers to draw supplies from the public stores at prices which left no profit. The military, hitherto the dominant party, were provoked. Bligh, tyrannical by nature, acted with unnecessary severity. Macarthur, paymaster of the corps, was apprehended and lodged in gaol. The Governor resolved to bring to trial six officers who in the Judge-Advocate's Court had resisted his proceedings. The Colonel (Johnstone) marched his regiment to Government House, and placed Bligh under arrest. He was permitted to embark on board the *Porpoise* under an enforced agreement to quit the colony, to proceed to Great Britain forthwith, and not to communicate with any intermediate British colony. Bligh violated his parole. He went to Hobart Town, and Collins, not aware of the proceedings at Sydney, received him with the respect due to his station.† When despatches arrived from Sydney, Collins attempted to arrest Bligh,‡ but the latter re-embarked in the *Porpoise*, and returned to Port Jackson.

During Bligh's absence in Van Diemen's Land Major-General Macquarie had arrived and taken office as Governor-General (1st January, 1810). Colonel Paterson, the officer in command, at once delivered the reins of government to Macquarie, who confirmed the official acts of the interim government, but declared its gifts and appointments null

* Holt.

† West.

‡ Bligh's statement.

and void.* Bligh was empowered to carry home witnesses in the matter of his deposition. Colonel Johnstone was tried and cashiered. The New South Wales Corps was ultimately disbanded.

In the early part of 1810 the first newspaper printed in the colony made its appearance under the aspiring title of the *Derwent Star and Van Diemen's Land Intelligencer*. It contained half a sheet of foolscap printed on both sides. It was issued fortnightly, at *two shillings* a copy. In the V. D. Land Almanac, 1829, Bent says :—"Governor Collins brought out the press and type, his orders having been printed for some time, both at Port Phillip and Van Diemen's Land, under a tree in the woods." The editor was G. P. Harris, deputy-surveyor-general, and it was printed by J. Barnes and T. Clark "at the Government Press, Hobart Town," all being under the supervision of the Governor. The paper did not pay even at two shillings : it expired after a brief existence of a few months.

The first troubles with the aboriginal inhabitants of the island began early. Hardly had the English been fairly settled in their encampments before an unfortunate encounter took place. Governor Collins had arrived, but the party left by Lieutenant Bowen were still at Risdon.

On the 3rd of May, 1804, about three hundred natives were heard shouting on the Risdon hills, as they drove a herd of kangaroo before them. They were armed with waddies only (short thick hunting clubs), and were accompanied by their women and children—a certain proof that they had no hostile intentions, as it was their rule to leave the women behind them when they went out to fight. The outlying huts of the encampment were occupied by W. Clark, Burke, and Edward White. The latter was engaged hoeing some ground near the creek at Risdon, when, looking up at the sound of voices, he saw about 300 natives

* West.

coming down the tiers in a semi-circle, men, women, and children, with a herd of kangaroo before them. White, in his evidence before a committee of enquiry appointed long afterwards by Colonel Arthur, stated :—" They looked at me with all their eyes. I went down to the creek, and reported them to some soldiers, and then went back to my work. The natives did not threaten me: I was not afraid of them. They did not attack the soldiers. . . . The firing commenced about eleven o'clock. There were many of the natives slaughtered and wounded—I don't know how many. . . . This was three or four months after we landed. They never came so close again afterwards. They had no spears with them—only waddies." Another witness (Robert Evans) belonging to the Risdon party was examined by the committee. He was not present when the firing began, but was on the ground immediately afterwards. He was told that the natives did not interrupt any one, but that they were fired upon. He did not know who ordered them to be fired upon, or how many were said to have been killed, though he had heard that there were men, women, and children.

Mr. W. C. Wentworth, in his work on the colonies (1823), alludes to the affair thus :—" At first the natives evinced the most friendly disposition towards the new comers; and would probably have been actuated by the same amicable feeling to this day had not the military officer entrusted with the command directed a discharge of grape and canister shot to be made among a large body who were approaching, as he imagined, with hostile designs. . . . The spirit of animosity and revenge which this unmerited and atrocious act of barbarity engendered, has been fostered and aggravated to the highest pitch by the incessant encounters that have subsequently taken place between them and the whites."

The committee appointed by Colonel Arthur to investigate

the matter brought up their report in March, 1830. They had at that late period a difficulty in deciding which party were the actual aggressors. They found from some of the evidence that Burke, whose habitation was considerably advanced beyond the rest, was driven from it by the natives, whose number was estimated by some of the witnesses at upwards of 500. The report proceeds ;—" But whatever may have been the actual course of previous events, it is indisputable that a lamentable encounter did at this time take place, in which the number of slain—men, women, and children—have been estimated as high as fifty ; although the committee, from the experience they have had in the course of this enquiry of the facility with which numbers are magnified, as well as from other statements contradictory of the above, are induced to hope that the estimate is greatly overrated."

Thus commenced hostilities against the blacks. They afterwards proved themselves to be a subtle and wily foe. That inhuman slaughter on the slopes of Risdon was the prelude of countless troubles while the blacks remained at large in the island. It produced retaliation, and retaliation provoked revenge, until both parties were actuated by the bitterest feelings of hatred towards each other. Seeing how susceptible were the blacks to kindly influences when strangers visited their shores, it can hardly be supposed that in the first attack of the English the blacks were aggressors.

The famine in the camps of the British multiplied the misfortunes of the natives. Bands of lawless convicts were let loose over the country to gain subsistence as best they could. Without any check upon the indulgence of their evil passions, it can easily be conceived how the natives were molested on their hunting grounds. Not only were the herds of kangaroo, on which they relied for subsistence, killed in large numbers for the use of the settlement,

but the black women were lured away, and their husbands were shot. Babes were murdered and maidens violated. Cruelties such as these led to resentment still more savage. The inhumanity of the white man bore its bitter fruit. Cattle and sheep were wounded; men and women were speared if they ventured away from home.

Governor Collins issued an order on the subject, which appears in the *Muster Book* of 1810. The order bears date January 29th, 1810, and runs thus:—"There being great reason to fear that William Russell and George Gelley will be added to the number of unfortunate men who have been put to death by the natives, in revenge for the murders and abominable cruelties which have been practised upon them by the white people, the Lieutenant-Governor, aware of the evil consequences that must result to the settlement if such cruelties are continued, and abhorring the conduct of those miscreants who perpetrate them, hereby declares that any person whomsoever who shall offer violence to a native, or who shall in cool blood murder, or cause any of them to be murdered, shall, on proof being made of the same, be dealt with and proceeded against as if such violence had been offered, or murder committed on, a civilised person." Collins did not live to see his humane order carried out. A chaotic interval followed, during which time the blacks were still murdered. It is worthy of record that on the northern side of the island a friendly interview in the first instance prevented bloodshed for some time. 200 natives appeared at York Town, then the camp (Nov. 14th, 1804). Signs of friendship pacified their hideous shouts and gestures. They gathered confidence, accepted trifling presents, and exhibited much surprise at everything they saw. But they went away in a rather ferocious mood, "biting their arms as a token either of vengeance or defiance. They withdrew peaceably, but were positive in forbidding us to follow them."*

*Letter in the *Sydney Gazette*, 23rd December, 1804.

Governor Collins died suddenly at Hobart Town on the 24th March, 1810. He was sitting in his chair conversing with an attendant when he expired, the only symptoms he complained of being a slight cold. He administered the government of the colony for a little more than six years. On the night of his death two officers of the Government, for some unexplained reason, burned all the official books, papers, and documents they could find.

The remains of Collins were buried in St. David's churchyard, where there is a monument erected to his memory by Sir John Franklin.

Nearly three years elapsed before Governor Collins's successor was appointed. In the meantime the administration of the government devolved upon military officers. Lieutenant Edward Lord, Captain Murray, and Lieutenant-Colonel Geils were successively the commandants at Hobart Town.

Macquarie, Governor-General, visited the colony in November, 1811. He was received by the settlers with great demonstrations of loyalty.





CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR DAVEY—PROGRESS OF THE COLONY—"V. D. LAND GAZETTE"—CONVICTS AND BUSHRANGERS—"HOBART TOWN GAZETTE" PERMANENTLY ESTABLISHED BY ANDREW BENT—HIS DIFFICULTIES—FOUNDATION STONE OF FIRST CHURCH LAID—CAPTAIN KELLY'S DISCOVERIES—HIS INTERVIEW WITH NATIVES—DAVEY'S RETIREMENT—POPULATION OF COLONY.



HE brief administration of COLONEL DAVEY, second Lieutenant-Governor, commenced on the 4th day of February, 1813, on which date he arrived at Hobart Town. He was a man of no capacity to govern. His free and easy manner betrayed a want of that wisdom and discretion which were especially needful at this important period. The young colony was rapidly sinking into a demoralised condition ; and the new administration of affairs intensified rather than abated the evil. The failings of the new Governor were of the head—not the heart ; his ruling infirmities being of a character which disqualified him for the art of governing. By his loose and indolent habits he failed to command respect. Landing from the ship in the afternoon of a sultry day, Davey walked along the streets to Government House with his shirt sleeves exposed, while his coat was carelessly slung across his arm.* He indulged in peculiarities much less excusable than this during his stay.

Nevertheless, while Davey was Governor considerable progress was made in developing the resources of the colony. Mercantile houses were established, the ports

*West.

were opened for general commerce, and English goods were imported direct from Great Britain. The whale fishery was carried on with profitable results, and a lucrative trade in seal skins from the islands of Bass Strait was established. In 1815, 1770 bushels of wheat were exported to Sydney, and in 1816, 13,135 bushels. A flour mill was erected, and a better system of tillage, by the employment of oxen and the plough, gradually superseded the use of the hoe in breaking up ground.

The only court at this period was the "Lieutenant-Governor's Court," established in the year 1814. Its jurisdiction was confined to personal actions in matters under the value of £50. All other cases, civil and criminal, were tried at Sydney.

A second attempt to establish a newspaper at Hobart Town proved unsuccessful. On 14th May, 1814, the *Van Diemen's Land Gazette* made its appearance. In September of the same year the editor announced :—"Want of type obliges us to delay several other interesting extracts till our next." This premonitory symptom was followed by a sudden collapse at the end of the month, after an issue of nine fortnightly numbers.

The advancement of the colony was greatly retarded at this period by the depredations of armed bushrangers, who organised themselves into bands, and overran the island in every direction, spreading terror through the country districts. The same party of outlaws would traverse the settled districts, changing their position with amazing rapidity. One day they were in the vicinity of Launceston; then they would appear in the south at New Norfolk or Pittwater. They burned wheat stacks and barns, slaughtered the sheep and cattle of the settlers, pillaged their houses, took away horses, robbed from the person, committed the most barbarous cruelties, not excepting murder in cold blood.

Nothing better could be expected during the government of Davey, whose personal incapacity to rule cast a baneful influence over the officials appointed to preserve law and order. Curious tales were told of the habits of the Governor. West says :—"While Governor Collins lived some order was maintained: it was during the rule of his successor that the British standard covered a state of society such as never before possessed official sanction. Once or twice a month this Governor enjoyed a carouse, to which a seaport in time of war might furnish an example. Having selected a station not far from town, he provided for the feast. The more talented of the convicts surrounded the tent, and enlivened the entertainment with songs. Rum in large quantities loaded the board: first the chiefs, and then their retainers, revelled in its overflowing abundance. The gaol gang, warned by His Honor's steward of the direction the guests had taken, sometimes followed after the jovial ruler; and, when the moon arose, the Governor and his retainers of various grades might be seen winding home together. . . . Such was this trustee of national justice!"

The newspaper press, to found which unsuccessful attempts had been made in 1810 and 1814, was permanently established in 1816. Andrew Bent, known during a long subsequent literary career as the "father of the Van Diemen's Land press," made his appearance as publisher of the *Hobart Town Gazette*. The first number was published "by authority" on June 1st, 1816. The paper was professedly a vehicle of general intelligence, but its resources were supplied, and the proprietor was paid, by the Government. The laxity of public morals was conspicuously set forth in the first number of the *Gazette*. King George the Third's birthday was at hand; it was officially announced that "one pound of fresh meat and half a pint of spirits would be furnished to soldiers and

constables, that their loyalty might be duly maintained." The second number contained a curious Government notice, also illustrative of the customs of those barbarous times :—"As the bodies of the felons that were gibbeted on Hunter's Island* were close to the place where the wharf is erected, and became objects of disgust, especially to the female sex, they have been removed (by command of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor) to a point of land near Queenborough,† which in future will be the place of execution." Bent's newspaper at first consisted of only two pages of foolscap; in 1824 it was enlarged to four pages. Many difficulties stood in the way of the spirited printer during the earlier years of his enterprise; but he steadily persevered. In 1819 (April 3rd) he had to appeal to his subscribers thus :—"The printer of this paper begs leave to remind his Pittwater and other country subscribers that he will receive wheat from them in payment. It is hoped those who are nearly three years in arrears with him will find it in their power to discharge the same this year, or else it must be expected that he will sue for payment." Bent's Sydney contemporary, George Howe, was in a similar difficulty from non-payment of subscriptions. Bent remarks :—"Is he (the editor of the *Sydney Gazette*) to ask for payment like a profest pauper, or as a man seeking his rights? * Dreadfully contracted imagination! A paper must and can only be supported by the public acquiescence, but this acquiescence must not be tame, it must be active." The *Sydney Gazette* reciprocated these kindly sentiments. Bent was short of type, as shown by the use of capitals in the middle of words, and he had to make his own ink. "If providence is kindly propitious, and the winds favourable," wrote Howe, "a few interven-

* Hunter's Island afterwards formed the extremity of the "Old Wharf" at Hobart Town.

† Sandy Bay.

ing months, from what we learn, will effectually relieve him, and then our Sister Press will undoubtedly flourish. For the meantime we would consolingly advise the printer to urge his way onward patiently in the path of unwearied industry, unceasing virtue, and active benevolence—the only avenues to comfort and respect; and the time will come, if he shrinks not from the honourable and arduous post, when he shall receive that lasting reward which will more than abundantly repay him for all terrestrial toil and *typical* assiduity.” Bent plodded on with bad paper and bad type for ten years, still conducting the only newspaper in the colony. As late as 1824 he had frequently to use what he described as “common Chinese paper, no more than half the size of foolscap, and of which two sheets were consequently obliged to be pasted together for each *Gazette*, which cost two guineas sterling per ream.” His subsequent troubles, and they were many, will be related at the period of Governor Arthur’s administration.

The first church built in the colony was St. David’s, at Hobart Town. The foundation stone was laid by Governor Davey on February 19th, 1817, in the presence of Mrs. and Miss Davey, and a grand procession of civil and military officers. The Rev. Mr. Knopwood preached a sermon on the occasion from the text—“For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;” after which a Masonic oration was delivered by a member of the order. Davey proclaimed a public holiday, and ordered half a pint of spirits to be served out to each of the soldiers and constables on this “Thanksgiving Day.”

It is not pleasing to record such a questionable mode of observing a holiday, which was intended to celebrate the building of a temple for the worship of God in a new land. One is led to draw comparisons between the spiritual indifference and moral depravity which marked the first

settlements of Australia, and the holy devotion of those early settlers who founded the American States. There the acknowledgment of the Deity was regarded as a matter of primary importance. In Australia riot and debauchery took precedence. Scenes of depravity, which will not bear description, marked the arrival of the first fleet at Sydney. The early history of Van Diemen's Land is not wanting in similar disgraceful incidents. The indifference of the early rulers of the colony to even the ordinary observances of religion may be measured by the fact that fourteen years elapsed before the first church was commenced, and that the building was four years in progress before it was completed.

During Davey's administration the south and west coasts were explored by Captain James Kelly, who went round the island in a small five-oared whaleboat, manned by a crew of four men. Entering a large inlet on the south coast on 17th December, 1815, Kelly named it Port Davey in honour of the Lieutenant-Governor. The eastern arm he named Bathurst Harbour in honour of Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies. On the 28th the boat was steered into Macquarie Harbour, which Kelly named in honour of the Governor-General. Elizabeth Island was named after Mrs. Gordon, of Pittwater; Sarah Island and Birch's Inlet he named after Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Birch, of Hobart Town, and the Gordon River after Mr. James Gordon, of Pittwater. Captain Kelly left Macquarie Harbour on 1st January, 1816, ran along the shore to the north, beached his boat on the following day, touched at the Hunter's group of islands, rounded the north-west coast, called in at the "first western river" (now Port Sorell), and reached Port Dalrymple on 9th January.

When Kelly's party landed on the George Town wharf they were accosted by a soldier. "Who are you? What boat is that?" Before they had time to answer eight men

rushed from behind a building, with muskets and fixed bayonets in their hands, crying :—"If you move we will kill every man of you." Being mistaken for bushrangers they were handcuffed. As soon, however, as Major Stuart, the commandant, saw Kelly's clearance, signed by Captain Nairn at Hobart Town, he was satisfied. They were liberated and treated with every kindness and attention. The notorious bushranger, Michael Howe, was at large at this time ; the utmost vigilance was therefore necessary to protect the camp.

Kelly had several interviews with the natives along the coast. At Hunter's Island (off the north-west coast) he encountered a tribe numbering about fifty. He described the meeting in his narrative :—"They were all armed with spears and waddies. We immediately brought the arms from the boat, and put ourselves into a state of defence. They began to advance slowly towards us near the fire. We held up our pieces, and made signs to them not to come any closer. They held up their spears in return, accompanying their movements with loud laughing. They jeered at us, as if they thought we were afraid of their formidable band. We thought it desirable to retreat to the boat, when suddenly they laid down their weapons in the edge of the bush, and each holding up both hands as if they did not mean any mischief, at the same time making signs to us to lay down our arms, which we did to satisfy them ; for if we had retreated quickly to the boat, it was probable they would have killed every one of us before we could have got out of range of their spears. The natives then began to come to us, one by one, holding up their hands to show they had no weapons, but we kept a good look out that they had no spears between their toes, as on a former occasion. They had none. There were twenty-two came to the fire. We made signs to them that no more should be allowed to come.

Upon that being understood two others came from the bush together. One of them seemed to be a chief, a stout, good-looking man, about six feet high, and apparently 30 years of age, the other an old man, about six feet seven inches high, with scarcely a bit of flesh on his bones. When the chief came he ordered them all to sit down on the ground, which they did, and formed a sort of circle round the fire. The chief ordered the old man to dance and sing, as if to amuse us, which he did, making ugly faces, and putting himself into most singular attitudes. While the old man was engaged in his dancing and singing, we found it was only to divert our attention from what the chief and his men were doing. He ordered them to gather pebble-stones about the size of hens' eggs, and put them between their legs as they sat, for the purpose, as we apprehended, of making an attack. Our men began to get alarmed, expecting some mischief would be done. We planned it that we would give them a few swans, and get off as well as we could. Briggs brought two swans from the boat, one under each arm. When the chief saw them he rushed at Briggs to take the swans from him, but did not succeed. He then ordered his men to give us a volley of stones, which they did, he giving the time in most beautiful order, swinging his arms three times, and at each swing calling *Yah! yah! yah!* and a severe volley it was. I had a large pair of duelling pistols in my pocket, loaded with two balls each, and seeing there was no alternative I fired amongst them, which dispersed them; the other I fired after them as they ran away. Two of them dragged Briggs along the ground a little distance to get the swans from him, but were not successful. The chief and his men ran into the bush, and were quickly out of sight. On looking round after they had all scampered we found the six feet seven inches gentleman lying on his back on the ground. We thought, of course, he was dead, but on turning him

over to examine his wounds, found that he had not a blemish on him. His pulse was going at 130. It must have been the reports of the pistols which frightened him. We set him on his feet to see if he could walk; he opened his eyes and trembled very much. We led him a few feet towards the bush; he stood up straight, looked round him, and took one jump towards the scrub—the next leap he was out of sight. As soon as he was lost to our view the hills around echoed with shouts of joy from the voices of men, women, and children.”*

Colonel Davey ceased to administer the government of the colony in April, 1817. He retired into private life, and remained for some time as a settler. The ship that conveyed his luggage to England was taken by the Americans, then at war with the mother country. Davey was indemnified by a grant of 3,000 acres of land in the colony.†

At the close of this Governor's administration the population of the colony was 3,114, of whom 566 resided on the northern side of the island.

* Printed by order of the Legislative Council in the Session of 1881—
Parl. Papers, No. 75.

† He died in England in May, 1823.





CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR SORELL—STATE OF COLONY—EARLY CUSTOMS AND MORALS—
BUSHRANGERS—EMIGRATION—LAND GRANTS—DIFFICULTIES WITH CON-
VIC OUTLAWS AND NATIVES—FIRST STOCK INTRODUCED—WOOL—
AGRICULTURE—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND BANK ESTABLISHED—MACQUARIE'S
SECOND VISIT—STATISTICS—ST. DAVID'S CHURCH CONSECRATED—REV. R.
KNOPWOOD—WESLEYANS—ROMAN CATHOLICS—PRESBYTERIANS—EDUCA-
TION—POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT—LAUNCESTON—REV. JOHN YOUL—
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—SORELL'S RECALL—HIS POPULARITY, ETC.



COLONEL WILLIAM SORELL was the third Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land. He arrived on the 8th day of April, 1817. His first impressions on landing at the seat of his new government were the reverse of encouraging. Hobart Town was little better than a collection of huts. A contemporary writer says:—"It was founded only fifteen years since; and indeed the rudeness of its appearance sufficiently indicates the recency of its origin. The houses are in general of the meanest description, seldom exceeding one storey in height, and being for the most part weather-boarded without, and lathed and plastered within. Even the Government House is of very bad construction. The population may be estimated at about 1,000 souls."* During the first year of his administration Sorell removed from his rude dwelling-house in Barrack Square to a new Government House in Macquarie-street, "which was finished," says the historian of 1831,† "although not nearly upon its present scale."

* Wentworth's Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, p. 153.

† Henry Melville.

When Sorell arrived there were no schools—no building was set apart for divine worship, an old shed called the King's Stores being used occasionally for that purpose.

He found the prisoners, male and female, under no system of control. The men, employed by Government during the day, being provided with no secure quarters for the night, were permitted to roam about, and commit depredations at their pleasure. The convict women were supplied with food and clothing, but no place of shelter was afforded them for the night. This led to a degree of depravity almost unparalleled in the annals of British colonisation. Government officials were living in open concubinage with the convict women. The rite of matrimony was seldom observed; and it is said sales of wives were common. One wife was sold for 50 ewes; another for £5 and a gallon of rum;* a third for 20 ewes and a gallon of rum. The latter must have been a public sale, for the local paper remarks:—"From the variety of bidders, had there been any more in the market, the sale would have been pretty brisk." Sometimes faithless spouses gave their husbands no chance to sell them. Advertisements appeared, cautioning the public against harbouring the runaways. The following is illustrative of the manners and morals of the time:—"Notice—Whereas my wife, Jane ———, is again walked away with herself, without any provocation whatever, and, I hear, has taken up with a fellow who looked after cattle in the neighbourhood of Macquarie River: this is to give notice that I will not pay for bite nor sup, or for any other thing she may contract on my account to man or mortal," &c.

Bushrangers were roaming at large in formidable gangs, harassing and intimidating the settlers, unrestrained by a weak and vicious Executive; indeed rather encouraged by the corrupt example it offered. The system of convict

* A bottle of rum passed current in the interior for £1 sterling.

discipline was lax and severe by turns, according to the caprice of the official. An undue license was given to the convicts one day, and they were treated with corresponding severity the next. Even the free settlers were subject to cruelties which no existing law justified ; but the statutes relating to penal colonies were vague and confusing ; no redress was available.

The first step taken by the new Governor was to call the inhabitants together, and consult them on various matters relating to the welfare of the community. He suggested the expediency of raising subscriptions to a reward fund for the suppression of bushranging—a proposal which was cordially received and liberally responded to by the people. The soldiers and constables were now animated in the performance of their duties by a new incentive. Large rewards offered for the capture of noted bushrangers led to the most happy results. In less than three months most of the lawless bands who had so long spread terror through the land were either captured or destroyed. The dwellers in country homesteads went about their business during the day and reposed at night in comparative safety under Sorell's improved system and more rigid discipline ; and Van Diemen's Land began to assume more of the appearance of a British colony than it had hitherto done.

Sorell did all in his power to encourage immigration, and during his administration free settlers were constantly arriving in ships direct from Great Britain. Several officers, retired from the army and navy, were among the number, as well as other gentlemen of moderate capital. This immigration imparted a new tone to the social character of the young colony. The earlier settlers were mostly emancipists, who received small grants of land in proximity to each other in localities which appeared favourable for agricultural pursuits, where they erected rude dwellings, tilled the land in a most primitive

manner, and lived in the free indulgence of their vicious propensities. The new settlers were men of intelligence and character, and their influence soon began to be felt in an improved state of things. Each settler on his arrival received a grant of land in proportion to the capital he brought with him, the maximum area being 2,560 acres—equal to four square miles; but exceptions to the rule were freely admitted afterwards, and additional grants of 640, and even 1,280 acres were bestowed according to the will of the Governor, who possessed almost absolute authority in such matters. Settlers also received loans of stock and seed from the Government; rations for themselves and their convict servants for six months; and they were guaranteed 10s. per bushel for all the wheat they grew, and 6d. per lb for meat. These liberal concessions were withdrawn in 1818; but the system of granting land, free of all charges but a small quit-rent, continued until the year 1830. There were certain conditions as to occupancy and improvements, which were seldom enforced.

Thus during the government of Sorell, and the early part of his successor's administration, the finest parts of the island were alienated. The grantees spread themselves over the broad, undulating, grassy plains of the interior, and engaged extensively in pastoral pursuits. Many of the best districts of the colony remain to the present day in their primitive condition, used only as sheep walks. Nothing can surpass the beauty of these princely estates, originally acquired on such easy terms, and in such large areas. The soil produces a close sward of indigenous grasses, unencumbered by worthless scrub or fern, while graceful cherry and wattle trees, with the smaller species of eucalyptus, standing far apart, afford a grateful shade, without too much impeding the invigorating effects of the sun's rays. The brightness and salubrity

of the climate, the splendid supply of water provided by nature in a network of never-failing streams—all tend to enrich and beautify these pastoral estates. As a rule the descendants of the original proprietors still own the productive pastures thus secured by their forefathers

The early colonists, however, did not enjoy all sunshine in their day. They had not only to endure the privations and hardships of bush life, they had also to face the dangers and anxieties incident to the proximity of bush-rangers and infuriated black savages, both of whom were formidable and treacherous foes.

Few knew how to conciliate the natives, although they were most susceptible of amicable impressions. If a kindly disposed settler won their confidence, it was soon shaken again by the cruel act of some of his shepherds. Some, indeed, there were who, in the midst of most deadly enmity between the two races, were beloved by the confiding blacks, because of some gentle act of human kindness discreetly bestowed

With the influx of settlers the demand for sheep and cattle to stock the pastures increased. The first stock was introduced by Colonel Paterson; but the quality was greatly improved in 1820, by the importation of 300 lambs from the flocks of Captain John Macarthur, of Camden, New South Wales, who visited England in 1803, and procured one ewe and nine rams, pure Merinos, from the royal flock of pure Merinos at Kew. In 1818 Macarthur's flock had increased to 6,000. At this latter date wool was not an article of export from Van Diemen's Land: it was, indeed, considered worthless. In 1819 the Colonial Government bought several tons at 3d. per pound, and the captain of an English trader accepted some in exchange for merchandise. In 1822 Mr. Henry Hopkins offered a cash price for wool, and bought twelve bales at 4d. per pound. This was the entire export of the colony that year, and

it was sold in London at 7d. per pound. In 1823, 550 bales were exported in one vessel, and an equal quantity in others. Agriculture was steadily progressing. In 1821 there were 14,940 acres of land in cultivation against only 8,330 in 1819. The imports in 1822 were valued at £22,214, and the exports at £57,928. The whale fishery was a source of considerable profit, whales being at that time numerous on the south coasts, and even in the estuary of the Derwent.

Melville and Bent relate some curious facts concerning trade and the medium of exchange. Promissory notes were freely circulated, every trader issuing them from sixpence upwards. The want of coin induced the Government to pay the debts it incurred in rum, which, commonly valued at £1 per bottle, passed from hand to hand. In 1810 dollars were imported from Bengal: the centre was struck out, and valued at 1s. 3d.; but the ring dollar was issued at its original value of 5s. The Government, however, received it back at 4s., thus gaining 20 per cent. In 1823 the Van Diemen's Land Bank was established, with a subscribed capital of 40,000 dollars, in 200 shares. British coin, as well as dollars, was circulated, and financial difficulties were greatly reduced. The ring dollar passed current at a later period at 3s. 3d., and the centre, or "dump," at 1s. 1d.

Governor-General Macquarie visited Van Diemen's Land a second time in April, 1821. At the time of his former visit in 1811 the total population did not exceed 1,500: now it was 7,400, with greatly augmented resources—15,000 acres of cultivated land, 35,000 head of horned cattle, 170,000 sheep, 550 horses, and 5,000 swine. Macquarie was received with great enthusiasm; His Excellency was delighted with his reception, with the climate, the place, and the people. He found the colony in a comparatively tranquil state, and the free inhabitants

prosperous. There were 426 houses in Hobart Town, and 2,700 souls. The Governor-General was fond of giving names to the places he visited. He named the towns of Perth, Campbell Town, Oatlands, Brighton, Roseneath, Sorell, and Elizabeth Town, the last in honour of his wife : the name was afterwards abandoned, and that of New Norfolk substituted. Macquarie-street, Plains, Harbour, and River were named in honour of the Governor-General.

The church edifice at Hobart Town (St. David's), commenced during Davey's government, was not completed until 1822. It was consecrated in the year following by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, as the senior chaplain of New South Wales ; the burial ground was consecrated on the same occasion. The first clergyman, the Rev. Robert Knopwood, had arrived in the colony with Collins's fleet, 1803. The extent of his zeal and energy in the cause of religion may be inferred from the fact that so many years elapsed without any regular place of worship. Service, it is true, was occasionally performed "under the verandah" of Government House (which was then a wooden building in Barrack Square), "weather permitting," or in the "King's Store." Mr. Knopwood was a magistrate as well as clergyman, an office which interfered considerably with his ministerial functions. He was never married, was fond of his pipe, and dined at the hotel with his bachelor friends after church on Sunday.* He is described as a man of exuberant spirits, and partiality for lively company. His reputed saying was "Do as I say, not as I do." He received a grant of thirty acres of land at Cottage Green, Hobart Town, reaching over what is now known as the New Wharf and Battery Point—one of the most valuable sites in the colony. In 1824 Mr. Knopwood offered the whole block for £800. He retired to a farm at Clarence Plains about this period, and was succeeded by the Rev.

* West.

William Bedford. Mr. Knopwood was a liberal churchman, not burdened with too much zeal for the supremacy of his own church. He gave a kindly welcome to the Wesleyans, who, by means of lay preachers and occasional clerical help from Sydney, conducted public worship as early as 1820.

The Rev. Benjamin Carvosso, whose ship called at Hobart Town on her way to Sydney, was the first Wesleyan minister who visited the island. Mr. Carvosso delivered the first Wesleyan open-air discourse in Van Diemen's Land on 18th August, 1820. Bonwick says:—"Standing upon the steps of the Court House, he commenced by giving out one of Wesley's hymns. His wife stood beside him, and led off the singing. The text was from Ephesians, 'Wherefore He saith, awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.' " The Wesleyans were strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. W. Horton in 1821. He received a church grant of two acres of land at Hobart Town from Governor Sorell, but not in a suitable position for a chapel. Mr. David Lord gave a small block of land in Melville-street for the erection of a place of worship. Contributions of cash and material came in, but the funds were exhausted when the walls were only half way up. In 1823 Mr. Horton retired, and the Rev. R. Mansfield, from New South Wales, succeeded him. By his exertions the chapel in Melville-street was completed.

The first Roman Catholic clergyman was the Rev. Philip Conolly, a man of the same genial disposition as that of his friend Knopwood of the Anglican Church, with whom he was on intimate terms. He arrived in Van Diemen's Land from Sydney in March, 1821. His services were first held in Mr. Curr's store, in Bathurst-street, Hobart Town. Land was granted for the use of the Roman Catholic community in Harrington-street, where a plain wooden edifice was

afterwards erected. Amusing stories were told of Father Conolly's eccentricities—his love of creature comforts, his enjoyment of fun, and lack of reverence, his singular selection of penances for the offences of his flock.* He was a kind-hearted, affable, and unassuming citizen. He died in 1839, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Joseph Therry, from Sydney.

The Rev. Archibald Macarthur was the first Presbyterian minister at Hobart Town. His first sermon was preached on January 12th, 1823. At this time there were several Scotch families residing in the colony, who befriended the church of their fathers. Sir Thomas Brisbane, then Governor-General at Sydney, belonged to the Scottish Church, and aided the cause in Van Diemen's Land with a liberal subscription. Messrs. Scott, Bethune, Ogilvie, Turnbull (afterwards an ordained clergyman of the church), and Doctor (afterwards Sir Robert) Officer, were among the early friends of Presbyterianism. The church at Hobart Town was opened on September 12th, 1824. Macarthur officiated for ten years after his arrival, when certain improprieties of conduct caused his retirement. But the church revived and flourished under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Lillie, a gentleman of learning and considerable pulpit power. These were the only church establishments in Van Diemen's Land during the administration of Governor Sorell. The northern part of the island had no fixed place of worship.

Education had hitherto been as much neglected as religion, but during Sorell's government the germ was planted of those scholastic institutions of which Tasmania has cause to be proud.

Mr. Knopwood was not unfriendly to the establishment of schools. He united with the Wesleyans to promote the education of the young. The newspaper of September

* West.

11th, 1819, says:—"The number of children who are now instructed in Hobart Town, and in the most populous districts, amounts by the lists received by the Rev. Mr. Knopwood, M.A., for the present month, to one hundred and sixty-four." That number included the children at both public and private schools. In 1820 a further advance was made: Miss Jane Miller announced the opening of her school for young ladies at her father's house in Bathurst-street, Hobart Town; French was taught by Mr. Gibson; Mrs. Speed, of Sydney, and Mrs. Headlam, from London, opened boarding schools at Hobart Town after the Christmas holidays.

Mr. Commissioner Bigge, who was sent from England to report upon a variety of matters connected with penal discipline in the colonies, found fault with the absence of supervision in the public schools. There was no definite system laid down for the guidance of teachers, until the year 1823, when Mr. Peter Archer Mulgrave was appointed superintendent of schools; and then there was a difficulty in the meagre supply of books. Private institutions continued to increase. Mr. Stope opened a school for boarders at £40 per annum; Mrs. Garrett for girls; Mrs. Darley for evening pupils; Mr. Rodd (a suggestive name) taught French, Latin, and fencing; Mr. Evan Thomas taught; and Mr. James Thomson, M.A., from Edinburgh, opened his superior academy near the Hobart Town kirk.

Sunday schools, then but a young institution in England, were not altogether neglected at the antipodes. The first notice of a Sunday school, apparently unsectarian, was published in the *Hobart Town Gazette* of December, 1816, when Robert Rennie announced his intention to open a school for the youth of both sexes, "when his utmost exertion would be to train up the children in the way they should go." They were to assemble every Sunday immediately after divine service, and to "bring their books with

them." In 1821 Mr. Nokes (one of the founders of Methodism in the colony) opened a Sunday-school in the meeting house in Argyle-street. He shortly afterwards announced that his schools and testaments were wholly unconnected with the Methodists, and that "Christians of every denomination were invited to be instructed."

The post office department was in an exceedingly primitive condition in those days. Mr. James Mitchell was postmaster at Hobart Town. A weekly messenger carried letters to Coal River and Pittwater, but no further. In October, 1816, a vast stride was made in this branch of the public service by the appointment of Robert A. Taylor as "Government messenger" between Hobart Town and Port Dalrymple, the name by which Launceston was then known. The messenger was to leave each place on alternate Sunday mornings. This was a grand undertaking. The places were 120 miles apart, without the vestige of a road. Taylor managed to escape the attacks of hostile natives and bushrangers: at least no cases of "sticking up" the mailman are recorded.

The arrival of a mail only one week from Hobart Town was an occasion of great joy at Launceston, whose inhabitants now felt that they were living in an age of progress. Hitherto the settlement on the Tamar had been more isolated than either Sydney or Hobart Town, as but few vessels entered Port Dalrymple. Now there was a chance of a fortnightly mail, if it did not miscarry on the way.

Launceston was a small, unfrequented place in those early days, and unfortunately for history, there is little more than oral testimony as to its rise and progress. A few antiquated structures at the east end of Cameron-street mark the spot first selected for building purposes. Some of the old buildings still remain, but they are now, owing to the rapid improvement of the town, few and far between.

As early as 1819 the Rev. John Youl was appointed chaplain at George Town, but his ministrations were irregular. He sometimes visited Launceston on Sunday, preaching in a small wooden building in Cameron-street, where the Bank of Tasmania now stands. It was occupied during the week as a police office, and in front of it were the public stocks, used freely for the punishment of inebriates. Women were not unfrequently sentenced to twelve hours in the stocks, where they, like male offenders, were exposed to the gaze and jeers of passers-by.

The newly appointed clergyman of George Town found the Northern Tasmanians involved in spiritual darkness. He made a tour, and baptised 67 children, and married 41 couples, most of whom, through force of circumstances, had already contracted bonds of union in a highly unorthodox manner. When the worthy clergyman visited Launceston he was accustomed to call his congregation together by the sound of an iron barrel, which was swung to a post and struck by a mallet; and he announced his arrival by walking through the settlement in his canonical dress.* The Wesleyans visited Launceston in 1822. The Rev. Mr. Horton, writing to Sydney for help, remarked—"The wickedness of the people of Launceston, I am informed by an eye witness, exceeds all description. I am sure if you could behold the state of the country and could witness the ignorance, blasphemy, drunkenness, adultery, and vice of every description which abound in it, you and our dear friends in England would use every effort to send them more missionaries."

The administration of justice in Van Diemen's Land was very imperfect before law courts were properly established. It is said that both free and bond were flogged for offences great and small; that even witnesses who gave evidence unsatisfactory to the magistrate were ordered to the

* West.

triangles; that as late as 1823, a witness was ordered to be taken out of court and have one hundred lashes, in order to get more satisfactory information from him. A single magistrate could inflict fifty lashes; two could sentence to any number of stripes.

All criminal cases not summarily punishable were sent to Sydney until 1821, when Judge-Advocate Wylde visited Hobart Town and held a court there, thus relieving the crowded gaols and obviating the necessity of forwarding prisoners and witnesses to New South Wales. Civil cases had to be referred to Sydney for trial; but in 1814 a local court was appointed to adjudicate in causes where the amount in dispute did not exceed £50. This court first sat in 1816 under Deputy Judge-Advocate Abbott, with two assessors chosen by the Governor. It is said that at the first session 1,400 complaints were entered. Until 1822 there was not a lawyer in Van Diemen's Land. A school-master and Mr. R. L. Murray were permitted to plead in court. Mr. J. P. Fawcner was one of the earliest pleaders in the Launceston court.

Governor Sorell's administration came to a close in the early part of 1824. He was said to be a good ruler. Bent, in his almanac for 1827, alludes to His Honour in eulogistic terms. "Openhearted, courteous, and affable, he won the hearts of all around him: rich and poor, free and bond, all respected and esteemed him; and never was a governor more popular, or a people more contented, than Lieutenant-Governor Sorell and the people of Tasmania while under his government; and when he departed, no man was more regretted."

Melville says—"Colonel Sorell may perhaps be considered one of the most popular governors that ever held rule in a British colony. He was a man of active mind and shrewd penetration, affable and gentlemanly in the extreme; there was a facility of access to his person at all hours,

and his desire to please every individual applicant greatly added to his popularity ; with him there was no austerity, no wish to have favours begged ; on the contrary, to ask was to have if it was in Colonel Sorell's power to grant, and few applicants ever heard him express the monosyllable 'no.' Whilst thus affable, the dignity of his person, as well as his general deportment, commanded respect ; and *no man, ever so intimate, was known to treat him otherwise than as a governor.*"

Shortly after the arrival of his successor Governor Sorell sailed for England in the *Guildford*, the same vessel that had brought him to the colony. He received an annual pension of £560 a year until his death, which took place on the 4th June, 1848, in the 74th year of his age. He was colonel of the 48th regiment. Many of his descendants reside in the colony.





CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR ARTHUR—HIS RECEPTION—JUDGE PEDDER ARRIVES—IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND PROCLAIMED INDEPENDENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES—EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS APPOINTED—DISMISSAL OF GELLIBRAND, THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL—POLICE MAGISTRATES APPOINTED IN COUNTRY DISTRICTS—SEVERITY OF CONVICT LAW—MACQUARIE HARBOUR—BRADY'S EXPLOITS—THE NEWSPAPER PRESS—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COMPANY—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND ESTABLISHMENT AT CRESSY—PROGRESS OF COLONY—ARTHUR'S INTEREST IN PROMOTING RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS—SCHOOLS—BANKS—RECKLESS BORROWING—NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ACT—FINANCE—NEWSPAPERS IN LAUNCESTON—J. P. FAWKNER—FIRST CHURCHES IN LAUNCESTON.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE ARTHUR arrived at Hobart Town in the ship *Adrian* on the 12th day of May, 1824, and was the bearer of his commission to administer the government of Van Diemen's Land with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. He had entered the army in 1804, had served in Sir James Craig's expedition to Italy in 1806, and being afterwards appointed adjutant of the Light Battalion on service in Egypt, he was engaged in the attack on Rosetta. In 1809 he commanded the light company of his regiment with the Walcheren expedition, and was employed in the attack on Flushing. Subsequently he was made Governor of Honduras, from which position he was appointed to Van Diemen's Land.

Arthur's reception at Hobart Town is said to have been respectful but cold; and his reply to an address which was presented to him was in like manner stiff and formal.* He

* West

referred to the moral condition of the colony, and expressed his conviction that the example of the free was essential to the improvement of those in bondage. His gentle hints were not generally acceptable to the free settlers, whose lax morality, hitherto undisguised, was painfully perceptible to the new Governor and offended his sense of propriety. He was a man of more than ordinary talent as a ruler, but he lacked the art of governing in a conciliatory spirit. He failed to discriminate between the penal character of the colony and the rights of those who came as free settlers, induced to emigrate by the tempting overtures of the Home Government.

Governor Arthur was impressed with the conviction that his duty was to rule Van Diemen's Land as a convict settlement. He regarded the mixture of free with the bond as a discordant element calculated to mar the successful operation of a stringent system of prison discipline. He was prepared to control, coerce, and if possible reform the transported offender; but he had no sympathy with the free colonists in their efforts to elevate the political institutions of the country, and he resented any interference with his policy of governing the place as a great gaol. Hence from the first he was not popular.

It was perhaps more the fault of the Home authorities, in inviting emigration to a settlement necessarily ruled by convict law, than of the Governor who received his commission to administer that law. The free settlers mistook their position in the young colony. They wanted institutions like those of the mother country, where they had a voice in the affairs of government. It was unreasonable to expect this in Van Diemen's Land at that period.

Simultaneously with Arthur's accession to the government an improvement in the administration of justice took place. Judge Pedder had arrived from England with the charter of a Supreme Court, and the first session was opened on May

24th, 1824. Mr. Joseph Tice Gellibrand held the appointment of Attorney-General; the jury consisted of seven military officers.

As a dependency of New South Wales the laws, regulations, and ordinances in force when Arthur arrived were those of the elder colony. There were some exceptions, however, to this rule. The merchants complained that the duties levied at Hobart Town were higher than those fixed by Brisbane, the Governor-in-Chief, at Port Jackson. Arthur refused to entertain their petition for redress. The merchants then requested Mr. Fereday, the Sheriff, to convene a public meeting for the purpose of appealing to the Governor-in-Chief. Fereday declined. The merchants met and severely censured the Sheriff's conduct. Trial by civil jury was permitted at Port Jackson and not at Hobart Town. Mr. Alfred Stephen, then a solicitor in Hobart Town, brought the matter before the Court; Judge Pedder ruled that civil juries were not legal unless they received the royal sanction.

On the 3rd of December, 1825, Van Diemen's Land was proclaimed an independent colony, separate from New South Wales in its jurisdiction and the management of its internal affairs, but the Governor at Sydney was still the chief functionary, a distinction little more than nominal. General Darling was at this time Governor-in-Chief. He visited Hobart Town, bringing with him the proclamation of independence. When Darling departed His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor became invested with the title of "His Excellency." The colonists were rejoiced at the change, for which they had already petitioned the Home Government in April of the previous year. There were just grounds for their desire for separation on account of the distance from head-quarters and the delays which unavoidably occurred thereby. Events which followed cooled the ardour of patriots who had hailed separation from New South Wales as a boon.

At the same time Executive and Legislative Councils were appointed by the Crown ; the functions of the former were to advise the Governor on important occasions, and of the latter to make laws for the government of the colony. The members of the Executive were Captain John Montagu, Colonial Secretary (a nephew of the Governor); John Lewes Pedder, Chief Justice, A. W. H. Humphrey, Police Magistrate; and Jocelyn Thomas, Colonial Treasurer. The Legislative Council consisted of seven members:— Edward Abbott, W. H. Hamilton, Edward Curr, and four of the Executive Councillors.

Hardly had Arthur assumed the reins of government in his new position of independence before he made himself felt by a bold exercise of power in the dismissal of Gellibrand, the Attorney-General, for what the Governor considered to be unprofessional conduct in drawing pleas for a plaintiff and afterwards acting officially against him in court. The question of malpractice was brought before Judge Pedder in view of having Gellibrand struck off the rolls, but Pedder declined to interfere, as it was not within his province to do so. The case excited some interest in the legal circles of Great Britain. Arthur determined to press his charge, and appointed a commission of enquiry, consisting of Messrs. Jocelyn Thomas, Humphrey, and Pedder. The investigation led to the dismissal of Gellibrand, whose conduct, however, was vindicated by the practice of the English bar. It was found that the first counsel in England often acted against a retaining client, and sometimes drew pleas on both sides.* Still the Governor dismissed Gellibrand, regardless of the practice and precedents of law courts. Thus Arthur possessed the power of a giant in the colony, and too often used it as a giant. The dismissal of the Attorney-General, a patriotic colonist of high standing, added fuel to the flames of Arthur's unpopularity.

* West.

The establishment of police magistrates in the country districts (1827) was one of Arthur's most useful measures. The island was divided into districts, to each of which were appointed a stipendiary justice and police clerk, an efficient police staff, a salaried surgeon, a small detachment of soldiers, and that necessary appendage, a flagellator. These establishments proved exceedingly convenient for the maintenance of law and order in the outlying parts of the colony, and above all for the summary trial and punishment of assigned servants.

Facts, now almost incredible, are related of the severity of convict law at that period. The lash was the grand panacea for all minor offences committed by the unfortunate servants of the settlers. Some few of the latter were benevolent men; but a large amount of inherent virtue was necessary to enable a settler to resist the barbarous custom of the day. "It mends their morals, never mind the pain," was the cruel maxim. Men were often driven to desperation, ending their life on the scaffold, by the tyrannical conduct of vindictive masters, who accounted it a duty to oppress their servants, because they were undergoing the penalties of the law. The English criminal law of that day was cruel in the extreme. Offenders were executed for crimes which are now punishable by a few years' imprisonment. Many who received sentences of transportation would, under the altered laws of the present day, be punished by a few weeks' imprisonment, or be dealt with by a simple reprimand. Men were transported for stealing a turnip from a field by the wayside: some received similar punishment for being in bad company, and therefore assumed to be accomplices in crimes. Not a few were innocent of the charges upon which they were convicted.

Under these circumstances, the earlier convicts being as a rule the perpetrators of trivial offences in the first instance,

one is led to wonder why the annals of crime in Van Diemen's Land are so black. The cause may be traced to the severity of what was called "discipline"—in other words, the brutality of settlers and officials—and the system of congregating together the weak, the erring, the partially vicious, and the thoroughly depraved, in gangs. The home of the settler was the best outlet of escape from the contaminating influence of the system, and that outlet was poor indeed. Many personal reminiscences are too shocking to be recorded: one or two of the milder cases may be introduced as illustrative of the old system. An intelligent, well educated young man in London had fallen into evil habits, and identified himself with a party of pickpockets of the higher order. A lady of title, well known by the fraternity for her display of jewellery, went to the opera in her carriage, as was her custom. Arrangements had been made by the light fingered club to obstruct the passage to the entrance door of the theatre. The lady, alighting, found her progress impeded, when our hero, dressed as a military officer, stepped forward, and politely offered his assistance, which the lady, taking his arm, gladly accepted. Before her ladyship entered her private box the plot had succeeded: she afterwards discovered that her golden chains and precious stones had mysteriously disappeared. Most of the party were arrested, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to transportation. This young man deserved his sentence; but once in exile, without any incentive to pursue the higher branches of his criminal game, he was sincerely desirous to reform and lead an unblemished life. He unfortunately fell into the hands of a bad master. One day the lady of the house where this man was employed as cook, observed that he smiled at some orders she had given him. His fate was sealed. The master took him to the police office, charged him with insolent behaviour, and stood by while he received fifty lashes. The convict

returned home, and was put to hard work. "I shall have you flogged three times a week," said the master, "until your bones are bare and your spirit is broken, and then I shall put you in chains for the rest of your life." He kept his promise as far as lay in his power. The convict was mercilessly flogged with increased stripes on each occasion, on frivolous and false charges, until he did commit the offence of insolence and abusive language, when he was sentenced to a chain gang. This man possessed a power of endurance under trouble which many lacked. He was next assigned to a kind master, gained a good character, and afterwards became a respected member of the community. Another master had a man who offended him: he was sent with a letter to the police magistrate stating the offence: the letter was all the evidence required by convict law: he received thirty-six lashes, and was sent home with lacerated back. This settler had a quantity of posts and rails split for fencing. Timber was plentiful, and posts were heavy in those days. Next morning the man was ordered to bore forty posts with a common auger—eight holes in each, preparatory to morticing for a four-rail fence. "That will keep your back raw," said the master. The poor fellow failed to perform the whole of his task. On the following day he was again taken before the magistrate—on this occasion the master accompanying him. He was charged with the non-performance of his work, and received an increased number of lashes, the master standing by and urging the flagellator to use extra force. The man was driven to the chain gangs by continued oppression, and it is not at all unlikely that he was one of the many victims who, goaded on by persecution, ended their career on the gallows. Instances were not wanting of mild treatment producing a contrary effect. Scores of bad men have been reclaimed, and hundreds saved from ruin, whose destinies hung in the balance—who were susceptible of improvement

or the reverse, according to the circumstances in which they were placed. A notorious culprit, steeped in the vices of the gangs, was brought to his senses by gentle means, applied at the instance of a benevolent master. Another of the class termed "ineclaimable ruffians" was assigned after serving eighteen years—nearly all the time in chains. He had received fresh sentences for a variety of crimes, his besetting weakness being an irritable, ungovernable temper, without any apparent reflective power. He was always treated in a manner which he considered tyrannical, and he therefore resisted it. At length he was assigned to a distant country settler who kept a number of convict servants for the purpose of clearing and cultivating land. Here the man was placed with others to fell the forest. His first impressions were unfavourable: he did not like the work, nor the place, nor the people. He received his weekly rations of meal, flour, tea, and sugar, with a sulky scowl. His antecedents were known, and he was regarded as a dangerous character. If the master went among his men to inspect the work, this man would eye him with impatience, would fling down his spade or pickaxe in a silent frenzy of excitement, and walk away. An angry word would have sufficed to bring the pickaxe about the settler's skull. It was easy, however, to see that the convict's infirmity was his temper: he required special treatment: he was removed to other work, and treated gently. A small amount of human kindness overcame his savage obstinacy, won his confidence, and removed the violence of his passions. He wept as he told his tale of suffering. "Had I been treated kindly, sir," he said, "an hour of misery would never have been my lot. Instead of spending the prime of my life in chains, I would have been in a good situation; but the tyranny of government overseers is too much for any man to stand who has a sense of right and justice." He turned out an excellent servant, served

his master faithfully for years, and performed an amount of hard work which would astonish the labourer of the present day. Such were the vicissitudes of convict life in Van Diemen's Land in those days. But if private service was often intolerable, what shall be said of the penal settlements—the dreary abodes of the wicked and unfortunate?

Macquarie Harbour, selected for its isolated position, was established by Governor Sorell in December, 1821, as a place of punishment for the worst class of criminals. Lieutenant Cuthbertson, of the 48th regiment, was the first commandant. he was drowned two years subsequently, while attempting to save a government vessel. West gives a description of this place—"Macquarie Harbour is an inlet of the sea on the western coast, about 200 miles from Hobart Town by water. It penetrates the country 20 miles to its junction with the Gordon river, where, diverging to the right, Sarah Island becomes visible—once the principal convict station, now deserted and desolate. This region is lashed with tempests; the sky is cloudy, and the rain falls more frequently than elsewhere. In its chill and humid climate animal life is preserved with difficulty: half the goats died in one season, and sheep perish: vegetation, except in its coarsest and most massive forms, is stunted and precarious. . . . The passage to this dreary dwelling place was tedious, and often dangerous. The prisoners, confined in a narrow space, were tossed for weeks on an agitated sea. As they approached they beheld a narrow opening choked with a bar of sand, and crossed with peril. This they called "Hell's Gates," not less appropriate to the place than to the character and torment of the inhabitants: beyond they saw impenetrable forests, skirted with an impervious thicket; and beyond still, enormous mountains covered with snow, which rose to the clouds like walls of adamant: every object wore the air of rigour, ferocity, and sadness. The moment he landed, if

the hours of labour had not expired, the prisoner joined his gang. The chief employment was felling the forest and dragging timber to the shore. The gigantic trees, formed into rafts, were floated to the depot. In this service life was sometimes lost; and the miserable workmen, diseased and weakened by hunger, often passed hours in the water while performing their tasks. They were long denied vegetables and fresh food; they were exposed to those maladies which result from poverty of blood, and many remained victims long after their release. On a breakfast of flour and water they started from their island prison to the main land, and pursued their toil, without food, till the hour of their return; they then received their chief meal, and went to rest. Those who were separated to punishment still more severe, lodged on a rock; the surf dashed with perpetual violence on its base, and the men were compelled to pass through, wet to the waist, and even to the neck. They were destitute of bedding—sometimes in chains their fires were extinguished, and they laid down in their clothes, in a cold and miserable resting place.”

Many of the wretched captives escaped from Macquarie Harbour in the desperate hope of reaching the settled districts. nearly all perished miserably in the inhospitable forest, where tangled vines and impervious horizontal scrub impeded their progress. First, in 1822, two escaped who were never heard of more; six followed in a few days after, and encountered a similar fate; these were pursued by two soldiers and three volunteer prisoners, and they, too, it is supposed, perished from exhaustion. These calamities did not deter others from attempting to escape. Eight convicts left the settlement soon after; they all perished but one man. Driven to desperation through starvation they murdered their companions for food. Pearce, the only survivor, reached the open country, where he gave himself up to a shepherd: he carried with him part of the remains

of his last companion, whom he had murdered when asleep. The confession of this man, read by the Rev. P. Conolly while the culprit stood on the gallows, is one of the most horrible narratives of crime ever recorded. Following these unfortunate wretches, a party of three escaped, and were never heard of.

Brady's party was the first to escape to the settled districts from that awful prison house. They seized a boat (9th June, 1824) and reached the Derwent on the 18th, visited the residence of Mr. Mason, whom they beat with great cruelty; they next robbed a servant of Lieutenant Gunn of fire-arms. Gunn pursued them and captured five, who were tried and hanged along with Pearce. Bushranging became contagious; although many were quickly arrested the number increased. Men absconded from the Government gangs and from the service of the settlers, and at one time (1825) not less than 100 were in arms. Brady's party distinguished themselves by their daring and activity. M'Cabe, Jeffries, and Dunne were also desperate leaders. "Well mounted on horses, and armed with muskets, they scoured the colony. Murder, pillage, and arson rendered every homestead the scene of terror and dismay. Those settlers most exposed often abandoned the business of their farms; their buildings were perforated with loopholes, their men were posted as sentinels, and all the precautions necessary in a state of war were adopted."*

One of Brady's most daring exploits was the taking of the town of Sorell and the capture of the gaol. In the latter place were a number of soldiers who had been out in pursuit, and were cleaning their guns; these he locked up in a cell, and liberated the prisoners he found there. Lieutenant Gunn, who was in the neighbourhood, prepared to attack the bushrangers; in raising his arm to fire at them he was shot above the elbow, which rendered it necessary

* West.

to have his arm amputated.* Again Brady appeared in the suburbs of Launceston; one of his gang escaped with the intention of betraying his movements; another, stationed as sentinel, was shot and flung into the Tamar. "Brady sent word that he would visit Launceston gaol, carry off Jeffries (who was confined there), and put him to death. The message was treated with contempt, but the bushrangers landed from a vessel they had seized and advanced to the residence of Mr. Dry (father of the late Sir Richard Dry), who was then entertaining a number of his friends. The banditti plundered the house, and were packing up their booty when Colonel Balfour, to whom a messenger had been despatched, arrived with ten soldiers and surrounded the house. The robbers retired to the back part of the premises and fired into the rooms. It was dark, and when the firing ceased they were supposed to have retreated. The Colonel, with four of his men, hastened to protect the town, to which a division of the robbers had been sent by Brady. As soon as he departed some of the party again showed themselves. Dr. Priest joined Mr. Theodore Bartley and the remaining soldiers. The doctor's horse was shot dead, and its rider received a musket ball which wounded him above the knee. Refusing to submit to amputation Dr. Priest lost his life.

"Exasperated by these crimes, the whole country rose against the bushrangers, who were sought in every quarter. The settlers and soldiers' scattered over the colony, and at the first notice of their appearance were prepared to follow them. The Governor himself took the field, and infused vigour into the pursuit. In less than a month the chief culprits were in the hands of justice. Brady, wounded in the leg, was overtaken by the soldiers and surrendered

* For Lieutenant Gunn's bold exploits in pursuit of bushrangers he received from the colonists an address of thanks and a testimonial of considerable pecuniary value, as well as a pension from the Government.

without a struggle. . . . During two years ending with 1826, one hundred and three persons suffered death. . . . At one sitting of the Court thirty-seven were sentenced to death; and of these twenty-three were executed in the course of a fortnight, nine suffering together, and fourteen others in two days closely following."*

Such was the condition of the colony during the early years of Arthur's administration. The social disorganisation and fearful prevalence of crime at that period leads the philanthropist to ask the cause, and in doing so he can arrive at but one conclusion. The criminal offenders of that day were transported for comparatively minor offences; they might therefore have been expected to prove less vicious in their propensities than are those of our own time. The statements of hundreds condemned to die testify that inhuman treatment had been the cause of their ultimate degradation. Vices inherent in depraved natures doubtless did exist, but instead of being subdued by gentle means they were aggravated by humiliating punishments. The agitated mind of the convict was allowed no respite from pain and disgrace, induced by the torments of a lacerated body.

During the rule of Arthur's predecessors the press existed only in name, the *Hobart Town Gazette* being under the immediate control of the Governor. When Arthur arrived Bent resolved to shake off official supervision, to assume a little independence, and venture mildly to criticise public matters. Arthur was at first willing to countenance a newspaper which, if conducted aright, would be a useful agency in counteracting the social evils that existed, and for a short time he tolerated the liberty of the press. But this tolerance was of short duration. Bent engaged Evan Henry Thomas as editor, and Robert Lathrop Murray was a contributor to the column for correspondents. The latter wrote under the *nom de plume* of "Colonist," addressing his letters to

* West.

Governor Arthur, whose strict policy he censured, contrasting it with the pleasant indifference of his predecessor. Murray's letters became bolder; his patriotic zeal sometimes overstepping the bounds of discretion. Reflecting on the doings of the new ruler, he denounced him as "the Gibeonite of tyranny." Criminal proceedings were taken against the printer for libel. Bent claimed indulgence on the ground that he had admitted ill-advised letters in pure innocence. The Governor was not to be moved. Bent was convicted for that and another libel reflecting on the conduct of some officials. He was fined five hundred pounds and sent to gaol.

Colonel Arthur's troubles began when he sought to gag the press. There were many talented and liberal-minded colonists who sympathised with Bent, and became, politically, the antagonists of the Governor. The Government printing was taken from Bent. Arthur resolved to issue a Government *Gazette*, and George Terry Howe, who on January 5th, 1825, had commenced a newspaper at Launceston, was induced to relinquish his speculation and to become printer of Arthur's official organ at Hobart Town. It contained articles of news and politics as well as Government notices until the *Courier*, under the management of its talented proprietor, James Ross, L.L.D., made its appearance in 1827. The *Gazette* was then issued as a sheet for official notices only, and Dr. Ross became Government Printer.

In the meantime Bent, backed by Anthony Fenn Kemp, George Meredith, Thomas George Gregson, and other leading colonists, appealed to the Governor-in-Chief against the piracy of the title of his paper. The appeal was decided in Bent's favour. He did not press his claim, for on August 19th, 1825, after living nearly ten years, his *Hobart Town Gazette* ceased to exist. Bent next applied to license a new paper—the *Colonial Times*. He was refused permission.

He then sold the paper to Mr. James Austin, but he also was refused a license, as Bent was the printer. The goodwill reverted to Bent, as the arrangement could not be carried out. In consequence of this restriction the *Colonial Times* was published without any political or other information save that furnished by advertisements. On the 19th October it appeared in deep mourning, the columns for leading articles and general news being left blank. By an advertisement it was explained to subscribers that the journal had neither a stamp nor a license for news.

Arthur was determined to strike a final blow at the liberty of the press. In 1827 he had an act of Council passed which made the continuance of a paper subject to the will of the Governor, and which required securities for penalties. Bent now resigned his press to Mr. J. T. Gellibrand, the former Attorney-General. Arthur refused to license Gellibrand's paper because Bent was a printer on the staff. Bent started an advertising sheet and a monthly periodical, the latter under the editorial management of a clever writer who was not then free. An order was issued threatening with severe punishment any convict who dared to write for a newspaper. A bill in equity was filed against Bent for publishing an advertising sheet. He was imprisoned for a month.

Governor Arthur became thus more unpopular. The free colonists made a firm stand against what they conceived to be a gross innovation of their rights. Fifty leading merchants, magistrates, and citizens united in an address to the Governor, remonstrating against the restrictions to which the press was subject, denouncing them as "needless, unconstitutional, and debasing—an insult to the colony, and contrary to the implied engagements of the Crown when emigration was invited." Arthur replied that "so long as the colony was a place for the reception of convicts the press could not be free: that it was dangerous to authority,

and calculated to destroy the security of domestic life." The colonists then forwarded a strong appeal to Sir George Murray, the Secretary of State, who disallowed the Colonial act, and the press was set free.

In February, 1828, the *Tasmanian and Austral-Asiatic Review* made its appearance at Hobart Town. It was established by Mr. Macdougall, and was edited for many years by Robert Lathrop Murray, a writer of some fluency, but fickle and unstable in his principles. With time-serving tact he lauded the ruling powers, and thus obtained a license to write for the new paper, although he had ruined Bent by his scathing effusions in condemnation of Arthur's government.

It was at this period the Van Diemen's Land Company commenced operations. Reports had reached England of the large returns owners of sheep realised from the rich pastures of the colony; the promoters therefore resolved to venture upon what seemed likely to turn out a profitable speculation. They proposed to introduce, upon a large scale, flocks of improved quality, and relieve Great Britain from her dependence upon foreign wool. On enquiry they ascertained that all the pasture lands of the colony had been alienated except scattered areas of small extent, and that a solid block, such as they required, would embrace a considerable portion of unproductive forest land; with only coarse and scanty herbage in isolated patches. The promoters of the Company were not to be turned from their project. They applied to Lord Bathurst, then Secretary for the Colonies, for a grant of half a million acres of land on certain conditions. An act of Parliament was obtained, under which the charter passed (9th November, 1825). By this charter they were empowered to employ their capital in sheep farming and agricultural operations, to lend money on mortgage, and undertake public works on the security of tolls, but they were prohibited from entering into banking and commercial pursuits.

The Company received a grant of 250,000 acres, to be selected in one square block at the north-west corner of the island. On inspection the district was not encouraging. The land was heavily timbered; the high ranges to the westward were barren, and the open plains were wet and cold. This being represented to the Home authorities some concessions were made: the Company were permitted to select their land in several detached blocks.

In order to select the best lands in the north-western territory a survey party was sent out under command of Mr. Henry Hellyer, who went on his exploring expedition in February, 1827. On the 13th of that month he crossed the Emu river some distance inland, so naming it from the number of emus he saw in its vicinity. On the 14th of February he named St. Valentine's Peak which he ascended and observed from its summit a fine open grass-covered country, which he named Surrey and Hampshire Hills. Two days following Mr. Hellyer and his party crossed the river which now bears the leader's name. On the 19th they came upon a deep and rapid river, larger than the Hellyer, running in a south-westerly direction. The explorer says in his narrative:—"I have taken the liberty of calling this large river the Arthur, in compliment to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, it being one of the principal rivers of the island." Hellyer's party found some native huts at the Surrey Hills, and saw trees from which the bark had been taken to cover them.

Mr. John Helder Wedge was the next to explore the district. In the early part of 1828 he was sent to make an official report to the Government of the character of the country, prior to the survey of the Company's grant. When Mr. Wedge visited Circular Head—then the principal settlement belonging to the Company—there were a few weather-boarded and log buildings and about sixty acres in cultivation. There was an out station at Hampshire Hills, where a few

shepherds with flocks were located. Mr. Wedge advised the Government that the limits of the Company's grant should be extended, as it would contain several sandy plains not available for either pasture or agriculture. The Governor assented to his proposal and permitted the selection of 350,000 acres instead of 250,000.

With remarkable foresight Mr. Wedge suggested the reservation of land at Emu Bay for a township. He wrote in his report:—"It does not appear to me that, with the exception of Emu Bay, Circular Head, and the east point of Cape Grim, there is any place affording shelter for vessels, or capable of being made fit for such a purpose. As the Company are in possession of two of these situations (Circular Head and Cape Grim), I beg to bring under the consideration of the Government the importance of reserving the other situation (Emu Bay) for a township, or for any other purpose which may be deemed necessary. And I may further observe that the interest of the colonists who may locate in the adjacent country to the south of Emu Bay will require it as their port; and the importance of that part of the country will be materially enhanced by such reservation." This wise counsel was not attended to. The result is that the natural outlet of a great mineral producing territory is owned by the Company.

Ultimately the Van Diemen's Land Company was permitted to divide their grant into six separate blocks, containing altogether more than 400,000 acres,* and comprising what was then considered to be all the prime lands in that quarter of the island. The only charge made for this princely estate was a quit rent of £468 16s. a year, and that was redeemable at twenty years' purchase.

* 100,000 acres Woolnorth, actual extent about 150,000 acres; 10,000 acres, Walker's, Trefoil, and Robin's Islands, which contain an estimated area of 26,000 acres; 20,000 acres Circular Head, actual area about 26,000 acres; 50,000 acres Emu Bay, 150,000 acres Surrey Hills; 10,000 acres Middlesex Plains, 10,000 acres Hampshire Hills—350,000 acres as granted, but containing about 422,000 acres.

The Company, however, laboured under great disadvantages for many years, during which time they expended a large amount of money. They despatched several ships from England to Circular Head direct, laden with free emigrants and valuable stock. They were allowed a remission out of their quit rent for introducing free servants at the rate of £16 for males and £20 for females.

The losses sustained by the Company were very heavy. Cold destroyed their stock, in the purchase of which they spent in one year £30,000 on sheep alone. At the Hampshire Hills hundreds of lambs would die in one night. The crops, too, perished from excessive moisture. Mr. Edward Curr (the local manager) did not despair of making the Company's operations pay dividends some day. From year to year large outlays were incurred with the same unsatisfactory results. The colony was benefited by the introduction of valuable stock, but it was a ruinous speculation for the shareholders.

About the same time an agricultural association composed of several capitalists was formed in England, the object being, like that of the Van Diemen's Land Company, to introduce and breed improved stock, and pursue farming operations in the colony on a large scale. This Company received a grant of 40,000 acres of land in the Norfolk Plains district. Captain Bartholomew Thomas arrived in 1826 as managing partner. The "Van Diemen's Land Establishment" was the name by which this Company's valuable property was known; its owners imported improved breeds of horses, sheep, and horned cattle, thus adding largely to the improvement of stock in the colony.

At this period the colony was making rapid progress both in the north and south. There were upwards of 18,000 inhabitants. The Commissariat expenditure exceeded £100,000 in the year. There were few taxes, and these consisted almost exclusively of a duty upon spirituous

liquors. In 1828, 49,424 acres of land had been alienated from the Crown; but the revenue derived from sales and rentals amounted to only £2,418, nearly all the land acquired by the settlers having been bestowed as free grants. More than 34,000 acres had been brought into cultivation. There were 2,034 horses in the colony, 84,476 horned cattle, and 553,698 sheep. The imports were valued at £241,382, and the exports at £91,461, of which £22,072 were represented by wool. Twenty-four flour mills were in operation. There were as yet only eight Government schools, with 410 scholars on the roll.

Governor Arthur, however, took a deep interest in the promotion of religious and educational institutions. He was a friend to the Wesleyans and, indeed, to all the denominations: he assisted them by Treasury favours,* as well as by private contributions. Backhouse, who visited the colony at a later period, says—"Our first interview with Colonel Arthur gave us a favourable impression of his character as a Governor and as a Christian, which further acquaintance has strongly confirmed. He took great interest in the temporal and spiritual prosperity of the colonists, and in the reformation of the prisoner population, as well as in the welfare of the surviving remnant of the native black inhabitants."

A King's Grammar School was established at New Norfolk in 1828. The members of Government formed the board of guardians, and a clergyman was appointed as master. This effort failed. But the King's Orphan School, established the same year, under the able superintendence of Mr. R. W. Giblin, proved successful, and became permanent. An earlier attempt was made to form a collegiate institution at Norfolk Plains. Twenty-four persons contributed £50 each towards its establishment, with a library and lecture room. The project was not altogether suc-

* West.

cessful: it merged into a private academy. At Hobart Town a Mechanics' Institute was established, with the Governor as patron, the Chief Justice as president, and Mr. Gellibrand as chairman. Doctor Ross delivered the first lecture, and Messrs. Gellibrand, Hackett, Giblin, and Turnbull followed in succession during the first course of lectures.

The establishment of the Derwent Bank at Hobart Town, and the Cornwall Bank at Launceston, offered facilities to the settlers in monetary transactions, which were freely accepted. With the command of capital a large amount of liabilities was incurred. Agricultural lands were improved by means of bank accommodation in many instances; and, where that could not be obtained by persons who had not adequate security to offer, money was borrowed from private capitalists at an enormous rate of interest, in some cases as high as 35 per cent. This reckless system of borrowing was accelerated by the prospect of reward held out by the Government for improvements. One instance is recorded where the Governor visited the farming establishment of Mr. Gatenby, on the Isis: his Excellency was so well pleased with the enterprise of the proprietor that he awarded him an additional grant of 1,000 acres.

A new constitutional act came into force in 1828, whereby the Council was increased from five or seven to ten or fifteen. The Governor was president, and had a deliberative as well as a casting vote. The former oath of secrecy was abolished, and the drafts of proposed acts were published in the *Gazette*. The members of Council were appointed by the Crown, and vacancies were filled by persons nominated by the Governor. It required a majority of the Council to pass an act. The Council was empowered to institute trial by civil jury instead of the usual military jury of seven, a system which was detested by the colonists, especially in the matter of the frequent Govern-

ment prosecutions for libel. This long coveted boon was, however, not gained until some years later, notwithstanding repeated petitions and appeals on the part of the free inhabitants of the colony.

Prior to 1828 no system of finance was observed by the Government; whatever was wanting in the Treasury for the maintenance of the civil as well as the military and convict establishments, the Home Government supplied. At this time, however, a classification of departments was made under three separate heads—the civil, military, and convict, the expenses of the latter two being paid by England through the Commissariat, and those of the civil branch by the colony. Hitherto the Governor levied taxes at his will—his proclamation was law* The new act provided that no tax could be imposed except for local purposes, which were defined in the act. New measures of finance were now brought into operation, whereby the civil expenditure was defrayed, and a considerable surplus remained at the end of the year.

The chief source of revenue arose from a duty upon imported spirits and tobacco, and an *ad valorem* per centage upon imported articles of foreign growth or manufacture, but the productions of the Mother Country were admitted free. There were also numerous fees, land rents, and licenses, which, with the other imposts, produced a revenue of between fifty and sixty thousand pounds per annum.

The duty upon imported brandy was 10s. per gallon, upon rum and gin, 7s. 6d., and upon tobacco, 1s. 6d. per lb. The revenue derived from these articles alone was nearly £30,000. Five distilleries had been established in the colony—four in the south, and one in the north: these paid a license of £25 per annum. Public house licenses were the same amount.

The new form of government was a concession not to be

* Melville's Van Diemen's Land Almanac, 1831.

despised, being a step towards liberty ; but without representative government the colonists regarded their political institutions as infinitely behind those of the Mother Country. They looked back with a wistful eye on those political rights which they had abandoned ; and, feeling as pilgrims in a foreign land, they still called England " Home."

In the early part of 1829 two newspapers were published at Launceston, one of which, the *Cornwall Press*, owned by Mr. S. Dowsett, only survived to its nineteenth number. The other was the *Launceston Advertiser*, which subsequently, under the management of Mr. Henry Dowling, became a popular and independent journal*. It was established by John Pascoe Fawkner, to whose enterprising spirit the colony was indebted in many ways.

Fawkner's colonial life was a remarkable one. He was a lad ten years old when he left England with his father, mother, and sister, in Collins's expedition in 1803, and thus had an opportunity of seeing Port Phillip. Removing to the Derwent with Collins's party, Fawkner was present at the founding of Hobart Town in 1804. Whatever scholastic knowledge he possessed he acquired from such books as he could obtain the perusal of in his hours of rest from manual labour—for all had to work hard in the new settlement. As he grew stronger he laboured as a sawyer in the vicinity of Hobart Town ; and, being steady, soon gained a little property. He afterwards moved to Launceston, and embarked in various undertakings. At that period there were no lawyers in Launceston. Fawkner was permitted to prepare legal documents, and plead for clients in the court. In 1828 he was landlord and proprietor of the Cornwall Hotel, in Cameron-street, then the principal hotel of the town. Towards the end of that year he arranged with Mr. William Monds, who had some experience in the mechanical department of the press, to assist him in pro-

* Now incorporated with the *Launceston Examiner*.

curing type and other material for a newspaper. Fawkner and Monds accordingly started off to Hobart Town to interview Andrew Bent, and made preliminary arrangements. After various accidents on the bush track, which occasioned considerable delay, they reached Ross. There they learned that Mr. Dowsett and his son had passed up to Launceston for the express purpose of starting a weekly newspaper. This unexpected rivalry had rather a damping effect upon Fawkner; but he was not to be turned aside from his resolution. At length, after many days he and his companion arrived at Hobart Town, and arranged with Bent for a supply of second-hand type, a small quantity of paper and printing ink, and a wooden press. All being securely packed, they found a bullock dray, with a driver and two bullocks, just about to start for Launceston. Into this vehicle the printing material was placed. They had only proceeded as far as where New Town now stands, when the bullock dray capsized—the large packing case containing type, press, ink, and paper, was rent asunder, and all were lying in a confused mass on the green sward. The type, mixed up in hopeless confusion, was collected together and thrown into a box; fortunately the press was not broken. Further disasters occurred before the printing material reached the Cornwall Hotel, when with considerable toil the letters were adjusted in their cases.* Such were a few of the difficulties attending the permanent establishment of a newspaper at Launceston.

The early history of churches in the north may be recorded here. The Methodists were the first to divide the field of Christian labour, which the Episcopalians occupied alone until 1826. The Rev. J. Hutchinson was then appointed, and a chapel and parsonage were erected in Cameron-street, Launceston. Mr. Esh Lovell succeeded Mr. Hutchinson; but, in 1828, the Wesleyan Missionary

* Abridged from Monds's narrative in the *Examiner*.

Society withdrew its aid, and the minister was removed. The buildings were sold, the Government becoming purchasers. Fawkner, as trustee for the property, held the proceeds on behalf of those subscribers who contributed to their erection. The Rev. J. Anderson, a Presbyterian clergyman, was the next to settle at Launceston, and it was decided by the parties interested in the money held by Fawkner to appropriate it towards the establishment of a Presbyterian Church.

Nothing more is heard of the Wesleyans until the year 1832, when Mr. Francis French began to preach in the open air on the Windmill Hill (now Victoria Square). The Revs. Nathaniel Turner and J. A. Manton, having heard of the efforts of Mr. French, and desirous of renewing the cause in Launceston, rode over from Hobart Town. There was no organised society at this time; the ministers were allowed the use of the old Court House. Shortly after this visit Governor Arthur appointed one John Leach as catechist to Notman's road party, employed on the roads near Franklin Village. Leach, who resided in town, commenced preaching at the house of Mr. Benjamin Rogers—the Hobart Town ministers frequently visited Launceston—a class was formed, and the noble institution of the present day was founded.† The Rev. J. A. Manton was appointed resident at Launceston in 1834; he preached for some time in the old chapel, then used by the Government for a school. His first sermon was from the text Acts xi., 23. Mr. Turner had received from Governor Arthur an allotment of land in Patterson-street, where the Wesleyan Church now stands. It had previously been used by the Government as a public pound.

The earliest Congregational Church in the Australian colonies was established at Hobart Town in 1830, at which

† The first Wesleyan lay preachers were Peter Jacob, John Williams, George Gould, John Smith, John Tongs, Henry Reed, and Isaac Sherwin.

place the Rev. F. Miller arrived on 22nd September of that year. He commenced his ministry on 17th October, preaching at Mr. Dean's, in Elizabeth-street. In less than two years afterwards the Rev. Charles Price arrived at Hobart Town (August, 1832). Launceston having but one place of worship, which was in the hands of the Episcopalians, Mr. Price determined to go there. He preached his first sermon on 23rd September, 1832, in the Court House. He remained at Launceston about four months, then removed to Sydney, where he opened the Pitt-street church, and remained for a time, returning to Launceston in April, 1836. The Tamar-street chapel was built for Mr. Price in 1837: he has occupied the pulpit without any change since that period. The names of the Revs. J. Nisbet, A. Morison, W. Waterfield, and John West, are prominent in the early history of Congregationalism in Van Diemen's Land.

To avoid returning to this subject at intervals, it may be stated here that the next religious organisation in the colony was that of the Society of Friends. Messrs. Backhouse and Walker established regular meetings of that body at Hobart Town in 1833, the first of which was held on 20th September.

The Baptist, Free Presbyterian, and Primitive Methodist churches were all first established at Launceston. The Baptist was the earliest of these, the Rev. Henry Dowling having arrived at Launceston in 1835. This gentleman laboured for thirty-four years with considerable success in Launceston; but the denomination made no advance in other parts of the colony until Mr. Thomas Spurgeon, son of the eminent London preacher, visited the colony in 1877. Since that period Baptist churches have been established at various places.

The Free Church movement in the colony was not long behind that which led to its establishment in Scotland. In 1850 the Rev. James Lindsay arrived at Launceston, where

he has continued to labour actively from that period until the present time. His church, a handsome and commodious edifice, was opened in January, 1860. In April, 1851, the Rev. W. Nicolson, one of the founders of the Free Church in Scotland in 1843, came to Hobart Town in response to a call sent home for a minister. His church was opened in August, 1852. The first Free Church Presbytery meeting was held on 18th March, 1853.

The history of Primitive Methodism begins at a still more recent date. South Australia was the first of the Australian colonies to receive ministers of this connection (1850). New South Wales and Victoria followed about the same year; but it was not until February, 1859, that the first minister (Rev. Joseph Langham) sailed from London to occupy a Tasmanian station. Previous to his arrival a society of twelve members had been formed at Launceston. They held a camp meeting on the Windmill Hill (28th November, 1858): the platform was M'Donald's furniture van. The local paper says—"Such a spot formed a temple of worship immensely superior to any building ever reared by human hands."





CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS FROM THE FORMATION OF THE COLONY UNTIL THEIR REMOVAL TO FLINDERS ISLAND.



WHEN the colony was founded in 1803 the aboriginal inhabitants were supposed to number from five to seven thousand. Whatever may have been their origin, it is pretty certain they belonged to a race distinct from the natives of Australia, the chief characteristic being that the latter have long, straight, coarse hair, while the natives of Van Diemen's Land had curly or woolly hair similar to that of the African negro. It has been said that the native of New Caledonia is identical in race with the Tasmanian, and the same authority infers that at some remote period a continent extended between the two islands. The colour of the skin was like that of the Papuans, dark brown. It is useless, however, to speculate on the descent of the indigenous inhabitants: the most distinguished ethnologists differ widely on the subject.

The primitive manners and customs of the natives were seen only by the early voyagers, whose interviews with the blacks we have already briefly narrated. As soon as the island was occupied by the English, many of the aborigines, disturbed on their hunting grounds, were driven back to lands belonging to other tribes, some of whom were hostile, and in cases where amicable relations did exist, the intrusion naturally produced an unfriendly or jealous

feeling.* Consequently, former conditions were interrupted; the patriarchal simplicity formerly observed in the regulation of social and domestic affairs was thrown into confusion; the various tribes mingled together as a matter of stern necessity: it was an enforced union of a people who had had no common sympathies with each other—even their dialects were strange; and hereditary prejudices marred whatever harmony might otherwise have existed. They were a community of terrified fugitives, disorganised in all their movements united only in the common instinct of self-preservation from the invaders of their country.

The native language was considered melodious: the frequent recurrence of vowels contributed to the softness of the intonation. Labillardière was struck with the modulation of the songs he heard, and the analogy of the tunes to those of the Arabs of Asia Minor.† West says that the strains were considered by a Scotchman a close resemblance to the Highland bagpipe. The four principal tribes had different dialects, which varied considerably. Dr. Joseph Milligan, F.L.S., who was for some time superintendent at Flinders, collected a vocabulary containing about 1,000 words and sentences in three dialects. (See Appendix A.) Robinson, Jorgenson, and the Rev. T. Dove also compiled vocabularies and translations of words and sentences. The following is a portion of one of Robinson's Sunday addresses:—

* The foundation of their social edifice may, like that of civilised nations, be said to rest on an inherent sense of the rights of property. As strongly attached to that property, and to the rights which it involves, as any European political body, the tribes of Australia resort to precisely similar measures for protecting it, and seek redress and revenge for its violated laws through the same means as an European nation would if similarly situated.—*Strzelecki*.

† To me their songs were not unpleasing; persons skilled in music consider them harmonious.—*Backhouse*.

Their language, which is all but lost, was peculiarly soft; and, except when excited by anger or surprise, was spoken in something of a singing tone, producing a strange but pleasing effect on the sense of the European.—*Calder's Habits, etc., of the Native Tribes*.

Matty nyrae Parlerdee—Matty nyrae Parlerdee. Par-
 One good God. One good God. Na-
leeva nyrae, parleeva loggernu, taggeerar lowway
 tive good, native dead, go up
waeranggelly. Parlerdee lowway. Nyrae raegee merrdy,
 sky. God up. Good white man sick,
neberrae Parlerdee waeranggelly. Kannernu Parlerdee.
 looks God sky. Speaks (or prays) God.
Nyrae Parlerdee neberrac nyrae raegee timene merrdy.
 Good God sees good white man no sick.
No ailly parleeva loggernu, tageera toogunner, raegorrop-
 Bad native dead, goes down, evil spirit
per, uence maggerer. Parleeva tyrer, tyrer, tyrer. Nyra
 fire stops. Native cry, cry, cry. Good
parleeva maggerer. Parlerdee waeranggelly, timene
 native stops. God sky, no
merrdy, timene taggathe.
 sick, no hungering.

Accounts of the stature and physical structure of the Tasmanian native vary considerably. Strzelecki, who observed the aborigines when they had been removed to Flinders Island, says:—"The native of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land possesses on the whole a well proportioned frame. His limbs, less fleshy or massive than those of a well formed African, exhibit all the symmetry and peculiarly well defined muscular development and well-knit articulations and roundness which characterise the negro: hence, compared with the latter, he is swifter in his movements, and his gait is more graceful." The Rev. R. Knopwood describes a party he met with in 1804 as "well made men." Captain Kelly said the tribes he met at Port Davey and the west coast were remarkably tall and athletic. Robinson, M'Kay, and others who had the best opportunities for observation, gave similar testimony: the former says—"They were a fine race of people, and not the miserable race that some have represented. They are equal, if not superior, to many Europeans. In my long walk round the island and through the interior, I have not met with the degenerate race that some have represented

the aboriginal to be." Backhouse, who twice visited them at Flinders, says they were very docile, and exhibited neither the intellectual nor the physical degradation that had been attributed to them.*

Dancing was observed as a recreation: Kelly was amused by the singular performances of a large party on the north-east coast (1816). Even when they were in captivity at Flinders they sometimes indulged in their native dances. Backhouse was present upon one occasion. "After sunset they had a 'corrobery,' or dance round a fire, which they kept up till after midnight in testimony of their pleasure. In these dances the aborigines represented certain events, or the manners of different animals: they had a horse dance, an emu dance, a thunder and lightning dance, and many others. In their horse dance they formed a string, moving in a circle, in a half stooping posture, holding by each other's loins, one man at the same time going along as if reining in the others, and a woman as driver, striking them gently as they passed. Sometimes their motions were extremely rapid, but they carefully avoided treading one upon another. In the emu dance, they placed one hand behind them, and alternately put the other to the ground and raised it above their heads as they passed slowly round the fire, imitating the motion of the head of the emu when feeding. In the thunder and lightning dance they moved their feet rapidly, bringing them to the ground with great force, so as to produce a loud noise, and make such a dust as to render it necessary for spectators to keep to windward of the group. Each dance ended with a loud shout, like a last effort of exhausted breath. The exertion used made them very warm, and occasionally one or other of them plunged into the adjacent lagoon. One of their chiefs stood by to direct them, and now and then turned to the bystanders and said, '*Narra coopa corrobery*'—very good dance—evidently courting applause."

* Backhouse's Narrative, page 83.

The use of catamarans was not unknown to the aborigines. By means of these they were in the habit of crossing the flooded estuaries of rivers, and to islands some distance from the mainland. Labillardière found a catamaran in Adventure Bay, made of pieces of bark and held together by cords made of grass. Lieutenant Gunn found one at Maria Island capable of holding five or six persons, and strong enough to drift for 16 or 20 miles. Some of the native skiffs were of considerable size, like a whaleboat in shape, with sharp bows, made of a multitude of small strips of the bark of the swamp tea-tree, and propelled by paddles, without the useful blade so necessary to grip the water. It was common for them to cross between South Bruné and Port Esperance, a distance of eight or ten miles.

Rude huts, or breakwinds, made of boughs and bark, were seen in some places: they were only temporary structures, in keeping with the migratory or wandering habits of the people. Mr. Calder relates having seen bark huts, supported on sticks driven into the ground; the bark was adorned with several rude charcoal drawings, one representing a kangaroo of unnatural proportions; another an emu; a third was an animal, and a fourth was a battle scene—a native fight, with men dying and flying all over it.

The spear of the native was a long thin tea-tree pole, ten feet or more in length, pointed at both ends. The only other weapon used was the waddy, which was made of the same wood, was hardly two feet in length, thicker at one end than the other. It was held by the thinner end, and was used either as a club or a missile. Stones, as we have seen, were also used in fight. It is said they were ignorant of any artificial means of procuring fire: indeed, it would be difficult to ignite the hard woods of the island by friction. Consequently they always preserved a supply of fire, and carried bark torches when they moved from place to place. Their food consisted chiefly of fish, birds, and animals;

edible fruits and vegetables being rare on the island. Of the former they had abundance. It is certain that they never indulged in the revolting practice of cannibalism.

The natives were exceedingly superstitious, and never liked to speak of the dead. They always went to rest at dusk, rising again about midnight, and passing the remainder of the night in singing—a simple device for keeping away the evil spirit. They believed in the existence of both a good and an evil spirit, and had some faint notion of a future state.

Their dead were burned on a funeral pile, a custom which was observed when the French visited the island in 1792. Again in 1802, Peron saw at Maria Island a cone which had been erected over the ashes of the dead. The cone was built of poles and bark in the form of a pyramid, which from the disposal of the poles and strips of bark, Peron pronounced to be graceful, elegant, and picturesque. Backhouse relates a case of cremation at West Hunter's Island in 1832, when a woman died. "The men formed a pile of logs, and at sunset placed the body of the woman upon it, supported by small wood, which concealed her, and formed a pyramid. . . . At daybreak the pile was set on fire, and fresh wood added as any part of the body became exposed, till the whole was consumed. . . . A few days after the decease of this woman, a man, who was ill at the time, stated that he should die when the sun went down, and requested the other men to bring wood and form a pile. While the work was going forward he rested against some logs that were to form a part of it, to see them execute the work: he became worse as the day progressed, and died before night."

Robinson, the aboriginal protector, relates the following incident in his journal:—"May 18th, 1829. Visited the aboriginal family, Joe, Mary, and two children (at Bruné). Mary evidently much worse, apparently in a dying state.

Looked wistfully at me, as if anxious for me to afford her relief. Alas! I know not how to relieve her. Only the Lord can relieve in such trying circumstances. Inquired of her husband the cause of her affliction; he said '*Merri-day, byday, ligdinny, lommerday.*' (Sick, head, breast, belly). On each of those parts incisions had been made with a piece of glass bottle. The forehead was muchacerated, the blood streaming down her face. Her whole frame was wasted. She had a ghastly appearance, and seemed in great agony: her husband, much affected, frequently shed tears. . . . Made her some tea; could not bear the afflicting scene; returned to my quarters; the husband soon following me, his cheeks wet with tears, said his '*luberer lowgerner un-uence*' (wife sleep by fire). He stopped about half-an-hour; I made him some tea for his children; asked him if he would take his *luberer* any. He said—'*tea no ailly, parmatter, panmerlia line-ner, no ailly*' (tea no good, potatoes, bread, water, no good). Shortly after I met him coming towards my quarters with his two children, kangaroo skins, etc. At about 100 yards distant I saw a large fire. It immediately occurred to me that his wife was dead, and that the fire I then saw was her funeral pile. I asked him where his *luberer* was. He replied, '*loggeenee uence*' (dead—in the fire). Joe took sick, and died a fortnight after his wife." Robinson then describes the manner of burning the dead—"I was busy preparing for his (Joe's) departure to Hobart Town for medical assistance, when his groans ceased, and with them the noise of the other natives. A solemn stillness prevailed—my apprehensions became excited—I went out—he had just expired. The other natives were sitting round, and some were employed in gathering grass. They then bent the legs back against the thigh, and bound them round with twisted grass. Each arm was bent together, and bound round above the elbow. The funeral pile was made by



Timmy, Native of the Eastern Coast.

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placing some dry wood at the bottom, on which they laid dry bark, then placed more dry wood raising it about two feet six inches from the ground. A quantity of dry bark was then laid upon the logs, upon which they laid the corpse, arching the whole over with dry wood, men and women assisting in kindling the fire, after which they went away, and did not approach it any more that day." On the following day they collected any remains and burnt them; finally they scraped the ashes together, and covered it over with grass and sticks. Robinson took occasion to find out what were their ideas of a future state, and where they supposed the departed went to. They all answered "*Dreeny*," meaning to England, and added, "*Parleevar loggeenee uenee, toggereer teeny Dreeny, mobberly parleevar Dreeny*" — (native dead, fire; goes road England, plenty natives England). He tried to explain to them that England was not the home of the departed. Their evil spirit they called *Rageo wropper*, to whom they attributed all their afflictions. The dying natives had a keen perception of their approaching end; when they knew it was at hand the last desire was to be removed into the open air to die by the funeral pile.*

During the administration of Collins and Davey few cases of aggression or violence on the part of the natives were reported. The whites, on the contrary, were at that time industriously sowing the seeds of discord. Even the reckless Governor Davey was impelled by the instincts of humanity to chide the inhabitants in a proclamation of June 16th, 1813, wherein he says—"The resentment of these poor uncultivated blacks has been justly provoked by a most barbarous and inhuman mode of proceeding, viz.: the robbing of their children. . . . Let any man put his hand to his heart and ask, which is the savage—the

* This custom was not always observed after they had been driven from their accustomed haunts. They often placed their dead in hollow trees, and covered them with bark and timber.

white man who robs the parent of his children, or the black man who boldly steps forward to resent the injury, and recover his stolen offspring." Henry Melville, one of the early historians says—"If it were possible in a work like this to record but a tithe of the murders committed upon these poor harmless creatures, it would make the reader's blood run cold at the bare recital." Again the indignation of Governor Davey was aroused when he wrote that he "could not have believed that British subjects would have so ignominiously stained the honour of their country and themselves as to have acted in the manner they did towards the aborigines." Governor Sorell found the same state of lawlessness prevailing, and frequently issued proclamations after this manner—"Cruelties have been perpetrated upon the aborigines repugnant to humanity, and disgraceful to the British character." And again—"The Lieutenant-Governor thus publicly declares his determination that if, after the promulgation of this publication, any person or persons shall be charged with killing, firing at, or committing any act of outrage or aggression on the native people, the offender or offenders shall be sent to Port Jackson to take their trial before the Criminal Court." The proclamation of Governors was, however, of no avail while convict stockmen, shepherds, and bushrangers were wandering at large with deadly weapons to seize upon their prey, and (as Bonwick justly says), "to indulge a demoniacal propensity to torture the defenceless, and an insatiable lust, that heeded not the most pitiable appeals, nor halted in the execution of the most diabolical acts of cruelty to obtain its brutal gratification."

Governor Arthur was shocked at the barbarity of the whites towards the native race; but, notwithstanding his anxious desire, he was unable to abate the evil. Immediately after his arrival a tribe applied to him for protection, which was readily granted. They were placed at Kangaroo

Point, across the Derwent. All that personal attention and kindness could do for them was done by the Governor. They stayed quietly and happily for a couple of years, when a savage murder was committed by one of their white neighbours: they then hastily retreated to the wilderness.

The infamous treatment of the black girls and women was the chief cause of that revengeful spirit which manifested itself in the natives, and which afterwards led to intolerable cruelty and aggression on their part. Melville, a reliable authority on this subject, writes—"In this riot of wildness, favourable in its very existence to the display of our worst attributes, how have they been treated? Worse than dogs, or even beasts of prey; hunted from place to place; shot; their families torn from them; the mother snatched from her children, to become the victim of the lust and cruelty of their civilised Christian neighbours." Dr. Nixon (afterwards Bishop of Tasmania), thus excused the 'blacks' for the terrible retaliation they indulged in when they were goaded to despair—"There are many such cases (cruelty to the blacks) on record, which make us blush for humanity when we read them, and forbid us to wonder that the maddened savage's indiscriminate fury should not only have refused to recognise the distinction between friend and foe, but have taught him to regard each white man as an intruding enemy who must be got rid of at any cost." The historian, West, says—"The wounded were brained; the infant cast into the flames; the bayonet was driven into the quivering flesh; the social fire, around which the natives gathered to slumber, became before morning their funeral pile."

While these shocking tragedies were occurring on the mainland, the natives were subject to similar cruelties from another quarter. Bands of freebooters had taken possession of some of the islands in Bass Strait. They were originally runaway sailors and convicts from Port Jackson, some of

whom probably went to the islands before Bass and Flinders sailed through the Strait. They first occupied the small islands of Banks Strait, between Flinders and the coast of Van Diemen's Land. These men were afterwards known as "sealers." As early as 1802, M. Peron, of Baudin's French expedition, met with a party of them at King Island. They afterwards spread westward along the coast of Australia, occupying Kangaroo Island before South Australia was colonised, and Rottnest Island in the territory of Western Australia.

The sealers were not long upon the islands before they commenced a systematic mode of kidnapping the native women from their tribes on the north and east coasts of Van Diemen's Land. They practised every degree of falsehood and deceit to get possession of the women and carry them off to the islands in their boats. Sometimes the latter were tempted to go voluntarily, but more frequently they were purchased from their relatives, and departed with reluctance, or were violently seized, while the blacks who tried to protect them were shot down. The women were treated by the islanders as slaves in most cases, although unions were effected which resulted in the succession of many interesting families of half-castes. Mr. Backhouse gives an affecting instance of a black woman who had been taken by the sealers when a girl—"She informed us by means of signs and a few words in broken English, of the manner in which these men flogged the women who did not pluck mutton birds,* or do other work

*The mutton birds, or sooty petrels, are about the size of the wood pigeon of England; they are of a dark colour, and are called *Yola* by the natives. These birds are often to be seen ranging over the surface of the Southern Ocean, far from land; they visit several of the islands of Bass Strait in the latter part of the 9th month, when they scratch out their holes; they leave again in the beginning of the 11th month, and return to lay near the end of the same. Each burrow is occupied by a single pair; their egg is as large as that of a duck, and is incubated in about a month. They leave the islands with their young early in the 5th month. During the period of their resort to land they become the prey of men and of hawks, of crows and other ravenous birds, and of snakes. Notwithstanding the

to their satisfaction. She spread her hands to the wall, to show the manner in which they were tied up, said a rope was used to flog them with, and cried out with a failing voice till she sank upon the ground, as if exhausted."

The same writer relates a touching incident of the rescue of two aboriginal women from the sealers. "In the afternoon we brought up under Circular Head, where a whale-boat, belonging to a sealer residing on Stack Island, came alongside the cutter. Seated at the stern was a native young woman of interesting appearance, neatly dressed, and having her hair cut off according to the common custom among her sex in this land. The mild expression of her features was beclouded by sadness. When she spoke, which was rarely, it was in a low tone. The sealers appeared to treat her kindly, but there was something in their manner that excited suspicion. . . . On being asked if she would go to Flinders Island and live with her people there, 'No' was her answer." She was told that the captain of the cutter had power to take her, and that the sealers should not hurt her. Her countenance at once lost its gloom, and with a burst of joy she said she would go. Upon hearing this, another woman who had been showing feigned tokens of displeasure at the presence of the cutter, having

wholesale carnage committed among the mutton birds, their number is not perceptibly lessened. The greatest quantities are destroyed for the sake of their feathers; two tons and a half of which are said to have been sent from this part of the Strait in a season: these would be the produce of 112,000 birds, twenty yielding one pound of feathers. From the great length of their wings these birds cannot rise from a level surface. The sealers take advantage of this, and inclose certain portions of the islands at night with converging lines of bushes terminating at a pit. . . . When the birds come out of their holes they are driven towards the pit, into which they fall. . . . The native women are set to strip off their feathers, which bring about 6d. per pound in Launceston. When fresh these birds are pretty good eating, at least as a substitute for salt meat. Great numbers of young ones are salted and dried, in which state they taste much like red herrings. The eggs (of which each female bird lays only one) are collected in great quantities. The sealers make the young birds disgorge oil by pressing their craws: this they use for their lamps, and various purposes. . . . Flinders computed one of the flocks that he saw in these seas to be forty miles long, and to contain as many birds as would require an area of sixteen square miles for their nests, at a yard asunder."—*Backhouse's Narrative*.

been ordered to do so by the sealers, abandoned the latter and went with her baby in the cutter to Flinders. Such were the early troubles of the natives who dwelt in the then unsettled parts of the island.

It is not needful to record further testimony concerning the treatment of the blacks, nor would it be at all edifying to relate the catalogue of shocking deeds that inspired them with a deadly hatred to their white foes, and goaded them to savage retaliation, in compassing which they often displayed an ingenuity of treachery and cunning. They would stealthily creep through fern or scrub upon a settler's homestead ; or, watching the male inmates of the establishment away, would approach with upraised arms in token of friendship, while they dragged the deadly spear by their toes along the ground ; then they came down upon the unfortunate women and children and executed their crimes of murder, fire, and pillage. If resisted or attacked from behind, their extraordinary sagacity and agility usually enabled them to make a successful retreat into their native wilds.

Many who had lived for years with the English, acquiring a perfect knowledge of their ways, and becoming familiar with their language and household arrangements, again joined their countrymen when they heard of the slaughter of relatives. These natives, knowing their enemy so well, proved formidable foes. Often led by convict outlaws carrying firearms, they engaged in open warfare, defiantly entering houses and carrying off their booty. They had received treatment unparalleled in the annals of crime, and now the scattered fragments of the various tribes had become desperate in the frenzy of despair. In vain did the Governor issue proclamations warning the public that any outrage on the native people would be dealt with in the Supreme Court. At every opportunity the blacks were shot down, and the murderers escaped because there was no available evidence against them. It was in the darkness of

the night that the poor creatures were most at the mercy of the whites. They had a superstitious dread of the dark night, and always went to rest round a fire. Then was the opportunity for the white man to reap his harvest of blood. Watching the night fire of the natives, convict servants and sons of settlers went out to revenge some depredation, and, safe in the darkness from the fatal spear, slaughtered their helpless victims in cold blood as they slumbered.

Governor Arthur was pained and perplexed at the disturbed state of the colony. An Aborigines' Protection Committee was appointed, consisting of the Revs. Norman and Bedford and six other gentlemen. Their report coincided with the statements of other writers on the subject, that "the injuries and insults which the aborigines had received from dissolute characters had led them to a certain extent, in addition to their savage spirit, to wreak indiscriminate vengeance." Both the Governor and Committee were powerless to arrest this sanguinary warfare.

A Government order was issued commanding all the blacks to retire from the settled districts, and military posts were established on their confines, who were enjoined to explain to the blacks the necessity which existed for a line of demarcation, in order to ensure mutual safety. This plan entirely failed; the natives did not understand the order. A civilised native was interviewed by the Governor on the subject. The following is part of the dialogue which took place:—

Governor—"But you know, Tom, I want to be friendly and kind to them, yet they would spear me if they met me."

Tom (laughing)—"How he tell you make a friend along him? A'nt he all same a white 'un? 'Pose black fellow kill white 'un, a'nt you send all your soldier, all your constable after him? You say, that black a devil kill a nura white man; go—catch it—kill it—a'nt he then kill all black fellow he see, all picaninny too? A'nt that all same black

fellow—*a'nt you been take him own kangaroo ground?*
How den he like?"

The proclamation was read to Tom, who laughed immoderately at it, and said—

"You been make a proflamation—ha! ha! ha! I never see dat foolish! When he see it he can't read dat—who tell him?"

Governor—"Can't you tell him, Tom?"

Tom—"No! Me like see you tell him yourself; he very soon spear me."

It was then decided to try pictorial proclamations. Boards were prepared for nailing on the gum trees, with sketches which were intended to convey the sentiments of the Governor.* The blessings of civilisation were represented on top thus—a black woman with a white infant in her arms and *vice versa*; black girls and white walking hand in hand; men ditto; a black chief, accompanied by his tribe, rushing forward to shake hands with the Governor and his party. Then came the other side. Black man sending a spear through white man—white man lying dead under a gallows—black man hanging by the neck. White man shooting blackfellow—he lies dead under the scaffold—white man hanging by the neck. Governor and soldiers aiding in these ceremonies.

All these efforts, however, were futile. On November 1st, 1828, martial law was proclaimed. At a subsequent date a reward of £5 for every adult and £2 for every child captured without injury was offered by the Government. This led to the formation of parties who at first had no united plan of action, the object of all, however, being alike—to bring in the natives. The most prominent leaders of the capture parties were John Batman (afterwards one of the founders of Victoria); Gilbert Robertson (whose name will appear in this history in connection with the Hobart

* Bonwick.

Town press); Jorgen Jorgenson, a Dane;* Alexander M'Kay, Howell, Surridge, Parish, Emmett, Nicholas, Sherwin, &c. The rewards for capture remained in force until June, 1832.

In May, 1829, it was decided that no captures by roving parties would be recognised unless they formed themselves into a properly organised force. Mr. Thomas Anstey, an intelligent colonist residing at Anstey Barton, near Oatlands, consented to devote his energy in the cause; and to this gentleman all leaders of parties had to send monthly reports of their operations. Some were in a measure successful. Mr. Howell, of the Shannon, obtained a thousand acres of land for his service. Mr. Parish, a pilot of Australian birth, secured 22 aborigines on the north-east coast and lodged them on Swan Island. Mr. John Batman was second only to the great conciliator Robinson, whose wonderful feats we shall duly record. Batman was a native-born Australian, who settled at Ben Lomond in early life. He had signalised himself as an adroit bushman in pursuit of convict outlaws. He is described as having agreeable manners, exuberant spirits, and genuine kindness—traits of character much admired by the blacks. On June 15th, 1829, he wrote:—"I have formed the determination, provided it meets with His Excellency's approbation, under certain conditions, of devoting some time and all the exertion of which I am capable towards bringing in alive some of that much injured and unfortunate race of beings." In September he secured three women, two young children, three boys, and two young men, along with seventeen dogs

* Jorgenson, whose name frequently appears in this history, was a clever but unscrupulous man. This is he who once proceeded to Iceland during the great Napoleonic wars, and claiming to represent Great Britain, so imposed upon and intimidated the authorities that they surrendered the government to Jorgenson and his companions. He then sent despatches to Britain announcing that he had added a province to the empire. He proclaimed himself Governor. On his return to England he received a sentence and a passage to Van Diemen's Land.

and a considerable quantity of stolen goods. Later in the same month an unfortunate conflict took place; he was attacked with his little party of ten by a well armed mob of seventy natives belonging to the most sanguinary tribes of the island. A shower of spears, followed by a determined assault, constrained Batman to order a discharge of musketry. Fifteen of the native warriors were slain, and only one woman and a child were made prisoners; twenty dogs were shot, and thirty or forty spears, fifteen feet in length, were taken. Batman employed native women as spies and guides. He did not succeed in capturing many, but his benevolent intercourse with the blacks on the eastern side of the island, who were the most artful and hostile of the tribes, prepared the way for Robinson. For his many services Batman received the reward of 2,000 acres of land. Mr. Gilbert Robertson received a grant of 1,000 acres for the capture of the celebrated chief Eumurrah* and four others in October, 1829. Surridge, coxswain of a boat at Waterhouse Point, captured several in 1830. He placed three men and two women on Gun Carriage Island, and with the aid of other native women he brought in eight men and two women near Forester River.

Governor Arthur was not satisfied with the slow progress made by the roving parties, whose mode of operation was in other respects objectionable. He therefore devised the plan of a *coup-de-main* on a gigantic scale, by which he fondly hoped the native difficulty would be disposed of at once and for ever. This movement was known as "THE BLACK LINE." As a bold and formidable undertaking in a young colony, an outline of the proceedings may be interesting, although no practical good resulted from it.

The military force in the colony at this time consisted of

* So called after Mr. Hugh Murray, a kind-hearted settler at the River Macquarie, whom the natives respected. On one occasion during the war of extermination a number of distressed women placed themselves under this gentleman's protection, and camped near his house for a few days.

about 800 men. They belonged to the 63rd, 40th, 57th, and 17th regiments. Of these men, including officers, 396 were stationed at Hobart Town, 48 at Launceston, 11 at Perth, 17 at George Town, 30 at Westbury, 63 at Macquarie Harbour, 34 at Ross, 20 at St. Paul's Plains, 34 at Oatlands, 30 at New Norfolk, 30 at Hamilton, 49 at Bothwell, 25 at Pittwater, and 47 at Swanport.

The object of THE LINE was to surround the hostile tribes and drive them before an advancing cordon until they were safely secured on Tasman's Peninsula. The plan of operations, as submitted by the Governor, met with the hearty approval of the settlers, who prepared themselves to act *en masse* with their assigned servants, in conjunction with the military, the police, and assisted by the inhabitants of the towns. The cordon extended from St. Patrick's Head on the east to Lake Echo and the Great Lake on the west, and thence along the western portions of the county of Buckingham. The whole of the intermediate country was to be thoroughly scoured; and as the lines advanced towards the Peninsula care was to be taken that no gap should occur to afford the natives a chance of escape. It was believed that thus they would be driven before the cordon and would finally be secured on the Peninsula. Depots for the supply of food and clothing were established under the superintendence of surveyors Scott, Wedge, and Sharland, at twenty-six places between the east coast and Lake Sorell. Due provision was made for warlike materials. In addition to the weapons taken on the route, there was a depot established at Oatlands as a central station, containing a thousand stand of arms, thirty thousand rounds of cartridge, and three hundred handcuffs.

The field command was placed in the hands of Major S. Douglas, with divisions under the authority of Captains Donaldson, Moriarty, Wentworth, Mahon, Vicary, Bailey, Welman, Macpherson, Glover, Maclean, and Clark, aided

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by Lieutenants Aubin, Barrow, Steel, Croly, Murray, Pedder, Ovens, Champ, and Groves. Lieutenant-Colonel Logan was left with eight divisions, of seven men each, in charge of Hobart Town; and Major Abbot was nominated Commandant during the absence of the Governor, who personally directed operations in the field. There were 119 leaders of parties, each of whom had an experienced guide.* There were in all about 3,000 persons engaged in this enterprise, of whom 738 were convict servants.†

Nothing could surpass the absurdity of this formidable undertaking: one feels inclined to deal with it in a more generous spirit than the merits deserve because it was initiated by the Governor as a *dernier ressort* when the state of the colony was positively alarming. The settlers were of course ready and willing to aid the line in hope of some good result, for they were weary and worn out with continual watchings against the depredations of their subtle foe, the blacks. Some, however, predicted that the attempt would prove a failure. The novelty and exciting nature of the movement led many to take part; but when they penetrated the thickets of the forest, forcing their way through tangled vine and almost impenetrable scrub, often compelled to bivouac on wild unsheltered mountain spurs, drenched with rain and cramped with cold, then the novelty lost its

* Among the leaders were Messrs. Walpole, Gilbert Robertson, Wedge, Emmett, Broadribb, Sherwin, J. Batman, H. Batman, Tortosa, Pearce, Massey, Meyers, Hobbs, Lemott, Layman, G. Scott, Morrisby, Allison, Franks, Flexmore, G. Evans, Harrison, Cox, Allison, Armytage, Russell, Thomas, Jones, Paterson, Kimberly, Espie, Lackey, Stanfield, Cawthorne, Cassidy, Mills, Proctor, Stacey, Steel, Synnot, Shone, M'Donald, Gatehouse, Dodge, Currie, Kirby, Lloyd, Billelt, Cotterell, Ritchie, Moriarty, Herring, Lawrence, Gray, Gibson, Brumby, Pyke, Griffiths, D'Arch, Campbell, Henderson, Saltmarsh, Christian, Bonney, Giblin, Collins, Smith, Whyte, Ralston, Adams, M'Donald (2), Hayes, Laing, Spratt, Geiss, Ramsay, Cæsar, Clark, Barker, Heywood, Brown, Tully, Ring, C. Walker, Shultz, Donoghue, Hawthorn, Cunningham, Doran, Brodie, Allardyce, Ballantyne, Colbert, Milton, Howell, Green, Nicholas, Fisher, and Mason.

† Among the settlers who aided the expedition, but were unable to take the field by reason of their age or from other causes, the following names are recorded—an interesting memorial of the early colonists:—Messrs. Gray, Talbot, Grant, Hepburn, Kearney, Bates, in the Fingal district; at Swan

charm; the most chivalrous volunteer shrank from the enterprise and longed for the quiet scenes of home: still only a few deserted.

The march commenced on October 7th, 1830. Captain Donaldson's Launceston party of about 350 men performed wonderful exploits of locomotion. Passing onward to Westbury, they scaled the heights of the Western Mountains, and having scoured the country met at Kemp's hut, by Lake Sorell, the source of the Clyde. The leader then threw out his line of encampments towards Lake Echo, still further southward, where he was to await further orders. He had hardly formed his position when he received the Governor's command to hasten downward towards Hobart Town, in order to condense the line between the township of Sorell and the east coast. Donaldson, whose duty was "not to reason why," at once proceeded with his company, performed the toilsome march in an incredibly short period of time, and appeared before his chief at Sorell town. The Governor, as Colonel Commander of the forces, issued a camp bulletin (November 2nd) lauding the division for its zeal and activity. Another division marched from Quamby's Bluff eastward to Campbell Town, then along St. Paul's Plains, and in a south-easterly course to the sea at Swanport.

Another passed from Broadmarsh to Russell's Falls, thence upward to Hamilton-on-Clyde, Bothwell, and Crescent lake. Wentworth's division reached Brighton on October 16th, and marched along the banks of the Jordan to Jericho,

Port, Messrs. Meredith, Hawkins, Gatehouse, Buxton, Hart, Amos, Allen, King, Lyne, Maclean, Leard; in the Midland districts, Messrs. Willis, W. Harrison, E. C. Shaw, Pearson, Jellico, Davidson, M'Leod, Leake, Clarke, Hugh Murray, Horne, Scardon, Keimode, Paramore, Horton, Scott, Dickenson, R. Davidson, Cassidy, Eagle, Gardiner, Robertson, Hill, Forster, G. C. Clarke, G. C. Simpson, Sutherland, Gatenby, G. Simpson, C. Thompson, Murray, Oliver, Malcolm, Taylor, Mackersey, Bayles, Stewart, Alston, Bibra, Cooney, Fletcher, Young, O'Connor, Yorke; in the neighbourhood of Bothwell, Messrs. David Burn, Marzetti, Sharland, Triffitt, Young, Dixon, Austin, Shone, Jamieson, and Risely.

where they met Major Douglas and his party, and both divisions passed through the country to Little Swanport on the east coast. On the 20th October there was a connection of lines from Richmond to Prosser's Bay, and four days after from Sorell township to the Bay.

Colonel Arthur was unremitting in his energy to keep the forces in order. His presence was seen and felt everywhere along the line. It is said by Melville that the despatches received and sent equalled in number those forwarded by the allied armies during the great European war. Arthur was known to ride fifty miles a day over a rough country without roads. On one occasion he was lost three days in Paradise, a bewildering country of rock and scrub lying near the east coast.

The force was thus concentrated between Sorell and the sea, a distance of thirty miles, which gave forty-five yards between each man, and between each post a fire was to be kept alight at night. Capturing parties were told off. East Bay Neck, a narrow isthmus which connects Forester's Peninsula with the mainland, was gained. All were in excited expectation. The Peninsula was searched. Not a native was to be seen: not a sound was heard: all was silent as the grave.

The only result of that great undertaking was the capture of one man and a boy in an accidental way. A small party of natives were in advance of the line, when their night fire was seen by Mr. Walpole, who stole upon their encampment in the darkness, found five natives asleep and seized one of them by the legs; after a violent struggle the Englishman and his party secured him, as also a native boy. Two of the five were shot. The boy begged to be released, saying "Plenty more black fellows in scrub." The man caught was identified as Nickay Manick, who had speared horses belonging to the Van Diemen's Land Company at Emu Bay. Thus it would appear the tribes were greatly

scattered. It was afterwards supposed that a numerous tribe (about seventy people) were encamped in the scrub when the firing took place, and that they made a hasty retreat, for they left behind them a large number of spears, waddies, and baskets. They all, however, ran the gauntlet unseen by the English before the Neck was reached.

The cost of the expedition to the Government was £30,000. Considering other losses, such as the time of the inhabitants, and private expenses, it was estimated that the whole cost was more than £60,000. The settlers returned to their homes with dejected countenances, their ambition disappointed, and their hopes blighted, for their dreaded enemies were still at large. Often in after years, when the terror and commotion had ceased, round the settlers' social hearth the matter was discussed, and the loud and jocund laugh arose until the rafters rang when well remembered tales were told of that curious and amusing enterprise—
THE BLACK WAR.

From all parts of the colony addresses were sent to the Governor thanking him for his personal exertions in the field. Never was a movement more popular—never were parties more united than on this occasion. With a few solitary exceptions, the whole colony accorded tokens of commendation to His Excellency.

While the country was still in arms, endeavouring to subdue the blacks by *force*, there was one man quietly and unostentatiously devoting his energies to the same work, but by an entirely different method, the force used being simply the power of *moral suasion*. It is pleasing to turn from the sanguinary events which almost exterminated the native race, and relate the deeds of that friend of humanity—
—GEORGE AUGUSTUS ROBINSON.

Robinson was a humble bricklayer in Hobart Town, of small means, small education, and small stature. But he had a noble soul within, and thus he became a philanthropic

hero. He was a member of the Wesleyan church, an early worker in the Sabbath school, and a distributor of tracts. He enjoyed the patronage of the Rev. W. Bedford, and so obtained access to the prisoners' barracks on the Sunday, where he gave tracts and religious counsel to the unhappy inmates. The poor natives engaged his sympathies: he studied their habits, acquired their language, and, by his kindly attention and gentle demeanour, soon gained an extraordinary influence over them. In March, 1829, Governor Arthur, anxious to ameliorate the condition of the natives, published a notice in the *Gazette*, offering £50 a year to any man of good character who would take an interest in the unfortunate race, reside on Bruné Island, take charge of provisions and clothing, and look after the interests of any natives who might be induced to go there. The work harmonised with Robinson's aspirations, but the salary was small for a family—smaller than he could gain at his trade. "But my mind," he writes, "was under an impression which I could not resist. I reasoned the matter over with Mrs. Robinson, and with difficulty obtained her consent." He applied for the situation, but remonstrated at the scanty pay. His application was favourably considered, and he was appointed at a salary of £100 a year.

The establishment at Bruné was not a success. Whalers, sawyers, and other immoral characters had access to the Black Settlement. Robinson was dissatisfied at the loss of his labour, and made a fresh proposal. Jorgenson says— "He proposed nothing less than proceeding into the wilderness with a few companions, *all unarmed*, endeavour to fall in with the aboriginal tribes, if possible to bring about a conciliation, and persuade them to surrender peaceably. I must confess, after all I had seen and experienced, I thought Mr. Robinson either a madman or imposter." Results proved that the Dane was wrong in his conclusions. Robinson's ideas (as he afterwards wrote)

were "that the natives were rational; and although they might, in their savage notions, oppose violent measures for their subjugation, yet, if I could but get them to listen to reason, and persuade them that the Europeans wished only to better their condition, they might become civilised, and rendered useful members of society. . . . This was the principle upon which I formed my plan."

In January, 1830, Robinson entered on his new mission. He selected a few of his Bruné blacks to accompany him on the dangerous enterprise, among whom were Truganini* and her husband, Wooreddy, both of whom remained with him during the whole of his bush wanderings. His party consisted of ten natives and eight Europeans. Landing at Recherche Bay from Bruné Island, he proceeded overland with his native friends and three armed white men, but found no natives until he reached Port Davey. Here a numerous party appeared in sight, who fled at his approach. He then sent forward some of his friendly blacks, with whom the wild ones had an interview. One of the women found a long lost brother with the tribe, a circumstance which greatly aided the mission. A meeting was arranged for the following day. The appearance of muskets excited suspicion, and the blacks withdrew. An amicable interview, however, was effected on the 21st., and Robinson remained three weeks, travelling with and sleeping amongst the savages round their fires at night. Robinson then moved on with his party to Macquarie Harbour, and proceeded northward and eastward until he reached Emu Bay. His orders were to conciliate, not to bring in, the natives on this occasion. He met many tribes, and walked hundreds of miles. The impressions he left behind were highly favourable to his future exploits. He traversed the north-east coast country while the Black War was raging in the

* This woman outlived the remainder of her race. Her adventures will be given as we proceed.

south; and, having authority from the Government, visited some of the islands in the Straits, and rescued eighteen females from the sealers.

In 1831 Robinson's salary was raised to £250. His success in conciliating the blacks, wherever he travelled during the previous year, satisfied Governor Arthur that moral force alone would accomplish the end he desired. All the armed parties of captors were called in, and strictly prohibited from appearing before the natives with fire-arms in their possession. Robinson was invested with full command, as conciliator and protector of the aborigines. M'Kay, Surrage, M'Geary, Cotterell, and other successful captors entered on the mission under Robinson. The blacks were to be brought in.

First Swan Island was prepared for their reception. That island, being bare of wood, and much exposed, was found to be unsuitable for a permanent settlement, and Gun Carriage (Vansittart) Island was selected. It, too, was abandoned, because it was too small, and did not afford a supply of wild animals. Ultimately, in 1832, Flinders Island was chosen for the Black Settlement. Here was an abundance of wallaby and kangaroo, with ample space for recreation. The island is about 130 miles in circumference—mountainous and rocky. The lower parts are covered with scrub, intermixed with gum, she-oak, and other trees: there are also some open grassy plains.

Robinson proceeded rapidly with his work of conciliating the wild tribes by gentle means, without fire-arms. He brought in some semi-civilised natives who had escaped from Mr. Batman while he was absent at the black war. Robinson went round the coast—touched at Macquarie Harbour, Circular Head, and Cape Portland, where he took a celebrated chief, Lemima Beginna, and twenty-two others. The chief complained that his wife had been taken by sealers many years before, and entreated the Governor

to procure her restoration. Another petitioned that his mother and his sister might be recovered from them. In 1831, Robinson, assisted by the chief Lemima and his faithful party, travelled hundreds of miles through the country, and conciliated the chief of the Stony Creek tribe, who, when he saw Mr. Robinson, ran to him and shook hands, and with five men and one woman gave himself up: only three of his tribe were left behind. These captives are described as being remarkably athletic: they complained bitterly of the treatment they had received from the whites, who had stolen their women. M'Kay, who was employed under Robinson's direction, succeeded in adding to the numbers brought in. Surrage, assisted by two native women, captured eight men and two females; and Mr. Anstey and Mr. Charles Headlam, of the Macquarie, brought in others. Mr. Anstey received a reward of five hundred acres.

About this time a shocking tragedy occurred at Port Sorell, a remote place, where only Captain B. B. Thomas resided. This gentleman was brother of Mr. Jocelyn Thomas, the Treasurer: he selected his land grant at Northdown, in a district then uninhabited. On the day of his murder he had gone down to a vessel in the port with Mr. Parker, his overseer. While he was there three friendly natives informed him that the blacks of the Big River tribe were in the vicinity. Being a kind-hearted man, Captain Thomas went with Parker in the hope of conciliating them. He unfortunately took his gun: a native snatched it from him; he and Parker became alarmed and ran, when they were pierced with spears.

Mr. Robinson, hearing of this disaster, proceeded rapidly to Circular Head, and, assisted by his native companions, followed up the Big River tribe, whom he overtook at Lake Echo. They fled from their camp, leaving behind several spears, a looking glass, and the gun of Captain Thomas.

Robinson found other encampments, but on his approach the natives invariably fled. He saw them at last near the Barn Bluff mountain, about two miles distant, and assembling his people, selected a few of the friendly natives, who, together with a woman who had been present at the murder of Captain Thomas, were sent to meet them. Robinson's party were concealed. Presently the war-whoop was heard, and the rattle of spears, as the hostile tribe drew nearer. Manalagana (by which name Lemima was now known), leaped on his feet in alarm, and urged Robinson to run for his life, but he declined to do so. The blacks drew near in a large body, in warlike attitude—the friendly messengers with them. Robinson coolly walked up to the chiefs and shook hands with them. This confident movement took the blacks by surprise. The Protector then explained to them in their own language the purport of his visit, invited them to sit down, gave them some refreshment and a few trinkets. Delighted with the interview, and astonished at being addressed in their own tongue, they placed themselves entirely under Robinson's control. He returned with them to their encampment, where the evening was spent in mutual good humour, each party dancing alternately. The capture of these formidable warriors, known as the Big River and Oyster Bay tribes, so long the terror of the country, and at the sight of whom even the friendly natives trembled, at once placed the Protector at the summit of colonial fame. Mr. Calder says—"The attenuated remnants of these once powerful tribes, formerly numbering perhaps a thousand people, yielded, all told, only 26 individuals. Yet were they still as troublesome as in the days of their strength, and committed more murders and robberies in their decay than they were known to have done at any former period. . . . In Robinson's journey with them to Hobart Town he placed them under no restraint whatever. He permitted them to

leave his camp at will, to hunt, or otherwise amuse themselves; but such was the ascendancy he acquired over them from the first that they made no effort to quit him, but slept around his tent every night."

Governor Arthur was deeply moved when he received the party at Government House. Anxious to gratify the willing captives, he ordered the band out; but the effect was different from that which he expected. The poor creatures screamed with terror, and crowded round Mr. Robinson with entreaties for protection. A grand demonstration took place. During the festival their confidence increased. The native, Ondia, put a crayfish on a spear to show his skill, and at a distance of sixty yards brought it down with another spear. Mr. Robinson took them to his home in Upper Elizabeth-street, and they camped about his premises. The Protector was received by the inhabitants with great enthusiasm, and the newspapers were loud in his praise. He was rewarded by a gift of £400 from the Government; his son, M'Geary, Stanfield, and his black associates also received considerable rewards.

Robinson lost no time at the capital. On February 11th, 1832, he started off to inspect Flinders Island, and subsequently recommended that place as the future home of the aborigines. Then he advanced with his party to the western districts, where the remnants of four tribes were still at large.

These tribes had made many incursions into the estates of the Van Diemen's Land Company at Woolnorth, Circular Head, and Emu Bay, plundering the out-stations and killing several whites. Alexander M'Kay had already succeeded in capturing some of them. At Port Davey Robinson met his old friends, numbering twenty-six; they laid down their spears, and followed him. Several of these were fine muscular men, above six feet in height. On July 12th, 1832, the Protector reported taking thirty-two in the neighbourhood of Macquarie Harbour.

In September of the same year he encountered a band of warlike natives near the mouth of the Arthur River. Proposals were made, but they sullenly declined the advances of the whites. A night of dreadful suspense followed. The savages camped at a little distance; but instead of resting, their movements indicated preparation for a scene of slaughter. Robinson, in order to reassure his own people, put on a calm and confident appearance, threw off his clothes, rolled himself in his blanket before the fire, and watchfully waited for the morn. Part of the adventure we give in his own words:—

“At the earliest dawn of day they made a large fire, round which the men assembled, and began preparing their weapons intended for my destruction. At this juncture one of the wild natives (a relative of one of my friendly aborigines), commenced a vehement discussion, and argued against the injustice of killing me, and asked why they would kill their friend and protector. I had by this time put on my raiment. My aboriginal companions were greatly alarmed, and, on looking for their spears, found that the wild natives had taken them away during the night. Several of their blankets had also been stolen. . . . In the midst of the discussion I rose up, and stood in front of them with my arms folded, thinking to divert them from their savage purpose. I said if they were not willing to come with me they could return again to their own country. Scarcely had I spoken ere they shouted their war-whoop, seized their spears, and proceeded at once to surround me. My friendly aborigines shrieked and fled.” In this awkward position Robinson remained a moment longer, until the savages had nearly surrounded him. He then made a rush, and favoured by the underwood, evaded his pursuers until he reached an angle of the river. The faithful companion of his wanderings, Truganini, who had taken the same direction when she fled with the others, happened

to be there. Truganini saw the blacks approaching, and urged her leader to hide, while she swam the river and went to the encampment on the other side. Robinson now saw one of the natives looking for his footsteps, and decided the only chance of escape was to cross the river. He could not swim; the current was strong, and the raft on which his party passed over was a mile lower down. He then launched a log into the river, and, holding on to it, Truganini swam across, drawing the log after her. They proceeded to the encampment, where Robinson's son and some of the natives had been left. "With these people," he says, "I again returned to the river, and was agreeably disappointed to find that all my aboriginal friends had escaped unhurt, and that two of the hostile blacks had joined them. The wild natives had assembled on the opposite bank of the river. Here they continued to exhibit the most violent gestures, and were exceedingly boisterous in their declamations, threatening to cross the river and massacre us."

From the two fugitives he learned that it was intended to kill the whole party, excepting the women: but for Robinson himself was reserved a special fate: his body was to be mutilated and burned, and his ashes made into *raydee*, or *num-re-mur-he-kee* (amulets). Robinson addressed the hostile blacks across the river. He assured them of his forgiveness and goodwill. His persuasive eloquence in their native tongue induced two more to desert the ranks of the would-be murderers, one of whom was Kyenrope, the maiden daughter of Wyne, chief of the Pieman River tribe. This old chief on witnessing her flight as she swam across the river, put himself in a menacing attitude, and threatened to come over and murder all hands. There was still danger of a collision, and matters seemed gloomy, as the Protector had no weapons of defence; but his presence of mind served

instead. He sent up a huge smoke, as if signalling for reinforcements, whereupon the enemy decamped, and Robinson proceeded on his journey to the north, with his four unexpected prizes, and 23 other voluntary captives. These he transferred to one of the Hunter Islands, from whence they were at once removed to Flinders.

The firmness of the aboriginal character was forcibly exhibited in the fidelity of Robinson's followers at times when his daring exploits demanded the most resolute courage and devotion. Foremost of the party were Woor-eddy and his wife Truganini. Mr. Duterreau (a colonial artist whose portraits of the aborigines are still to be seen in many a settler's home) writes concerning the former—"He was present at all Mr. Robinson's interviews with the blacks. Through the intervention of this man he has been preserved from extreme danger." Of Truganini Mr. Bonwick writes—"Her mind was of no ordinary kind. Fertile in expedient, sagacious in council, courageous in difficulty, she had the wisdom and fascination of the serpent, the intrepidity and nobility of the royal ruler of the desert."

The chief Manalagana and his wife were not less faithful. "As a warrior (says Mr. Duterreau) Manalagana stood unrivalled amongst the aborigines, and was considered a sage by his tribe. At his first interview with Mr. Robinson, he left his native wilds and accompanied him on all his missionary enterprises throughout the island. . . . Manalagana's wife, Tanleboueyer, laboured incessantly to promote the objects of the mission. She and her sister were originally stolen by the sealers when they were children, and held in bondage until emancipated by Mr. Robinson in 1830. Tanleboueyer was superior to the other natives both in person and intelligence, possessing much dignity of manners, and seldom participating in those frivolities the others indulged in. She was exceedingly attached to her husband. The feeling was mutual, for during the period of

six years they were with Mr. Robinson they never quarrelled."

Robinson continued his labours unceasingly during the two years following. In all the expeditions he undertook his efforts were crowned with success. He gained the affections of the natives, and thus retained their confidence. In after days he wrote :—"In all my difficulties my sole dependence was on the Omnipotent Being; and I may truly say I was led in the paths which I knew not, preserved in danger by His power alone. Frequently have I seen the sun go down without any expectation of beholding it again in the morning; and I have been surrounded by savage blacks, with their spears presented at me, and have been spared when all hope had fled."

In January, 1833, Mr. Cotterell fell in with the tribe who had attacked Robinson at the Arthur river. Old Wync, their chieftain, was with them. They agreed to accompany Cotterell, and remained with him during the night, but when they had marched about four miles on the following morning they disappeared amongst some scrub. Many, however, were brought in during that year. In October Robinson returned with thirty wild aborigines. In the early part of 1834 he secured twenty on the western coast and forwarded them to Flinders Island. They were the remnant of the tribe he had encountered at the Arthur River two years before. It was with much difficulty, and only after several failures, that he subdued this tribe. In February he captured eight, in March three, and in April nine. The privations and hardships endured by the party in their numerous expeditions over the inhospitable regions which lie along the western coast may in some measure be imagined from the description of Macquarie Harbour given on a former page.

At the close of 1833 it was believed that all the aborigines who had been in the habit of visiting the settled districts

were removed. A few, however, appeared in the early part of the following year. Their haunts were across the tiers inland towards Middlesex Plains. It was in the winter season when Robinson proceeded to Cradle Mountain, and searched the country along the tributaries of the Forth and Mersey rivers. The circumstances called forth special energy. His noble little band almost lost their power of endurance as they struggled along the dreadful mountain passes. For seven successive days they travelled over snow, in many places up to their middle; but all the time those wayworn men and women were sustained by the cheerful voice of their unconquerable leader, and they responded nobly to his call.

At length their labours were rewarded. The blacks were seen at the extreme Western Bluff in December, 1834. There were four women, a man, and three boys. They had long desired to come in and join their relations, but when they appeared in the settled districts they were pursued and fired at. The moment they saw the friendly natives approaching they ran forward and embraced them.

On the 22nd of January, 1835, this, the last party of aborigines, were brought by Mr. Robinson to his home in Elizabeth-street, Hobart Town. He might well be proud of the complete success which had crowned his self-denying devotion and dauntless courage. He had walked four thousand miles over the wildest parts of the island, and, *without shedding one drop of blood*, had brought into an abode of peace and safety the desperate savages who had held the colony in terror. In 1830 and 1831 he brought in 54; in 1832, 63; in 1833, 42; and all who remained at large surrendered in the year following.* The number

* So at least it was then supposed; but, in 1842, a family of seven individuals appeared in the vicinity of Circular Head. The parents were about fifty years of age, and their offspring, five in number, were of ages from childhood to maturity. They were taken by a sealer, brought up to Launceston, and removed to Flinders Island. The youngest boy, afterwards named William Lanné, was the last male survivor of the race.



Truggernana, Native of Recherche Bay.

J. Walsh & Sons, Hobart.

1808年 4月21日 1 日 31 日 1808年

placed on Flinders Island was 203, including Robinson's faithful guides. Their subsequent fate will be recorded hereafter.

It is hardly necessary to say that George Augustus Robinson was greeted with the plaudits of the whole community. He was rewarded by large grants of land and additional sums in money, amounting altogether in value to about £8,000.





CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF COLONY—CROWN LANDS—A NEW ERA—SWAN RIVER SETTLEMENT—SPENCER'S GUILT—PORT PHILLIP FIRST SETTLED BY IMMIGRANTS FROM LAUNCESTON—PROGRESS—STATISTICAL INFORMATION—ROADS AND COACHES—PORT ARTHUR—PUBLIC WORKS—POLITICAL ASSOCIATION—ARTHUR'S UNPOPULARITY—NEWSPAPERS—DR. ROSS, R. L. MURRAY, HENRY MELVILLE, GILBERT ROBERTSON—ARTHUR'S RECALL—HIS DEPARTURE—SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unsettled state of affairs caused by the depredations of bushrangers, by the hitherto hostile attitude of the aborigines, and by the dissatisfaction of the free population at their exclusion from a voice in the affairs of government, the colony continued steadily to advance. Population was increasing rapidly by means of emigration from the mother country. The Home Government gave assistance to mechanics who were willing to emigrate to Van Diemen's Land. Many military pensioners were induced to come to the colony in consideration of receiving small grants of land and four years' payment in commutation of their pensions. This turned out an unfortunate arrangement for the pensioners, many of whom spent their money in drink, neglected their allotments, and died in poverty.

The Colonial Office exhibited great indecision in regard to the disposal of Crown lands. Numerous plans were adopted but abandoned shortly after they were brought into operation. At one time land was granted to emancipists as well as to settlers who arrived free. For every 100 acres granted the settler was required to cultivate five.

Subsequently this proviso was omitted, but the grantee had to keep a convict servant for every 100 acres, and a quit rent of 15s. per 100 acres was substituted for 2s. as formerly. In 1828, persons emigrating to the colony were entitled to 640 acres of land for every £500 they brought out with them. Prior to that date there was a regulation permitting officers of the army, not under the rank of captain, to sell their commission in order to emigrate; and, on arrival in Van Diemen's Land, they were entitled to a grant. These regulations drew many to the island; upwards of 500 grants, exceeding 500 acres each, were issued in four years ending 1831. Payment of quit rent was a condition of most grants, but it was generally evaded, and ultimately its enforcement was abandoned in favour of a liberal compromise.

In 1828 the first sales of land took place. Land was divided into parishes, valued, and offered for sale at a low figure, no person being allowed to purchase more than 9,600 acres. In two years about 70,000 acres were sold for £20,000, the purchasers being mostly the large landholders who could not otherwise add to their grants. The land laws were exceedingly vague until the system of free grants absolutely ceased, which was on the 20th January, 1831.

Great confusion arose from the loose way land had been granted. The Secretary of State and the Governor were in the habit of conferring grants at will, upon no defined principle, and without any legal authority. Surveys were delayed, and when made settlers were frequently found in occupation of land belonging to a prior grantee. Titles were a general matter of dispute. Mr. Alfred Stephen declared that all existing grants were invalid in consequence of a defect in form, the Governors Macquarie, Brisbane, and Darling having issued the grants in their own names instead of in the name of the King. This was in fact the case. It led to the appointment, in 1835, of a caveat board, under a statute which empowered its members to adjudicate in the

matter of disputed titles according to the dictates of equity and good conscience. After due investigation in each case new grants were issued in proper form, and titles were made secure.

The years immediately preceding 1830 mark the dawn of a new era in the history of Australia. The existing colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land had been founded and were maintained by the British Government as penal settlements, and although many free emigrants had been attracted to their shores, the penal character still predominated. New forces were now at work. The distressed condition of the agricultural labourers in England was pressing upon the attention of the nation the subject of emigration as a cure for the evils of pauperism.

Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield had propounded a scheme of colonisation which should avoid the errors of the past, and the unsettled portions of the then little known continent of Australia seemed to offer a promising field for the practical development of his views. Various projects of colonisation were formed by private associations who sought aid or concessions from the Imperial Government.

One of the earliest of these resulted in the settlement of Swan River (Western Australia) in the early part of the year 1829. Numbers of respectable emigrants went from Great Britain and received grants under conditions for the investment of capital. The settlers located themselves along the banks of the Swan and Canning rivers. Captain Stirling was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He had explored the coast in H.M.S. *Success*, and his favourable report led to the formation of the settlement. By the end of the year there were 850 residents in the young colony, with property valued at £41,550, and 525,000 acres of land were allotted. In three or four years 4,000 emigrants had landed, but from the poverty of the soil and other causes the new settlement soon became involved in difficulties, and

eventually in ruin. Nearly all the adventurers abandoned the colony; some returned home; some came to Van Diemen's Land, where they permanently settled.

Soon after the settlement of Western Australia a project was formed to establish another free colony at Spencer's Gulf. In August, 1834, an act was passed empowering the Crown to erect South Australia into a British province. Emigrants arrived; land was sold; and consequently sheep were required to stock it.

The settlers of the free colony looked with much contempt on the penal character of the two elder colonies; but the latter found a market at Adelaide for their stock, and thus derived great pecuniary gain. The Tasmanian merchants sent over quantities of split and sawn timber for the houses of the South Australians, sheep for their pastures, grain, and other produce. Sad disasters befel the new settlement soon after. The colonists spent their capital in purchasing land at 12s. and £1 per acre, in building, and purchasing stock. Most of the mercantile houses were insolvent: hundreds were driven to Van Diemen's Land by poverty: their land was unsaleable, and their dwellings were deserted. A German gentleman, named Menge, employed by Mr. George F. Angas to select his special surveys, subsequently discovered the mineral riches of South Australia, and henceforth that colony flourished.

While these ambitious schemes of colonisation met for the time with results so discouraging, the year 1834 saw the first humble beginnings of an enterprise which, without aid from Act of Parliament or Royal Charter, but having its origin in the energy and enterprise of a few private Tasmanian colonists, was destined to attain a development rapid to a degree unparalleled in history. This enterprise was the settlement of Port Phillip.

At various times since 1803, when Collins had with so much precipitancy abandoned that country for the banks of

the Derwent, reports of its suitability for pastoral purposes had reached Van Diemen's Land. In 1827 Messrs. Gellibrand and Batman applied to Governor Darling for permission to land stock at Western Port, but the project fell through at that time.

To Launceston belongs the honour of founding the colony of Victoria. In 1834 two gentlemen (the Messrs. Henty) went across the Straits from that town, and occupied a portion of the country round Portland Bay with flocks of sheep. They tilled sufficient to provide cereals for their own consumption. The plough with which the first sod of Victorian soil was turned they preserved: it was exhibited as a relic of the past in the agricultural machinery department of the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880-81.

Mr. John Batman, whose name appears as one of the conciliators of the Van Diemen's Land aborigines, was the next to cross Bass Strait. A company had been formed in Van Diemen's Land, its object being to purchase from the natives a large tract of land in the vicinity of the waters of Port Phillip. The promoters of the undertaking were Joseph Tice Gellibrand (the former Attorney-General, who was afterwards lost in the Port Phillip bush); Charles Swanston, M.L.C.; William Bannister, sheriff; James Simpson, police magistrate; Henry Arthur, collector of customs; John and William Robertson, merchants; John Helder Wedge, surveyor; J. T. Collicot, postmaster; Anthony Cotterell, district constable; William Gardiner Sams, under-sheriff; Michael Conolly, merchant; Major Mercer; John Sinclair, superintendent of convicts; and John Batman.

Batman, as agent for the company, sailed from Launceston on May 12th, 1835, in the *Rebecca*, a small vessel of 15 tons, Harwood, master. The wind being foul, the little vessel ran into Port Sorell for safety. Sailing thence, the voyage was completed in a few days. Batman had with him Messrs. Gunn, Todd, and Thompson, and a few Sydney

blacks. On his arrival in the bay of Port Phillip (29th May), he selected Indented Head for his head quarters, and then proceeded onward in the *Rebecca* as far as Williamstown Point. Here the party landed, saw the smoke of natives' fires in the distance, had an interview with the natives at Saltwater Creek, and again on the banks of the Yarra, where, on 6th June, Batman entered into negotiations with eight chiefs for the purchase of about 600,000 acres of land.* This transaction is recorded in a journal kept by Batman wherein are carefully noted the events of each day: the manuscript was recently (1882) presented to the Melbourne Public Library, where it will be preserved as an interesting memento of the past. The land was bounded by the Yarra from its mouth to a point three miles above the first fall, thence fifty miles north-west, thence fifty miles west, thence eighty miles to the Barwon River at Geelong, and thence along the shores of the bay to the point of commencement at the estuary of the Yarra. The deed of conveyance had been prepared by Mr. Gellibrand, who left Batman to fill in the boundaries and area.

The acquisition of such a splendid territory would have invested the fifteen proprietors with princely fortunes indeed; but the purchase was held to be void in law. The principle upon which the British Crown can lawfully possess lands occupied by an aboriginal race, without any recompense whatever, was not recognised in the case of private individuals, even when they purchased for a consideration.

Mr. J. P. Fawcner had already formed a resolution to colonise Port Phillip, and arranged with five others to

* "After some time, and full explanation, I found eight chiefs amongst them who possessed the whole of the country near Port Phillip. Three brothers, all of the same name, are the principal chiefs, and two of them, men of six feet high and very good looking, the other not so tall but stouter. The other five chiefs were fine men, and after a full explanation of what my object was, I purchased two large tracts of land from them, about 600,000 acres, more or less, and delivered over to them blankets, knives, looking glasses, tomahawks, scissors, flour, &c, as payment for the land, and also agreed to give them a tribute or rent yearly. The parchment the eight

accompany him. He was unfortunate in being unable to procure a vessel, Batman having chartered the only one available. The Hentys had a small vessel trading between Launceston and Portland Bay, the *Sally Anne*, the master of which agreed to land Fawkner and four of his party at the Port Phillip Heads for a certain sum, but it was found that it would affect the vessel's insurance, and the negotiation failed. Fawkner then purchased the schooner *Enterprise*, 55 tons; she was at Sydney, and he was unable to move until the month of July, when she arrived at Launceston. On the 20th July, Captain Hunter, of the *Enterprise*, commenced taking in cargo for Port Phillip, consisting of provisions for the use of the settlement; grain of all sorts, ploughs, harrows, garden plants and seeds, 2,500 choice young fruit trees, and three horses. The members of Fawkner's association were, himself, Robert Hay, George Evans and his man Marr, Evan Evans, and William Jackson. Fawkner also took over a ploughman, shoemaker, and blacksmith with a wife. A friend, Captain Lancey, also accompanied him. This little party, intent on founding a new colony, sailed out of the Tamar Heads on the 28th July; but the weather was stormy, and after beating about for two days and nights, the vessel put back to George Town. Fawkner's health gave way, and he was unable to proceed with the vessel: he gave instructions, however, to his associates, and to Captain Lancey, who took charge of the expedition. The *Enterprise* put into Western Port on her voyage, entered Port Phillip on August 15th, and proceeded up to the Yarra river. On the 28th she was moored to the trees which grew on

chiefs signed this afternoon, each of them delivering to me some of the soil, as giving me full possession of the tracts of land. This took place alongside of a beautiful stream of water, and from whence my land commences, and where a tree is marked four ways to know the corner boundary. The country about here exceeds anything I ever saw both for grass and richness of soil, the timber light and consists of she-oak and small gum, with a few wattle."—*Batman's Journal*.

the banks of the river, where the great city of Melbourne now stands.

The party were hardly settled in the new encampment when Mr. J. H. Wedge and some of Batman's blacks visited them. Mr. Wedge handed a written document to Captain Lancey, warning him on behalf of himself and his brother squatters to quit the land Batman had purchased from the natives. Lancey denied the right of Batman's party to the soil upon which he was encamped, and proceeded with the erection of buildings. From Fawkner's subsequent statement it would appear Batman's people had never seen the Yarra until Mr. Wedge followed up the channel taken by the *Enterprise*. The question was a matter of life-long controversy between Batman and Fawkner. At all events Fawkner's party held possession, marked off ten acres of land to each individual, ploughed five acres in September, and sowed wheat, which produced 100 bushels. They also planted their fruit trees, and grew a large quantity of garden produce.

The *Enterprise* returned to Launceston, and again sailed for Port Phillip on September 30th, having on board Fawkner and his wife, Mrs. Lancey and three children, and four servants for Fawkner. The cargo consisted of boards, bricks, shingles, a quantity of stores, two cows and one calf, and two horses. On the 11th October Fawkner arrived in Hobson's Bay; it took five days to warp up the Yarra, the passage being greatly impeded by snags and overhanging tea trees.

It is not within the scope of this history to follow Fawkner in his career of success in Victoria, where, after a singularly active and eventful life, he died full of years and honours on 4th September, 1869.

The spirit of enterprise initiated by Batman and Fawkner soon developed a remarkable activity in the trade and commerce of Van Diemen's Land. The early settlers were

possessed of large flocks and herds; their families were growing up, and an opening was needed for their sons. Port Phillip, according to the reports of the pioneer settlers, possessed a boundless pastoral territory. Here was a brilliant prospect for colonists encumbered with more sheep than their runs would carry. To Port Phillip, therefore, many young Tasmanians repaired with flocks of sheep. They were not all successful: they lacked the energy of their fathers; some returned home; others appreciated the magnificent prospects unfolded in the new settlement, and became prosperous.

A brisk trade between Launceston and Port Phillip was soon established. In April, 1836, a Hobart Town newspaper writes:—"It will be found in our Launceston shipping report that no less than four vessels sailed for Port Phillip last week with sheep and emigrants. Not a day passes without flocks of sheep being driven into Launceston for this new settlement." The same paper (*Bent's News*), of May 7th, gives a glowing account of the country: Bent says—"On climbing a tree you can stretch the eye to boundless limits, for few mountains are to be seen in any direction. Wherever the traveller may roam he is assailed by zephyrs of delectable fragrance, and the appearance of the face of nature exclaims that she has emptied her bounteous lap in exuberant plenitude (!) . . . That this will not only be a settlement, but one of the largest in Australia, is our confirmed opinion; indeed, we know there are at present about 400 inhabitants."

One of the results attending the exodus was an extraordinary advance in the price of provisions and clothing; but the impetus given to all branches of industry more than compensated for the temporary high cost of living. Sheep, formerly worth 5s., were readily sold for £2. The market quotations as early as February—four months after Fawcner left, were—flour, £28 per ton; hay, £7 per ton; wheat,

10s. per bushel; oats, 4s.; barley, 7s.; fresh butter, 2s. a pound. Horses and horned cattle were also sold at a very advanced price.

During the twelve years of Arthur's administration the colony had made astonishing progress. In 1824 the population was under 13,000, of whom half were convicts: in 1835 it had increased to over 40,000, of whom about 23,000 were free, and 17,000 bond. The general revenue, which was almost wholly derived from duties on spirits and tobacco, had risen from £17,000 to over £90,000, and the annual Government expenditure from £30,000 to over £100,000.

The area of land occupied had increased largely, a million and a half acres having been granted, and quarter of a million acres sold—the latter realising £107,000. Nearly 90,000 acres of land were under cultivation as compared with 35,000 acres in 1824. The development of the trade of the colony was even more striking. The imports, which in 1824 were only £62,000, in 1835 stood at £584,000, while the exports had risen from £14,500 to £320,000. Wool had become a most important source of wealth, nearly two million pounds having been exported in 1835 as compared with less than 200,000lbs. in 1827, while the price, which in 1824 was from 3d. to 6d. per lb., was now from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.

In 1824 one bank with a capital of £10,000 had been sufficient for the wants of the settlement: now there were six flourishing institutions having a united paid up capital of £200,000. Schools had been established in many places: instead of two Government schools, as in 1824, there were now 29 in existence, with 1,177 children attending them. Provision had also been made for the religious wants of the community by the erection of places of worship, of which there were now eighteen as compared with four which Arthur found on his arrival.

The means of internal communication had been greatly improved during Arthur's administration. Montagu, who, as Colonial Secretary, compiled a volume of "Statistical Returns from 1824 to 1835" (from which the foregoing figures have been taken), points with pride to the improvement in the postal service. In 1824 the mail was carried between the two principal towns only once a fortnight, and on foot; "whereas," says Mr. Montagu, "the mail is now conveyed under contract in a mail cart twice a week between those two towns in 19 hours (121 miles), and there is also a public coach twice a week upon the same road, as well as several public conveyances in other parts of the island for the accommodation of travellers."

Thus it will be seen that the colony had rapidly advanced during Arthur's government. There can be no doubt that his administrative ability contributed in no small degree to this result. It was largely due to his anxious efforts that the settlers of the interior had been delivered from the depredations of the blacks, whereby they could now dwell in their homesteads in peace and security. Bushranging was almost extinct, partly owing to his vigorous watchfulness, and partly in consequence of the more humane prison discipline which he introduced. By his judicious management the worst evils of the transportation system were modified. Macquarie Harbour had been abandoned, and the prisoners were removed to the new settlement of Port Arthur on Tasman's Peninsula, where they were treated with less rigour, and were consequently less troublesome.

The Peninsula was a place especially adapted to the circumstances of a convict establishment. The only communication with the mainland is by a very narrow neck of land, which was closely guarded by soldiers and constables; and kennelled watch-dogs of an exceedingly ferocious breed, whose chains reached from one to another, afforded

additional security against the escape of any of the unhappy culprits whose repeated crimes had led them to suffer banishment to that extra-penal station.

The labour of the convicts employed in gangs throughout the colony was judiciously directed to the execution of permanent works which have proved of great public utility. The New Wharf at Hobart Town was constructed at a cost to the Imperial Government of nearly £80,000. Roads were made in different parts of the interior. A large outlay was incurred in the construction of a causeway across the Derwent at Bridgewater, in forming and macadamising portions of the road between the two chief towns, on the Richmond road, and other works. Public buildings of a somewhat enduring character rose in the towns. The settlers, too, began to erect superior dwelling-houses on their estates, which they effected at an inconsiderable cost, for their artisans were assigned servants who received no wages for their labour. These improvements tended materially to enhance the value of property and add to the general prosperity of the colonists.

Under these circumstances it might be supposed that Arthur, whose earlier actions had rendered him so unpopular, might now enjoy a respite from the animosities of the colonists; yet, it is said, there was something repellent in his manner which checked the reciprocity of feeling so desirable between the Governor and the governed. Doubtless many who cultivated an antipathy to Governor Arthur were actuated by no principle whatever. They drifted with the current, and while exclaiming "I do not like thee," might add "the reason why I cannot tell." Certain it is that party excitement raged vehemently at this period. The institutions of the country were far from being such as free-born Englishmen would choose as their model; but the colonists were aware, before they came to Van Diemen's Land, that they must sacrifice

many cherished political privileges when they emigrated to a penal colony.

A Political Association was formed at Hobart Town, the object of which was to endeavour to redress wrongs, and by the superior force of organised agitation to gain the ear of the British authorities, and of the King, if necessary. Mr. Thomas Horne, a gentleman whose name will appear in these pages in a variety of characters, was honorary secretary of the Political Association. It ranked among its members several colonists of high standing, some of whom were actuated by feelings of personal hostility to the Governor for real or imaginary wrongs inflicted, while others joined the movement believing it to be a constitutional mode of expressing their wants, and thereby obtaining redress. The members of this Association deliberated in public, assembling in the body of a hall, while spectators were admitted to the gallery and the proceedings were reported in the newspapers of the day.

In order to take definite action the members appointed a council of twenty-five of its body to represent to Governor Arthur the grievances under which the colonists generally were labouring. The names upon the committee were certainly a guarantee that grievances did exist*. They addressed two letters to the Governor (November 14, 1835) calling His Excellency's attention to the impropriety of allowing convicts to exercise the functions of constables, whereby the lives of free subjects were endangered by false evidence, and strongly urging upon him the necessity of abolishing, in criminal cases, the obnoxious military jury of seven officers, and of conceding to the colonists the right which as Englishmen they claimed of trial by their peers.

* Anthony Fenn Kemp, Wm. Gellibrand, George Gatehouse, W. T. Mac-michael, T. Y. Lowes, J. G. Buggs, David Lord, C. T. Smith, W. A. Broadibb, Francis Smith, W. H. Glover, Thomas Dutton, Thomas Lewis, Thomas Hewitt, Andrew Bent, Askin Morrison, John Lester, James Hackett, Edward Abbott, G. Stokell, J. T. Gellibrand, Thomas Horne, Charles Seal, Henry Bilton, Henry Melville.

The Governor promptly disposed of these and all further communications that might emanate from the Political Association by informing the secretary that "he did not feel authorised, without the express sanction of His Majesty, to enter into any correspondence whatever with any such Association." A reply so abrupt was not calculated to conciliate; it revealed the unbending character of Arthur, and the small value he placed upon public opinion. No one who knew the Governor's views in regard to conceding privileges to free inhabitants in a penal colony could expect that his reply would be favourable, but he lacked the art of saying "No" without offending, and to this may be ascribed much of his unpopularity.

The newspapers at this period were remarkably active in a premature struggle to obtain political freedom. There were seven journals published at the capital and two in Launceston. The *Courier* was the property of and was edited by James Ross, L.L.D., a man of literary and scientific attainments, and many virtues. Ross sympathised with the Governor in his unpopularity; appreciated his kindly efforts on behalf of the unfortunate natives (in whose fate Ross was also deeply interested); and in admiring the Governor's better qualities was blind to the failings which others perceived. Thus Dr. Ross became a courtier, and the *Courier* was the organ of Arthur's party. Next in moderation was the *Tasmanian and Austral-Asiatic Review*, edited by Robert Lathrop Murray. It was an ably conducted journal, void of offensive personalities, allied to no particular party, and consequently unsuited to the tastes of a people who talked themselves into the belief that they were gasping for a breath of constitutional freedom.

The *Colonial Times* and the *Trumpeter* were the property of Mr. Henry Melville, who was editor of the former. It was a well got up paper for the time; indeed, it would

make a creditable appearance in any of the Australian towns at the present day. Melville entered heartily into the leading questions of the time. Defects in the administration of justice were fearlessly exposed. The favouritism, espionage, and tyrannical conduct of the Executive were loudly denounced. The system of prison discipline as it existed was pronounced vicious and corrupt. Melville soon got himself into trouble. A Mr. Robert Bryan, nephew of a magistrate in the colony with whom the Governor had quarrelled, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged for cattle stealing. The editor believed Bryan was innocent of the charge on which he was convicted on the evidence of convict constables, and commented strongly on the proceedings of the Judge and jury. Melville was therefore prosecuted for contempt of court, and ordered by Chief Justice Pedder to be imprisoned for twelve months, to pay a fine of £200, and to find sureties for his good behaviour for two years. Gilbert Robertson, editor of the *True Colonist*, was already in gaol. "On Mr. Melville being first incarcerated (said the *Colonial Times*, December 1st), he was locked up with Mr. Robertson in a condemned cell, from whence the man-eater Pearce,* the aborigines, and some score of malefactors were taken to execution. Nor was this all; the vermin and the confined space rendered the imprisonment the description of torture the Christian, the merciful authorities no doubt intended. . . . All that Mr. Melville requires is a room or cell to himself, and that his wife may be allowed to remain with him—not a great deal to ask when a man is illegally incarcerated for an offence which he was ignorant of having committed; and convicted, too, by a man who was his own judge, his own jury, and his own prosecutor, and that man, too, one of the most prejudiced and hottest tempered in the colony."

* A notorious runaway from Macquarie Harbour who killed and ate his comrades.

The *True Colonist* was established for the express purpose of gratifying the vindictive feelings of its proprietor, Mr. Gilbert Robertson, towards the Governor and other officials. It is not very clear why he indulged a revengeful spirit. He was at one time district constable of Richmond, and received 1,000 acres of land for his services in capturing a few of the aborigines. Whatever may have been Gilbert Robertson's grievance, he possessed considerable power of retaliation. He was a man of powerful frame, of rude exterior, of passionate impulses, and indomitable obstinacy. His heart was the reservoir of a deadly hatred towards Arthur, which found vent twice a week in the editorial columns of the *True Colonist*. He charged the Governor with an act amounting to forgery; for this libel he was tried, found guilty by a civil jury, and sentenced to four months' imprisonment and a fine of £60. Again he accused His Excellency, in no very delicate manner, of appropriating Government hay to his private use, which he indirectly made out to be a felony. When called before a jury he had not a particle of evidence to sustain the libel; he was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment and a fine of £120. Again he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of £20 for libelling Mr. Rowlands, a solicitor. Nor did the prosecutions against Robertson end here. While he was still in gaol for the *first* offence, he was found guilty of a *fourth* libel. He accused Captain Montagu, the Colonial Secretary (Governor Arthur's nephew), of having built his house at Cottage Green of materials which were the property of the Government. For this offence, having no evidence to support his charges, he was found guilty and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £50. The eccentric and oftentimes irritable Judge Montagu, in passing sentence, addressed the unfortunate editor at considerable length. Among many things he said:—"I consider you are the tool of a miserable party by whose

directions you have been acting, and sorry am I to see you prostrating your intellect in so base, detestable, and abominable a service. I once knew you to be a respectable member of society ; but now, your writings, or publications —for I do not believe you to be the writer of these articles —are a pest even to Botany Bay. . . . The licentious and degraded state of the Press is one of the worst features in this colony. It is, I think, impossible to conceive any publication more infamous, more monstrous, more atrocious, than the libel you have published against Captain Montagu. Good God ! in England what would be thought of a man who would openly come forward and charge the Governor of a colony, or the Secretary of State, with a felony ? But is the society of this colony so degraded, so depraved, so entirely devoid of all moral and spiritual feeling, that such abominable publications are to be tolerated ? The Press ! Call you *this* the Press ? (said His Honor with indescribable expression in his countenance). . . . I would hope, Mr. Robertson, that you are not a wicked man ; but I fear you are a man acting from bad principles : you are a man disaffected to the Government. I happen to know that you have had your assigned servants taken from you, and from that time I believe you have become the tool of a faction.”* His Honor concluded by assuring the editor that he was prompted to pass so lenient a sentence (*twelve months and a fine of £50*) because it was the first time he had come before him, and he had a spark of kindness left towards him ; but if he ever again came before the court his sentence would be for three or four years.

Robertson's long imprisonment did not soften the acerbity of his nature. To the last day of Arthur's administration he continued to write and publish the most ferocious articles.†

* *Colonial Times* report.

† The following appeared in the *True Colonist* of May 27th, 1836 :—
“Colonel Arthur is at last positively recalled. . . . Never has it fallen

The same wild sentiments found vent in the columns of the *Cornwall Chronicle* at Launceston, a newspaper then in the hands of William Lushington Goodwin. The announcement of Arthur's recall was printed (May 28th) in all the varieties of large type that the establishment afforded.*

If the liberty of the press was crippled in the early days of Arthur's administration it evidently had free course before he departed. The only reasons for the disaffection of the press seem to lie in a small compass. There was an unpopular impounding law, whereby all persons who ran cattle upon the waste lands of the Crown were liable to have them impounded for trespass. The proceedings of Council were conducted with closed doors. Convicts of reputed good behaviour and peculiar adaptation were appointed petty constables. The Governor was patron of Bible and benevolent societies but not of the Turf Club; he favoured some individuals and oppressed others; he bestowed grants of land on his friends with a liberal hand, and removed convict servants from others, according to his exclusive will and pleasure; and he appointed two of his nephews—

to our lot to communicate such welcome intelligence. It is with feelings of joy we heard the glad news brought by the good ship *Elphinstone*. We will teach our little ones to remember while they live, and to teach their children to know the name of the ship that gladdened the heart of many a despondent parent with the tidings that the cause of their misery and sufferings, the evil genius of the colony, was at length ordered to repair to the presence of his Sovereign, to answer the load of charges preferred against him by some of the unhappy victims of his oppression. . . . He will be wafted from these shores by the curses of many a broken-hearted parent, and many a destitute child, which owe their misery to the foolish and wicked system, of misgovernment by which the colony has been ruined, and the vindictive system of persecution by which the prospects and characters of individuals were ruined. . . . He was the father of usury—the patron of falsehood, hypocrisy, and deceit—the protector of perjury, and the rewarder of perjurers."

* "Governor Arthur is Ordered Home!!! . . . To-morrow ought to be a Day of General Thanksgiving! for deliverance from the Iron Hand of Colonel Arthur! We have now a prospect of breathing. The accursed gang of bloodsuckers will be destroyed. Boys will be seen no more on Police Benches to insult respectable Men. Perjury will cease to be countenanced, and a Gang of Felons will be no longer permitted to violate the laws of Civilised Society. Colonists! Rejoice!! For the Day of Retribution has arrived!!!"

Captains Montagu and Forster—to the important offices of Colonial Secretary and Chief Police Magistrate.

It is difficult to understand how the colonists came to support newspapers conducted with so much virulence, for such writings were calculated to damage rather than strengthen the cause they espoused. The fact is the people had leisure, and entertainments being few, they enjoyed the strife of party; there was no other circulating literature in the colony, they therefore patronised the newspapers, which were left at their doors by means of a very efficient system. Post Office messengers were selected from the well conducted prisoners, who carried the mails to the door of every settler however remote his dwelling. These men travelled on foot through the country, crossing forests, rivers, and morasses in a marvellous manner, regardless of fire or flood.

But the literature of Governor Arthur's day was not all condemnatory of His Excellency's rule. Besides the *Hobart Town Courier* and *Murray's Review*, the *Launceston Advertiser* was generally favourable to the Government, recognising the necessity of bearing the ills they could not cure in a penal colony. Jorgenson, in his autobiography published in the *Van Diemen's Land Annual* for 1838, says:—"Colonel Arthur's character is not to be viewed through the medium of a party, nor determined by what may be gathered from the press of this colony. The statesman will reason from facts only. Our late Lieutenant-Governor's friends and well-wishers are strongly attached to him, and constitute by far the majority of the colonists. His enemies, though few in number, attempted to make a high stand; they made up in vituperation, scurrility, and perversion, what they wanted in truth, argument, and strength."

The ordinary term of Colonial Governors was limited to six years. Governor Arthur's had exceeded twelve—a fact

which tells the estimation in which he was held at the Colonial Office. As soon as it was known that His Excellency's departure was nigh at hand, the members of the Legislative Council waited on him with a becoming address. It was presented by the Chief Justice, who addressed His Excellency in a brief, but very handsome manner, before reading it. The Governor attempted to read his reply, but he did not advance far before his feelings overcame him—he was unable to proceed, and burst into tears. A *levee* was held on the morning of his departure, when all the principal and junior officers under the Government, a number of country gentlemen and settlers, and inhabitants of Hobart Town, presented themselves before His Excellency to pay their last token of respect. He proceeded on board in the afternoon of the 31st October, accompanied by all the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, the civil and military officers, and numbers of citizens. Some there were who stood apart, observing the proceedings with evident tokens of disloyalty. Governor Arthur, however, if he had some enemies, made many friends from whom he parted with feelings of deep sorrow.*

Previous to the departure of Colonel Arthur, Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass arrived to take the duties of Acting-Governor, he being the senior military officer in the colonies. He entered upon his duties on the 31st October, 1836, and administered the government for two months and six days.

* On Colonel Arthur's return to England he was created a Baronet, and was appointed Governor of Canada. On his retirement from that government he was nominated by the Court of Directors of the East India Company as Governor of the Presidency of Bombay. Ill-health obliged him to resign his appointment in 1846; but previously, to mark their sense of his capacity and zeal during the very arduous time he was at Bombay, the Court of Directors, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, nominated him to succeed Lord Hardinge as Governor-General of India in the event of that nobleman's death or resignation. His return to England prevented him from accepting the high honour thus conferred. In 1847 Sir George was made a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council. In 1853 he was appointed Colonel of the Queen's Own Regiment. He died on the 19th September, 1854, at his residence, Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, after a long and painful illness. His will was sworn to under £70,000. He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his son Frederick Leopold.



CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNOR SIR JOHN FRANKLIN—HIS NAUTICAL REPUTATION—DIFFICULTIES OF HIS NEW POSITION—CAPTAIN MACNOCHIE—HIS DISMISSAL—STATISTICAL RESULTS—SCHOOLS—CHURCHES—NEW CHURCH ACT—FINANCES—DISILLUSION PROHIBITED—PROSPERITY IN 1840—PRISON DISCIPLINE—IMMIGRATION—A SEASON OF DEPRESSION—THE CHARTISTS—SIR JOHN AND LADY FRANKLIN—ILLUSTRIOUS VISITORS: GOULD, BACKHOUSE AND WALKER, CAPTAINS ROSS AND CROZIER, DR. J. D. HOOKER, COUNT STRZELLECKI, CAPTAIN STOKES IN THE *Blazer*—CAPTAIN MONTAGU DISMISSED FROM OFFICE—FRANKLIN UNWILLING TO GOVERN A PENAL COLONY—HIS RECALL—HIS SUBSEQUENT FATE

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN, Captain in the Royal Navy, and Knight of the Guelphic Order of Hanover, arrived at Hobart Town in the *Fairlie*, and assumed the reins of government on the 6th day of January, 1837, as fifth Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land. He was accompanied by Captain Maconochie as private secretary, and by the Rev. William Hutchins, who had been appointed the first Archdeacon of the colony.

Franklin was born at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, April 16th, 1786. It is said that he was intended for the church, but as he displayed a decided predilection for the sea, his father did not oppose his choice of a profession, and in 1800 procured him a midshipman's post on board the *Polyphemus* line-of-battle ship. In the following year Franklin's ship led the van in the desperate battle of

Copenhagen. Two months after, he was transferred to the *Investigator*, then fitting out under command of Captain Flinders for discovery and survey of the Australian coast. On his return to England from Australia he was transferred to the *Bellerophon*, in which vessel he served as signal midshipman in the battle of Trafalgar (1805), and had the good fortune to escape unhurt. In 1814 he took a distinguished part in the battle of New Orleans. In 1819 Franklin commenced a series of explorations in the Arctic Sea, in which he was engaged till 1827, when he received the honour of knighthood, and the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, while the French Geographical Society awarded him their gold medal. Previous to this he was made post captain, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He subsequently took an active part in the Greek war of liberation.

Franklin's nautical renown had made his name familiar to the colonists. The history of his voyages of discovery in the Polar regions was already on the bookshelves of the settlers: they were, therefore, in some measure acquainted with his character. They had followed him in the interesting narrative of his adventurous voyages, admiring his intrepidity, and sympathising in his sufferings. The advent of such a popular and justly-honoured man was hailed with great enthusiasm: the people were unanimous in determining that his reception should be in accordance with his high position on the roll of fame. Those who rejoiced at the departure of his predecessor were especially demonstrative; but their hysterical display was of short duration: they found that Franklin had no sympathy with faction, from whatever source it emanated.

The new Governor had a difficult part to perform when he first entered on the government of a people whose social fabric had been so violently rent asunder by the storm of party strife. The difficulty he experienced in his

endeavours to smooth the troubled waters was a source of much anxiety and regret to him, for he was by nature gentle and humane, kind-hearted and benevolent. On his arrival he found Arthur's system in full swing. The ruling spirit of that system had departed, it is true, but the machinery remained in active operation; nor was it possible for Franklin, had he desired to do so, to suspend the existing state of affairs and introduce a new one. The chief officers of the Government, the nominee Legislative Council, the convict and police administration, were all what Arthur made them. It was no easy matter, under such circumstances, to introduce necessary reforms: it was difficult, in fact, to decide where abuses did exist, the conflicting reports of the settlers on the one hand, and officials on the other, rendering the task exceedingly onerous. The Governor's duties were new to him, and not precisely in accordance with his tastes. He found it much more difficult to steer his course amid the discordant elements of party strife in Van Diemen's Land than to guide his ship through the Polar ice-fields. Personally, however, he was respected by all, and he was cheered in his arduous task by the devotion of his talented wife.

It was a further misfortune for Sir John Franklin that complications in the matter of convict discipline arose between himself and his old friend Captain Maconochie, whom he had selected in England as his private secretary. It is not the design of this history to enter into minute details on the subject of prison discipline: it will suffice to state that the private secretary, when his destination became known, was deputed by a society of philanthropic individuals in England to observe the convict system of the colony, to note its effects on the moral and social interests of the community, and to make a full report, accompanying it with such remarks as might occur to him. Captain Maconochie asked leave of the Colonial Minister,

Sir George Grey, to perform this commission, and it was granted, on condition that all papers on the subject should be transmitted through the Governor to the Colonial Office. Maconochie had not been in the colony many months before he prepared voluminous reports, which the Governor forwarded without taking the precaution to peruse them. Subsequently their contents became known by their publication in England. His representation of the condition of the convicts was exceedingly unfavourable, and excited great indignation in the colony. The opinions expressed upon penal discipline were opposed to the views of all parties of colonial experience. The Governor deemed it his unpleasant duty to dismiss Maconochie from office, preserving, however, the friendly intercourse that had hitherto existed. Thus Franklin was left without the official on whose aid he had hoped to rely in any perplexities which might arise in his new sphere.

During the administration of Arthur the proceedings of the nominee Council had been conducted with closed doors, although the members had been released from the oath of secrecy formerly imposed. On the first session which Franklin opened, he announced that the public should be admitted to hear the debates; and accordingly the doors were thrown open. This was a popular act, duly appreciated by the people and the press. Reports of the proceedings of Council were published in the newspapers, and the concession was regarded as a great stride in the direction of political freedom.

The new Governor was painfully exercised in praiseworthy, but too often fruitless, endeavours to promote the harmony of parties. He nominated to his Council Mr. W. E. Lawrence, a northern colonist of considerable wealth and intelligence, with whom Arthur had quarrelled, and who had consequently been under a ban. Several gentlemen, likewise at variance with the former Governor, were

appointed to the commission of the peace. By means of these and other conciliatory measures, a better social order was gradually restored. Large accessions to the population and to the general prosperity of the colony also contributed to this result.

In 1838 the population was 45,764, against 18,128 in 1828. The Customs revenue was augmented to something more than £70,000; the Imperial expenditure was over £150,000; the banks held coin to the value of £104,720; 310,000 acres of land had been sold during the decade; over 100,000 acres were in cultivation; there were nearly a million and a quarter sheep in the colony, although large exports were taking place annually to the new colonies. Wool, valued at £172,000, and whale oil, valued at £137,000, were exported during the year. There were 1,380 scholars on the rolls at the Government schools, which now numbered 34—an increase of 26 during the decade.

The Governor took a lively interest in the promotion of schools. Until 1838, the public schools were exclusively Episcopalian, superintended by Mr. Peter Archer Mulgrave, formerly chairman of Quarter Sessions. The superintendence, however, practically devolved upon Mr. Bedford, the senior chaplain. In the above-named year the British and Foreign system was adopted, which provided for the union of all sects. A board of superintendents was appointed by the Crown, and masters were sent from England by Lord John Russell, at the cost of the colony.

The churches also received attention at this time. Hitherto the status of the various denominations was indefinite; the claims of each were in a great measure subject to the will of the Governor. This had created much discontent, chiefly among the Scotch settlers, who comprised a large section of the colony. Macarthur, the first Presbyterian clergyman, who arrived in 1823, received a small

stipend from the Treasury, and St. Andrew's Church was built with funds from the same source ; but a bond was required for repayment of the money if demanded by the Secretary of State. A church at Bothwell was erected at the solicitation of a numerous body of Presbyterians, who became, however, only tenants at will. The building was to be relinquished whenever a minister of the " established church " might arrive.* Thus at first Arthur, though liberally disposed towards other denominations, favoured the dominancy of the Anglican church

The question had for years excited considerable discussion both at home and in the colonies. The Rev. J. D. Lang, D.D., who arrived in New South Wales in 1823, defended the rights of the Presbyterians, and succeeded in securing certain concessions to that body. In July, 1832, the question was debated in the British Parliament. Sir George Murray, then Secretary of State, deprecated the establishment of an exclusive system in the colonies, whereby the episcopal church only would be entitled to State support. Governor Bourke also urged upon the Home Government the wisdom of subsidising the churches of England, Scotland, and Rome, and in this view Lord Glenelg, who was Secretary for the Colonies in 1835, concurred. Governor Arthur brought the matter before his Legislative Council ; a resolution was passed and the principle adopted in Van Diemen's Land.

Ecclesiastical affairs were, however, still unsettled. Dr. Lang, in New South Wales, Dr. Lillie, Mr. James Thomson, Mr. Thomas Young, and others in Van Diemen's Land, actively defended the status of the Presbyterian church. At length, in November, 1837, Franklin's Council passed " an Act to make provision for the support of certain ministers of the Christian religion, and to promote the erection of places of Divine worship." It authorised the Governor to

* West.

grant (under certain conditions) £300 to any congregation towards the erection of a minister's dwelling, and £700 towards the erection of a place of worship. It authorised the payment of a stipend of £200 to any minister of the Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, or Presbyterians whose congregation numbered 80 in the country or 200 in either of the two chief towns. This measure was opposed by the clergymen of the Anglican church, with the exception of the Revs. Dr. Browne and R. R. Davies. The Archdeacon (Hutchins) opposed the principle of endowing the Church of Rome, and a petition, signed by all the clergy of his church excepting the two named, was presented to the Council.

Great confusion arose from the difficulty of establishing the claims of each denomination on the basis of *bond fide* membership; other matters not clearly defined in the act rendered amendments necessary; and increasing demands induced the Council to re-model its provisions, vesting a discretionary power with the Executive to assist churches by an annual vote to such extent as the circumstances of the colony would admit, reserving only the equitable claims of existing incumbents.

The condition of the finances occasioned Sir John Franklin much difficulty during the first two years of his administration. The revenue derived from Customs, although annually on the increase, was still found inadequate to meet the expenditure incidental to the growing wants of the colony. Under the existing form of government direct taxation was impracticable. It was therefore determined to prohibit local distillation, on the assumption from ascertained facts that the excise duties were in many instances evaded by the distillers, and that its total suppression would largely benefit the revenue.

The question of compensation to the distillers, who would thus be injuriously affected, created a diversity of opinion in the Council. Pedder, the Chief Justice, who held a seat

in the Legislature, strongly opposed the proposal to leave the matter of compensation to a committee appointed by the Executive, urging the principle that such claims should be settled by a jury. Mr. Edward Macdowell, the Attorney-General, also objected to the proposals of the Governor as embodied in the bill before the Council, on account of their apparent injustice. As Attorney-General Mr. Macdowell was expected to support measures submitted by the Governor. Under the existing system there was no room for the exercise of conscience, he was therefore requested to resign his office. The Secretary of State being appealed to, approved the principle thus laid down, that it was the duty of a member of the Government to support its measures. By a strange concession to expediency His Honor the Chief Justice was made an exception to this rule. Franklin had ultimately to abandon the objectionable clauses of his bill, and after much delay the claims of the distillers, amounting to £7,431, were paid.

The year 1840 was one of unusual prosperity. * The new settlements of South Australia and Port Phillip continued to drain the stock and produce markets of this colony. An extraordinary activity prevailed on the northern side of the island. Sheep and horses were sent across the Strait in large numbers; they were shipped on board the trading vessels at jetties on the banks of the Tamar and at George Town, a place which was for the time exceedingly lively in a commercial point of view. Some dealers, with shrewd instincts, laid the foundation of their fortunes by scouring the pastoral districts and purchasing stock at high prices, which they drove to Launceston, and in a few days frequently doubled their money in large transactions. Agricultural produce was equally in demand. Potatoes were selling as high as £20 per ton wholesale.*

* Mr. Wright, of Pardoe, in the district of Port Sorell, obtained £20 per ton for a magnificent crop of twenty acres, which yielded an average of 20 tons to the acre. Thus the crop produced upon 20 acres realised £8,000!

The high price obtained for produce led many into agricultural pursuits. The fine marsh lands of Westbury and Deloraine were turned up by the plough; small tenant farmers entered the rich forests, felled the scrub, destroyed the growth of the larger trees by the American process of cutting a ring through the sap wood, and entered extensively into a rude process of farming. Much manual labour was required to clear the forests of their dense growth of underwood. Those only who toiled with their own hands, working hard themselves, and employing their families in the same manner, were suited to the task of tilling with the hoe paddocks which were encumbered by the trunks of prostrate trees. This was forcibly illustrated by events which followed the great prosperity of 1840.

Prison discipline was daily becoming a more vexed question at home, consequent upon which the authorities were constantly issuing new regulations concerning the disposal of convicts. At one time they were forced upon the settlers as servants; now they were withdrawn and assignment was abolished. Men were congregated in large gangs over the country making roads, while free labour could hardly be obtained at any price by the settlers—one pound per week and rations being the current rate of wages. Norfolk Island was resumed as a huge prison, and Lord John Russell announced that transportation to New South Wales would cease at once and for ever.

The policy of the Crown in regard to transportation seemed to indicate that at no distant period it would cease altogether in Van Diemen's Land as well as in the elder colony—a prospect which was by no means displeasing to the colonists. Labour being scarce, the Governor proposed to promote an extensive emigration from the mother country. A vessel was also despatched to Adelaide, where many families were suffering severe distress; a very superior class of men, with families, were brought across;

others came from New Zealand, who were disappointed with that new settlement. Mr. Henry Dowling, of Launceston, was appointed by a number of settlers to proceed to England and select emigrants suitable for farm and domestic service. Thus several families were sent out in the regular trading vessels, and the emigration commissioners chartered ships which were specially fitted out for emigrants. These new accessions greatly modified the inconvenience to which settlers were subjected by the sudden suspension of assignment, and the immigrants were generally pleased with their change. The convict element was gradually disappearing in country establishments, being replaced by free labour, while the prisoners, collected in gangs, were performing useful public works.

The colony had hardly entered on this new condition of affairs before another spasmodic experiment was made in the convict system. It was resolved to hire out to the settlers men from the probation parties, who were to receive the sum of £9 a year in lieu of the clothing provided under the old system of assignment.

This of course struck a death blow to emigration. During the four years ending 1844 no less than 15,000 prisoners were sent to Van Diemen's Land, while in 1843 only 26 emigrants landed, and in 1844 only *one*. Numbers of artisans and labourers moved away to the more prosperous colonies, where they had not to compete with the labour of criminals.

In addition to this unexpected interference with the free labour market a season of general distress occurred in all the colonies. The high price of live stock and of grain instead of proving a benefit to the growers and the merchants had a contrary effect. It led to the most extravagant speculation, to the investment of borrowed capital in the purchase of land and of improved breeds of horses, sheep, and horned cattle at enormous prices. Many of the old settlers, who

had been prosperous in early colonial life, were now insolvent, and their fine estates passed into the hands of mortgagees. Others by the kindly forbearance of lenient creditors, who placed the encumbered estates in trust, escaped total ruin by the astonishing reaction which subsequently occurred, and their families still occupy the homes of their ancestors.

Amongst those who were transported to Van Diemen's Land for political offences the Chartist leaders deserve honourable mention. The great Chartist movement in England and Wales came to a climax in November, 1839. An outbreak took place at Newport, which resulted in the death of ten persons, and the wounding of great numbers. Three of its leaders, Frost, Jones, and Williams, were sentenced to death, but were afterwards exiled to Van Diemen's Land. Frost was a country gentleman of influence in England, and a magistrate. When removed to the place of their exile they became quiet and useful members of society, and received free pardons, with other political offenders, in 1854. Frost resided for many years in the Sorell district, where he led a most exemplary life, devoting his energies to the interests of religion and morality. He afterwards went to the United States, and died there. Jones opened a jeweler's shop in Launceston. Williams, who possessed considerable scientific knowledge, discovered the coal deposits at New Town in the south and Tarleton in the north, where he lived for many years. Jones and Williams died at Launceston, the latter in 1874, at an advanced age. Time invariably proves the fallacy of dealing harshly with political offenders. It not infrequently happens that before the term of punishment expires the reforms which were sought have been actually conceded by law. It was so in the case of the Chartists. The reform Acts of 1867-68 and '72 gave all they had unwisely sought to obtain by violence.

Sir John and Lady Franklin took a deep interest in the material and intellectual advancement of the colony. They

frequently visited the northern and midland districts. They also made an overland excursion to Macquarie Harbour in 1842, where they endured much privation, having been detained there a considerable time in consequence of the inclemency of the weather. Their prolonged absence caused serious apprehension for their safety at Hobart Town. Lady Franklin delighted in wild exploits, performing journeys formidable to the stronger sex. She visited the summit of Mount Wellington when the track was wild and rugged, made excursions to places on the western mountains celebrated for romantic scenery, and wandered over the inhospitable rocky surface of Schouten Island on the east coast.

The world acquired much scientific knowledge of Van Diemen's Land while Franklin was Governor. Mr. John Gould, the celebrated ornithologist, visited the island, and afterwards published his works on the "Birds of Australia." The first publication was in seven folio volumes, containing figures and descriptions of upwards of six hundred species. He afterwards published a supplementary volume, a work on the "Mammals of Australia," and a "Hand-book to the Birds of Australia."

James Backhouse and George Washington Walker, two eminent and indefatigable travellers, members of the Society of Friends, spent two years in the colony during Governor Arthur's administration, and again visited the island when Sir John Franklin was Governor. These gentlemen were impelled to the performance of marvellously arduous undertakings by a sense of Christian benevolence. They travelled (mostly on foot) over the island in every direction, holding religious services in the prisons and at the homes of isolated settlers. They visited Macquarie Harbour, Port Arthur, Circular Head, Surrey Hills, Middlesex Plains, the western districts, Swanport,

Falmouth, Ben Lomond,* Launceston, and other places; they went twice to Flinders Island, and took a deep interest in the condition of the aborigines. They also travelled over the various colonies, carefully noting every incident worthy of record. On Mr. Backhouse's return to England, he published a most interesting narrative of the visit of himself and his colleague. West says of this work:—"The volume of which Backhouse was the author attests their industry and accurate observation while performing a mission which the moral weight of their connections rendered of great moment. . . . He was a gentleman of prudence and sagacity; he 'lifted up his heart to God, took his pocket compass,' and thus escaped some perils both by sea and land; and carried to England a reputation from which detraction has taken nothing, and which friendship would scarcely desire to improve." Mr. G. W. Walker settled at Hobart Town, where, in 1845, he founded the Savings Bank, of which he was for many years manager. He was well known for his practical philanthropy. His memoirs, edited by Backhouse, contain much interesting information upon the early condition of the colonies.

In December, 1839, the French warships *Zélée* and *Astrolabe* anchored at Hobart Town after a long and dangerous voyage of discovery in the Antarctic regions, where they had succeeded in discovering a long line of coast, which was named Terre Adele. The crews were afflicted with scurvy, and many who had been removed on shore died at Hobart Town.

The Antarctic discovery ships, *Erebus* and *Terror*, commanded by Captains Ross and Crozier, touched at Hobart

* Here they met Batman, and John Glover, the renowned artist, at whose house they stayed. Glover, who became a settler in Van Diemen's Land, was one of the most famous of British painters. His works are preserved in Europe as treasures of art, and not a few are possessed by his relatives and friends in Tasmania. When Mr. Glover was about to emigrate to Australia, he received a commission from Louis Philippe, King of the French, to execute for His Majesty paintings of Tasmanian scenery. He died at his home, near Ben Lomond, on the 9th December, 1849.

Town in November, 1840. The officers were cordially welcomed by their old friend, Sir John Franklin: they remained for some time, and were delighted with the island. Dr. Joseph Dalton Hooker accompanied the expedition in the capacity of botanist. He returned to England with 5,340 species of plants. These valuable discoveries were published in six quarto volumes, profusely illustrated, under the title of "Botany of the Antarctic Voyage." The *Flora* of Tasmania occupied a large space in this great work, which reflects credit upon the author for the labour he bestowed on this interesting branch of scientific knowledge. When this expedition called at Hobart Town it was returning from the Antarctic regions, where, on the coast of Victoria Land, beyond the parallel of 70°, two mountains were observed to be of a height unequalled in such a latitude—Mount Terror, of 10,000 feet, and Mount Erebus, of 12,400 feet—the latter a volcano, which is supposed to be the only phenomenon of the kind in the frigid zone.

Count Strzelecki,* a Polish nobleman, who was exiled from his native country, visited the colony at this period, and on his return to Europe published a "Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land," which was accompanied by a geological map and figures of organic remains. Strzelecki was a man of great energy and physical endurance. He travelled 7,000 miles on foot through New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; discovered portions of Gipps Land, in company with the late Mr. James Macarthur; minutely explored the Port Sorell district, Badger Head, the Asbestos Ranges (where he found indications of gold and copper), Hampshire and Surrey Hills, Chudleigh, Mount Cameron, and other parts of the island.

Her Majesty's survey ship *Beagle* was at this time occu-

* Pronounced, Streletsky.

plied in examining the bays, rivers, and headlands of the Van Diemen's Land coast. The Government assisted Captain Stokes by placing the colonial cutter *Vansittart* at his service, under the command of Mr. Forsyth, mate of the *Beagle*. One of the most useful works executed by Captain Stokes was the survey of Bass Strait, and the publication of a chart giving detailed information of the tides, soundings, anchorages, and reefs in connection with the coast and the islands in the Strait.

Sir James Ross established an observatory at Hobart Town, and left it under the direction of Lieutenant Kay, of the *Terror*. He fitted it up with the best instruments for magnetic, astronomical, and meteorological observations. Sir John Franklin, always a friend and promoter of science, gave the observatory the advantage of his personal experience and co-operation. Thus, during his administration considerable advancement was made in marine and land surveys, and in the acquirement of general scientific knowledge.

There were many incidents connected with the government of Sir John Franklin which rendered his appointment distasteful to him. The most notable of these was the dominance of the Arthur faction. Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, was Arthur's nephew; he had been in office for many years, and had imbibed the imperious manner of his uncle. During Franklin's administration Montagu's dictatorial tone was annoying to the Governor, who had little tact to check interferences which, if tolerated, would be derogatory to his position. Government officers had been dismissed at the instance of the Colonial Secretary, while the Governor could discover no foundation for the charges brought against them. The re-instatement of one of these officers by Franklin irritated Montagu, who forgot the respect due to the Governor. He became offensive in his official intercourse, and openly charged the Governor with the

weakness of being influenced by Lady Franklin. This caused an open rupture: Montagu was dismissed from office.* The Governor, in his despatch to Lord Stanley, generously alluded to Montagu's past services, and recommended his appointment elsewhere. Montagu attended in person at Downing-street and told his tale, which was listened to; Lord Stanley directed that his salary was to be paid from the date of his dismissal. Franklin was censured by the Secretary of State for dismissing Montagu, although the necessity of maintaining the dignity of his office was admitted. This affair led to the recall of Franklin from the government of the colony.

Sir John Franklin was not fitted, either by his natural disposition or by his former training, for the arduous task of governing a colony which, though still a penal settlement, was in a state of transition. The rapidly growing influence of the free settlers made the work of administration one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. The disinterestedness of his aims, his humanity and scrupulous conscientiousness, his frankness and generous feeling, while they gained for him the affection of the colonists, disqualified him to cope successfully with the selfish factions that surrounded him, and exposed him to the designs of personal enemies. His regret, therefore, at leaving Van Diemen's Land and the numerous friends he had made during his residence, was tempered by the pleasurable anticipation of escaping from the vexatious and irksome duties of official life, and engaging in work more congenial to his tastes.

While Sir John Franklin was still at Government House, without having received any official announcement of his recall, his successor arrived. West says:—"On this abrupt termination of his office he obtained private lodgings in haste. The Legislative Council (then sitting),

* Mr. Boyes, the Auditor, was appointed Colonial Secretary.

the various churches and literary societies, expressed their admiration of his personal character; and, more sparingly, their approval of his administration." He retired from the government of the colony on 21st August, 1843.*

* Soon after Franklin's return to England, an Arctic expedition was fitted out, and he sailed (in May, 1845) with the *Ericus* and *Terror*, Captains Crozier and FitzJames, to discover the North-west Passage. The last time the vessels were seen was in July of the same year. Records were found by Captain M'Clintock, R.N., in the yacht *Rescue*, in 1859, that the ships were abandoned in 1848; Franklin had died on the 11th June, 1847. During eleven years every possible effort was made by the British Government and Lady Franklin for the relief or discovery of the ill-fated expedition. Tasmania subscribed £1,600; and altogether about a million sterling was spent in fruitless efforts to discover the missing ships. Captain M'Clintock, however, in 1859, ascertained that when the ships were abandoned the survivors, numbering 105 souls, under the command of Captain Crozier, attempted to reach the Fish River: they all died by the way. M'Clintock found a boat which belonged to the remnants of Franklin's expedition, in which were two human skeletons, two double-barrelled guns, a large quantity of clothing, five watches, several silver spoons, and a few religious books; but no note-books or journals. The records previously found by him were dated May, 1847 (a month before Franklin's death), and 25th April, 1848.

While the devoted Lady Franklin was sending out expeditions in search of her husband, she received an affectionate letter of sympathy from the then young Empress Eugénie, of which the following is an extract:—"It is, above all, as a woman and a wife that I should like to see France associated with England in those generous expeditions, the first object of which is to rescue a man whose private virtues are surely equal to his talent and his courage, since he has inspired in you such an admirable devotion. Ultimately I hope that heaven will grant you the success that your conjugal affection merits; and then, Madam, there will be a person who will most sincerely participate in the joy of the wife of Captain Franklin—the wife of the Emperor Napoleon."

A bronze statue (above life size) has been erected in memory of Franklin on the spot where he resided at old Government House, Hobart Town, now called Franklin Square. It stands on a pedestal of polished granite, with an inscription.





CHAPTER IX.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT GOVERNOR—DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING HIS ADMINISTRATION—GREAT INFLUX OF CRIMINALS—THE PROBATION SYSTEM—WILMOT'S TROUBLES WITH THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—HIS DIFFICULTIES TO PROVIDE AN ADEQUATE REVENUE—DISCOVERY OF KENTISH PLAINS AND THE WILMOT AND GAWLER RIVERS DR. NIXON, FIRST BISHOP OF TASMANIA—HIS LETTERS PATENT POWERLESS WITHOUT LOCAL ENACTMENT—PRESBYTERIANS PETITION THE QUEEN—WILMOT RECALLED—GLADSTONE'S EXTRAORDINARY LETTER—INDIGNATION OF THE COLONISTS—THE GOVERNOR'S RETIREMENT ON THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. LATROBE AS ACTING-GOVERNOR—SIR EARDLEY WILMOT'S DEATH AND BURIAL.

SIR JOHN EARDLEY EARDLEY-WILMOT, Bart., was the sixth Governor of Tasmania. He succeeded Sir John Franklin on the 21st day of August, 1843, and administered the government for the short period of three years and two months.

Wilmot was descended from the ancient family of Eardley of Audely, Staffordshire; and was grandson of Wilmot, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He represented Warwickshire during several Parliaments, and for twenty years was Chairman of Quarter Sessions of that county. On the question of negro slavery he was an abolitionist; he initiated a bill for the summary trial of juvenile offenders; he also contributed papers on prison discipline when that subject was engrossing much attention in Great Britain.

Wilmot came to the colony at a period of exceptional difficulty. On the one hand the free population, impatient for the management of their own affairs, was stirred by violent political agitation; while on the other hand the control and employment of a daily increasing multitude of criminals were constantly becoming more difficult in consequence of the rapid and abrupt changes of system imposed by the varying whims and caprices of the Colonial Office. Under these circumstances no Governor could administer the duties of his post with satisfaction either to the colonial public or to himself—still less so to the Home authorities, who attributed the evils of the penal system to defective management in the colony rather than to the imperfections of the system itself.

In order to explain the difficulty of Sir Eardley Wilmot's position it will be necessary to glance at the formidable obstacles he had to encounter in his efforts to govern a free people, and at the same time carry out his instructions in penal matters.

It has been stated that Norfolk Island was resumed by the British Government in 1824 for the purpose of sending thither the doubly convicted felons of New South Wales. In 1840 some of these were removed to make way for a new experiment. Numbers of a better class of prisoners were sent direct from the United Kingdom to Norfolk Island, and Captain Maconochie, whom Franklin had dismissed from office for his well-intentioned but imprudent criticisms on prison discipline, was appointed Commandant, with full power to give his own theories a fair trial. His leading idea was coercion by kindness, and not by terror. On his arrival at Norfolk Island he took down the permanent gallows, abolished the use of the lash, and threw open the gaols. The prisoners were to purchase their freedom by means of marks, which they obtained for good conduct and lost for bad. He indulged in some eccentric plans to afford

the convicts gratification and amusement: devices which at the time were considered extreme stretches of leniency. Maconochie's administration lasted four years. There can be no doubt it led to the reformation of many, notwithstanding the evil effects of congregating the men together in such large numbers. The system, however was condemned on account of unfavourable reports which went home, and the authorities, ever wavering, decided on an entirely new plan of operations.

It can easily be understood that men long accustomed to restraint under the rigid discipline of former superintendents, who carried out the convict law with extreme severity, were induced by the laxity of Maconochie's system to suspend for a time the indulgence of those vicious propensities which characterised their conduct when they had been subject to severe treatment; but as a rule there was an inherent principle of evil in the nature of the convicts that no human device could permanently restrain. Before Maconochie quitted the settlement this feature began to develop in cases of insubordination, and it became evident that the mild system was a failure.

Maconochie having been removed, Norfolk Island was now constituted the receptacle for the worst class of felons, and made by act of Parliament a dependency of Van Diemen's Land. All the men whom Maconochie could recommend were removed to the latter place, while prisoners undergoing sentences for life or fifteen years were transferred from thence to Norfolk Island.

Major Childs, Maconochie's successor, introduced the old modes of punishment for crimes, and swept away every vestige of the former system. There were 2,000 prisoners on the island in 1845, and the place became a den of indescribable infamy. In August, 1845, Major Childs was succeeded by Mr. John Price, formerly Police Magistrate at Hobart Town. This gentleman commenced his rule "with

a vigorous, summary," and, it is said, "merciless exercise of authority" (West). Other writers who witnessed the system of punishment adopted give heart-rending accounts of the cruelties perpetrated. Perhaps Mr. Price was not so much to blame for enforcing a strict discipline by means of severe punishments as would appear from the testimony of some who resided at the settlement at this period. The state of the island is said to have been indescribable; the convicts were living in the indulgence of the most low and debasing vices; there was no rule or discipline; anarchy reigned supreme.

Happily this condition of affairs soon obtained notoriety, and Earl Grey, then Secretary of State, resolved to break up the establishment at Norfolk Island. The whole population was to be removed at once to Port Arthur, and Governor Wilmot received peremptory orders to that effect. As soon, however, as it became known to the citizens of Hobart Town that Van Diemen's Land was to be the receptacle for these desperadoes, meetings were held, and great indignation prevailed: petitions were sent home, and the Governor, whose sympathies were with the colonists, deferred action in the matter. The hasty order of Earl Grey was in some measure modified: a Commission was appointed to enquire into the state of penal discipline on the island; and some time elapsed before the whole establishment was removed. Eventually, however, the convicts were shipped to Port Arthur, where Mr. Price was retained as Commandant for a time. He afterwards obtained the appointment of Superintendent of Convicts in Victoria, where he fell a victim to his harsh discipline: he was barbarously murdered by the convicts.

In the meantime, Van Diemen's Land was fixed upon as the great centre of convictism. The probation system—perhaps the worst plan of convict discipline ever devised—was now in active operation over the island. At the end

of 1844, more than 15,000 convicts had arrived in four years. Not only Great Britain, but the British colonies, including India and New South Wales, were pouring in felons of the worst description. There were from 3,000 to 4,000 passholders unemployed; 7,000 in private service; 6,000 ready for distribution from the gangs; 8,000 holding tickets of leave or conditional pardons; 30,000 unqualified to quit the colony. Gangs of probationers were stationed in all directions, filling the settlers with dismay and alarm. At Southport there were 500 men; at Port Esperance, 400; Port Cygnet, 350; Oyster Cove, 250; Brown's River, 500; Glenorchy, 150; Bridgewater, 100; Cross Marsh, 100; Jericho, 100; Oatlands, 180; Ross, 120; Cleveland, 250; Broadmarsh, 240; Fingal, 400; Buckland, 250; Jerusalem, 500; St. Mary's, 300; Westbury, 200; Deloraine, 300; Kimberley's Ford, Mersey, 200. There were also gangs at Rocky Hills on the east coast, and at Maria Island. As the men were removed from Norfolk Island they augmented the numbers who were already in the gangs.

To Lord Stanley belongs the odium of initiating this abominable system of congregating together such a mass of criminals, whose vices flourished in the congenial atmosphere which surrounded them. The Comptroller-General of Convicts, Captain Forster, fulfilled the duties of the office to which he was appointed, but he acknowledged the evils of the system. The Governor, too, in his despatches to Lord Stanley, depicted its social effects. He stated that the country was inundated with unemployed prisoners, who must either starve or steal, that a yearly-increasing pauper population would swell the catalogue of crime and increase the public expense in every form; that the number out of employment was fearfully great; and that land—cleared, fenced, and in cultivation, with houses and buildings—might be bought at the upset price of waste land.

But these were not the only wrongs inflicted upon the

unfortunate colonists. It was not enough to fill the land with criminals from all parts of the British Empire—they were not only let loose through the island with passes and tickets of leave—the colony had to pay for their coercion. The cost of police, courts of justice, gaols, witnesses' expenses, and the innumerable contingencies incident to the maintenance of law and order, all fell upon the colonial revenue. Lord Stanley treated the urgent appeals of the colonial Government and the people with contempt, heaping insult upon injury.

Nor was this all. Hitherto there had been a large Imperial expenditure, which was some set-off, in a pecuniary sense, for the social and moral degradation of the colony. Nearly £300,000 a year was spent by the Home Government, of which sum more than half was for rations, an outlay beneficial to the farmers, the merchants, and the people generally. Lord Stanley pronounced this expenditure excessive, and issued instructions to the Governor and to the Comptroller-General to withdraw the gangs from the roads and engage them in agriculture, with the view of rendering the system self-supporting, thus reducing the expenses of the Commissariat. For this purpose bush land was selected, cleared of forest, and tilled in a most primitive but costly manner. These agricultural areas were mostly selected in unsuitable positions: the crops turned out badly; the superintendents and overseers enjoyed the comforts of rural life in an abundance of vegetables, milk, butter, horse feed, and other farm products; but the scheme, so far from proving remunerative, entirely failed. On some of the farms, however, potatoes, peas, beans, grass seeds, and various cereals were grown largely; and the wants of the gang being first supplied, the surplus was sold in the market. Thus the Government, not content with removing the prisoners from road-making and other works of public utility, entered into competition with the

struggling farmers, at a time when prices were already unremunerative, and when the colony was fast drifting to ruin.

Never was a British colony in such a deplorable condition as was Van Diemen's Land at this eventful time. The cost of maintaining the police and gaols had plunged the country into a debt of £100,000, which was rapidly increasing, on account of the almost entire cessation of land sales, the chief source of revenue at that time. In 1841 the upset price of Crown lands was 12s. per acre, and 79,140 acres were sold; in 1847 the price was raised to £1, when only 3,701 acres were sold.

With a decreasing revenue and an increasing debt, it would have taxed the powers of a more gifted statesman than Sir Eardley Wilmot to have managed the complicated affairs of the colony: it would, indeed, have been impossible for any man to have done so satisfactorily while hampered by the arbitrary and absurd mandates of Downing-street. It is, therefore, no wonder he was eventually brought into collision with the colonists, and especially with the independent members of the Legislative Council, an event which created much excitement at the time, and contributed to the Governor's unpopularity to an extent which was hardly reasonable under the circumstances.

Wilmot deemed it to be his duty to carry out faithfully the express commands of the Home authorities. He was not permitted to relieve the financial difficulties of the colony by drawing from the military chest, or by obtaining supplies from England. No course was open but further taxation; and this was, of course, a highly obnoxious measure. A bill was submitted to the Council raising the *ad valorem* duties upon sugar, tea, and foreign goods from 5 to 15 per cent. Mr. T. G. Gregson opposed the impost, on the principle that it was unjust to tax the people for burdens which were caused by the extraordinary pressure

of convictism; but a majority of the Council voted for the bill as a necessary expedient, however distasteful to their feelings. A committee of the Council was appointed to consider the financial position: it was proposed to charge heavy licence fees on various trades and callings. This led to a loud expression of public indignation at a meeting of the people, at which Mr. Anthony Fenn Kemp, one of the oldest colonists, presided. "No Taxation without Representation" was the motto on every one's lips: it waved from flags on the housetops. Wilmot gave way before the storm, and determined to abandon this mode of increasing the revenue. The Council was called together on August 20th, when Mr. Richard Dry objected to the estimates on account of the burdens the convict system inflicted. A committee of enquiry was proposed: the votes were even, and the Governor defeated the motion by his casting vote. The Chief Justice (Pedder) voted with the country members on a second motion for adjournment, and the Governor then resolved to await the arrival of despatches from Lord Stanley, in reply to remonstrances which had been sent home, urging that the expenses incurred for police purposes ought in fairness to be defrayed by the Crown. Lord Stanley's reply was unsatisfactory. He stated that the colony was originally penal, and could claim neither compensation nor relief. He considered that in emigrating to a penal settlement the colonists had surrendered the privileges they might have claimed under other circumstances. He declared that every Governor was under a strong bias in favour of expense, as the patron of a multitude of officials; that the Executive Council were equally benefited by a wasteful expenditure; and that every colonist had an interest in the multiplication of bills on the British Treasury.

Wilmot again assembled the Council in October, and endeavoured to pass the estimates. They were ably

opposed by Mr. Gregson, Mr. Dry, and other members. The Governor lost his temper, and accused them of an attempt to embarrass the Government, whereupon the non-official members quitted the chamber, thus reducing the number below the legal quorum. Mr. Gregson appeared at the table on the following day, and apologised for the absence of the other members, who, he said, were preparing a protest to present on the morrow. It is needless to detail at length the humiliating proceedings of a legislative assembly where the official half voted according to dictation, without reference to conscience, and where the independent nominees were overruled by the Governor, who claimed a deliberative as well as a casting vote in committee.

The opinion of Mr. Francis Smith, jun., then a private barrister, was obtained upon the question whether a chairman of committee could thus vote: he gave an opinion in the negative. Still the Governor persisted in his unconstitutional course, which led to another count out, and then to the resignation of six country members—Messrs. Charles Swanston, Michael Fenton, Richard Dry, Thomas George Gregson, William Kermode, and John Kerr.

These gentlemen (distinguished as "The Patriotic Six") received the well-merited plaudits of the people. Mr. Dry, on his return to Launceston—his native town—was met in the suburbs by a large number of inhabitants, who escorted him home, and united with others in demonstrations of public esteem. Mr. Gregson, at that time a faithful and self-denying patriot, was presented with two thousand guineas and a piece of plate bearing a laudatory inscription suited to the occasion.

The six who had thus resigned their seats sent a letter to Lord Stanley, in which they stated that "they were called upon to vote an expenditure which the colony could

not bear—to anticipate a revenue higher than the Customs were likely to yield; that they were denied information, although they were bound to deliberate; that they were expected to augment an alarming debt, and, when crime was increasing, to diminish police protection; that they were told by the Governor that he would carry the estimates by his casting vote before they refused to pass or had examined them; that the Governor claimed power to borrow money (from the banks), and spend it without legislative consent, and finally, that discussion and enquiry were denounced as factious, unconstitutional, and disloyal. Under these circumstances they resigned their seats, as the only open course, and submitted their conduct to the judgment of the Queen."

The Governor's position was a most unenviable one. He was tied hand and foot by the Home office: expected to rule the colony with wisdom, while he was hampered and perplexed on all sides. The revenue was altogether inadequate to the needs of efficient government, and all channels from whence to increase it seemed to be closed. In his endeavours to obey Imperial orders, he came into unpleasant conflict with the colonists. If some of his proceedings were hasty and ill-judged, circumstances demand a lenient interpretation of acts which were forced upon him in a dilemma almost unparalleled in the history of colonisation.

Having filled the vacancies in the Council by new appointments, Wilmot called the members together. He proposed a mode of providing for the settlement of outstanding accounts, and for the repayment of money borrowed from the bank, by the issue of debentures. Messrs Henry Reed and Henry Hopkins, two of the newly-appointed members, opposed the measure, and failing to defeat it, they resigned their seats.

At length the Home Government agreed to pay the sum

of £24,000 per annum towards the maintenance of police and gaols. This was but a partial settlement of the question, which was rendered still more unsatisfactory by a condition that the proceeds of the land fund should be surrendered to the Imperial Treasury. The colonists regarded this concession as a delusion. The land fund, it is true, had fallen off to a shadow under the impolitic system which threatened to annihilate the free settlers: otherwise, the bargain would have been a bad one for the colony.

While the probation parties were in active operation on the public roads of the colony, the system was productive of much material benefit. By means of the Imperial expenditure many heavy cuttings on the road between Hobart Town and Launceston were effected which would hardly have been attempted with local funds. A grand design was projected to run a main line of road through the north-western districts as far as the possessions of the Van Diemen's Land Company at Emu Bay. The route was to be carried some twenty miles inland from the coast, with the view of tapping the rich agricultural areas which were supposed to exist in that direction.

Mr. N. L. Kentish, a competent engineer and surveyor from South Australia, received an appointment from the Governor to survey and mark off this new line of road. He was furnished with a staff of thirty picked men from the probation establishments, and in 1844 entered on his work of exploration. Kentish selected the place known as Kimberley's Ford for the crossing-place at the Mersey River. Further on he encountered heavy forest, and a dense scrub of underwood, covering rich chocolate coloured soil. This country had never been entered before by white men. The party continued cutting their way to the westward, when one of the men, in advance of the others, came suddenly upon an open country, with beautiful grassy

plains, of considerable extent. It was the 1st day of August, and on the smooth bark of a gum tree the discoverer cut with his knife, "August Plains." The name was afterwards altered, in honour of the surveyor, to KENTISH PLAINS. Eighty head of unbranded cattle were running at large on the plains: they were claimed by Mr. William Field, whose wild herds occupied, at that time, all the open runs in the western districts. Kentish continued his march westward, but was sorely perplexed by the rugged nature of the country. He found it impossible to open an available road twenty miles inland: the precipitous slopes of the Forth valley rendered it impracticable. He therefore made down towards the coast, and crossed the Forth River about nine miles from its mouth. There he discovered the Wilmot River, and named it in honour of the Governor. Further to the westward, Kentish discovered Clerke's Plains and the Gawler River, a tributary of the Leven, which he named in honour of his former patron, the Governor of South Australia. This project died with the probation system of road-making.

The Australian colonies had been erected into an Episcopal See in 1836, when Dr. Broughton was appointed Bishop. About the same time Dr. Polding arrived at Sydney as Bishop of the Roman Church. Archdeacon Hutchins, the resident head of the Anglican Church in Van Diemen's Land, died in Hobart Town in 1841. In the following year the colony was constituted a separate diocese, and Dr. Francis Russell Nixon received the appointment of "Bishop of Tasmania."

His Lordship arrived in June, 1843. His letters patent declared his jurisdiction, "spiritual and ecclesiastical, throughout the diocese, according to the ecclesiastical laws of England." Bishop Nixon found on his arrival that the colonial law did not uphold the powers assigned to him by his letters patent. In his first charge to the clergy the

Bishop alluded to his anomalous position, and announced his intention to seek an amendment in the colonial law by the establishment of a Consistorial Court, whereby witnesses would be compelled to attend his summons and give evidence, irrespective of their communion. The Governor, when applied to, refused to supply by legal enactment means to enable the Bishop to exercise the jurisdiction conferred by his letters patent. This was attended with great confusion. West says:—"The Bishop withdrew the licence from certain clergymen who had been charged with irregularities: these offences were not investigated with the formalities usual in England. The clergymen dismissed questioned the legality of their deposition. One appealed to the Supreme Court, but the Judges held that the withdrawal of a licence was within the province of the Bishop; another obtained his salary from the Treasury, the Governor having refused to recognise the revocation."

In the meantime the other denominations were aroused to action by what appeared to be an attempt to bring them under the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical establishment to which they were not allied. The Presbyterians and others petitioned the Queen against the threatened innovation. They were assured by the Secretary of State that no powers affecting other Churches would be exercised by the Bishop of the Anglican Church. While the local law was virtually prohibitive, he could not exercise the powers conferred in his letters patent. To remedy these defects the Bishop visited England. His efforts were unsuccessful: his letters patent were revoked, and fresh ones issued. These confined his power more exclusively to his own Church; but it was not until a later period, when a Synod was established, that the Church enjoyed freedom from legal restraints.

Sir Eardley Wilmot was suddenly recalled from the government of Van Diemen's Land in October, 1846, some

years before the usual term allotted to colonial Governors. The circumstances connected with his recall created much controversy. In Mr. Gladstone's long political career he never committed an act of greater injustice than in this instance. He accompanied the official announcement of recall with a private letter to Wilmot, stating that he was not removed on account of any errors committed in his official capacity, but that rumours reflecting upon his moral character had reached the Colonial Office, the nature of which would shut out His Excellency from further employment.

A more cruel assault upon the character of a gentleman holding the dignified office of representative of Royalty can hardly be conceived. He was condemned on the baseless information of vague rumour, and denied the liberty of defence. Wilmot entreated the Secretary of State to supply him with definite information on the subject, with the names of his accusers. Mr. Gladstone replied that the persons who mentioned these rumours did not profess to support them by any statement of particulars, but to found them on a general notoriety; and he refused to give the names of his informants.

The colonists were astounded when the matter became known. Those who differed from the Governor on public questions now united with his friends to support him under such a cruel wrong. They regarded him as a deeply injured man, whose kind-hearted affability and freedom of address were magnified into an impurity of motive by some thinker of evil. Even the Bishop of Tasmania, whose official intercourse with the Governor was not cordial, generously bore testimony in His Excellency's favour. The Chief Justice, and 250 leading members of the community, in an address to His Excellency, repelled the accusation; all whose local observation made them the best judges of personal character exonerated the Governor, and extended to him their

deepest sympathy. But it is easier to inflict a wound than to heal it: the stab was too deep to be cured.

Mr. Gladstone did not allow time for the arrival of Sir Eardley Wilmot's successor. He issued instructions to Mr. Charles Joseph Latrobe, who was at that time Superintendent of the district of Port Phillip, in the colony of New South Wales, to proceed at once to Van Diemen's Land and assume the administration of its government. That gentleman arrived at Launceston on the 11th October, and on the following day proceeded overland to Hobart Town. The Royal warrant, revoking the appointment of Sir Eardley Wilmot, and also the Acting-Governor's appointment, were read at Government House in the presence of the Executive Council, and the usual oaths of a Lieutenant-Governor were administered to Mr. Latrobe by Colonel Cumberland, the commanding officer of the forces.

Sir Eardley Wilmot retired into private life, intending to remain for a time in the colony, but he died on the 3rd day of February, 1847—eight days after the arrival of his successor, Sir William Denison. The inhabitants were shocked at the news that Sir Eardley Wilmot was dead. The circumstances connected with his retirement had aroused the sympathies of all, and the indignation of many: these feelings were intensified when the melancholy fact was announced that he had fallen a victim to the wound so rashly inflicted by Mr. Gladstone. Although the late Governor was well stricken in years, it was not the waste of physical power, nor the cares and anxieties of an exceedingly unthankful position in the public service, that had snapped the thread of life: it was the unwarrantable charge and unjust dismissal that had broken his heart.

As soon as the painful announcement was made public it created a profound sensation, and the people grieved as

one man. Wilmot was buried on Wednesday, February 7th, with all the honours the colony could bestow. Following in the funeral procession were the late Acting-Governor Latrobe and His Excellency Sir W. Denison; the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, heads of departments, military officers, ministers of various churches, and all classes of civilians. Archdeacon Marriott and the Rev. Dr. Bedford conducted the service at St. David's, and the remains of the deceased baronet were deposited in a vault near that of Governor Collins.

On the death of his father, Major Henry Eardley-Wilmot received addresses of condolence from every quarter, which testified to the honour and respect in which the deceased Governor's memory was held.*

Mr. Latrobe was commissioned by the Home Govern-

* The following resolutions were passed by the Congregational and Wesleyan bodies.—

"At a meeting of the Committee of the Van Diemen's Land Congregational Union, held 11th February, Henry Hopkins, Esq., in the chair, it was resolved:—'That this meeting, in recording the death of His Excellency Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, Baronet, late Lieutenant-Governor of this island, feel that it is due to his memory to express the sense of the impartiality of his government in reference to the various ecclesiastical denominations of this colony. That they have understood with sorrow that rumours affecting his moral character (which they regard as false) were received by the late Secretary of State, and so far credited as to place in abeyance the confidence of the Crown. That this meeting tender their condolence to the family of the late Sir Eardley Wilmot; and while confiding in the justice of the Sovereign so far as the injury inflicted admits of human reparation, commend the bereaved to the consolations only to be found in the principles of Christianity.'—(Signed) HENRY HOPKINS, Chairman."

"At a meeting of the officers of the Wesleyan Society in Hobart Town, held in the vestry of the Centenary Chapel, on Monday, February 15, 1847, it was resolved:—'That this meeting, in recording the death of His Excellency Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot, Baronet, late Lieutenant-Governor of this island, feel that it is due to his memory to express their high sense of the important services he has rendered the Church of which this Society is a section, both here and in England, by affording it the aid of his sanction and influence in a variety of instances. That this meeting tender their sincere condolence to the pious and devoted Lady Wilmot under the severe dispensation which it has pleased Divine Providence to permit to come upon her, and also to the family of the late lamented Baronet. That this meeting, resting assured that their beloved Sovereign the Queen will, as far as is now possible, render strict justice to the character of the late Sir Eardley Wilmot, would at the same time fervently pray that the consolations of our holy religion may be graciously vouchsafed to those who have been so afflictively bereaved.'—(Signed) J. A. MANTON, Chairman."

ment to enquire into and report upon the probation system, and upon the state of affairs in the colony generally. This duty he carried out with much ability: his despatches on the subject were remarkable for their clearness and decision. His opinions on the question of transportation coincided with those of the colonists; and though his views were not carried out by Mr. Gladstone's successor, they materially aided the deliberations of the British Cabinet at a later period.

Mr. Latrobe remained in the colony some weeks after the arrival of the new Governor, and returned to Port Phillip with his family in a sailing vessel from Hobart Town. Captain Lonsdale acted as Superintendent during his absence from Port Phillip. When that district was proclaimed a separate colony, Mr. Latrobe was appointed first Governor of Victoria. He retained that important position during the most exciting period of the gold discoveries.





CHAPTER X.

GOVERNOR DENISON ARRIVES WITH IMPORTANT COMMISSIONS FROM THE HOME OFFICE—HIS DIFFICULTIES WITH THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—QUESTION OF FREE INSTITUTIONS—DENISON'S PRIVATE DESPATCHES—QUESTION OF TRANSPORTATION—OPINIONS OF THE COLONISTS—DENISON'S VIEWS—THE SYSTEM OF TRANSPORTATION TO BE ABANDONED—JOY OF THE COLONISTS—DIFFERENTIAL DUTIES—DOG ACT—JUDGE'S DECISIONS—MONTAGU DISMISSED—TRADE, COMMERCE, ETC.—SCHOOLS—ROADS—SCOTCH THISTLES—TRANSPORTATION REVIVED—GREAT INDIGNATION—DENISON'S APPEAL TO EARL GREY—COLONISTS PETITION THE QUEEN—ANTI-TRANSPORTATION LEAGUE FORMED—MEETINGS—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA—V. D. LAND AFFECTED THEREBY.

SIR WILLIAM THOMAS DENISON, Knight, Captain of the Royal Engineers, arrived at Hobart Town in the *Windermere*, 25th January, 1847. He was son of the late John Denison, Esq., M.P.; brother of the late Viscount Ossington, who was for many years Speaker of the House of Commons; of the late Bishop of Salisbury; and of the late Archdeacon of Taunton.

Denison had been employed in the survey of many important works, and had displayed considerable ability in a department connected with the employment of prisoners—a circumstance which favoured his appointment as Governor of Van Diemen's Land. He came to the colony at a time of unprecedented depression, and was received with little enthusiasm. Past experiences had taught the colonists to expect little from their Governors, whom they

had learned to regard as mere tools of Downing-street, appointed to carry out a huge penal system which was in every way opposed to their best interests.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Lord Stanley's successor in the Colonial Office, exhibited no desire to listen to the complaints of the colonists, and the general discontent was deepening, when a gleam of hope dawned on the horizon by the resignation of Gladstone, and the appointment of Earl Grey as Secretary of State for the Colonies. These hopes were strengthened when the colonists learned, on the arrival of Sir William Denison, that His Excellency was charged with several important commissions, which were regarded as preliminaries to a new and more liberal system of government.

The new Governor lost no time in proceeding to carry out the instructions of Earl Grey. The restoration of the "Patriotic Six" to their seats in the Council was the first matter which demanded his attention. He summoned these gentlemen to Government House to meet the six who had been appointed in their places, and submitted a proposal that the twelve should select six out of the whole number to complete the Council. The members whom Wilmot had dismissed were not disposed to divide, and the proposed settlement came to nothing. The Governor then declared the appointments of Wilmot void, and re-appointed the old members. To this the superseded members objected, on the ground that their appointments were held until revoked by the sign-manual of the Queen. Despairing of a solution of the difficulty, Denison then resolved to dismiss the Council, and await instructions from Downing-street—a course which involved a delay of twelve months before the Legislature could meet for business. At length the matter was set at rest by a *Gazette* notice intimating that the Queen had re-instated the original six.

Earl Grey also desired a report from the Governor upon the subject of an elective legislature for the colony on a principle which he purposed adopting in all the Australian colonies. New South Wales had already been favoured with a Council, of which two-thirds were elected by the people; but it was Earl Grey's intention to liberate Port Phillip, then a province of New South Wales, and erect it into a separate colony, to be called Victoria. Port Phillip was clamorous for separation, and indignant at the scanty measure of representation the Electoral Act afforded her in the Sydney Council, where other interests preponderated to such an extent as to extinguish the chance of her claims being fairly recognised. So strongly did this feeling prevail that the electors of Melbourne returned Earl Grey, the popular Secretary of State, as their representative in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, believing that the presence of a member would be of no utility, while such an unusual way of marking confidence in the Home Minister would draw his attention more forcibly to the wants of the province. Nor were they disappointed. Their strangely devised protest doubtless facilitated the constitutional reform which followed soon after.

Sir William Denison's report to the Secretary of State was unfavourable to the extension of free institutions to Van Diemen's Land. The report itself, indeed, never saw the light; but its substance may be inferred from a later despatch of His Excellency to Earl Grey, dated 15th March, 1848. In the latter document, written on the receipt of a despatch intimating the intention of the Home Government to introduce a bill to provide for a representative assembly for Van Diemen's Land, the Governor says:—"It would almost seem needless that I should say anything more on the subject, as the chances are that the bill will be passed before your Lordship can receive this despatch; but as delays may take place . " Here he

enters at some length upon the question and says :—" As I have now the experience of a session of the Legislative Council to help me in forming an opinion of the character of the people comprising this community, I do not think that the chance of the Act being passed will justify me in withholding any information. . . . When we consider the elements of which society here is composed ; when we see the low estimate that is placed upon everything which can distinguish a man from his fellows, with the sole exception of wealth ; when we see that wealth does not even lead to distinction, or open the road to any other ambition than that of excelling in habits of self-indulgence ; it can hardly be subject of surprise that so few are found to rise above the general level, or that those few owe more to the possession of a certain oratorical facility than to their powers of mind, or the justness of the opinions which they advocate. The broad plain of equality, as in America, receives the whole of the community ; and though there are many who would gladly avail themselves of any opportunity of raising themselves above the general level, yet here, as in America, any attempt to do so would be frustrated by the jealousy of the remainder of the community. . . . There is an essentially democratic spirit which actuates the large mass of the community, and it is with a view to check the development of this spirit, of preventing its coming into operation, that I would suggest the formation of an upper chamber. . . ." This extraordinary despatch was printed as a Parliamentary paper by order of the House of Commons. The opinions of the Governor, thus revealed, created a deep feeling of indignation and disgust throughout the colony.

Denison, upon leaving England, had also been instructed to ascertain the views of the colonists on the subject of transportation. He, therefore, almost immediately after his arrival, sent circulars to all the magistrates of the

territory, and to other leading men, requesting a reply, after careful consideration, to three questions:—"1. Do you consider it desirable that the transportation of convicts to this country should cease altogether? 2. If you consider it desirable that convicts should still continue to be transported to this colony, but in reduced numbers, what number should you consider would be adequate to the wants of the country in order to keep up a proper supply of labour? 3. You are requested to state what alterations in the regulations respecting the hiring of passholders are desirable, with a view of rendering the labour of the convict of more benefit to his employer, keeping in view at the same time the necessity of encouraging habits of industry, steadiness, and regularity of conduct in the convicts."

This circular, as might be expected, gave rise to a large amount of controversy. The newspapers of the day were engrossed in the question, to the almost total exclusion of other matter. Public meetings were held in the towns; the country districts followed suit. Never in the colony was public opinion so expressive, so dogmatic, and yet so diversified. All shades of politicians, all classes of free-men claimed an interest in the momentous enquiry.

The anti-transportationists—the most numerous class—were the first to move. Meetings were convened for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, and securing, if possible, unanimity in the replies to be given to the Governor's queries. At Launceston a meeting was held (April 3rd); an influential committee was formed to receive evidence, frame a report, and submit it to a general meeting to be held on 10th May. On the latter date a monster meeting took place in the Cornwall Assembly-room, Mr. James Cox in the chair, when resolutions in favour of the immediate abolition of transportation were carried almost unanimously; Messrs. W. R. Allison, F. M.

Innes, Alex. Clerke, and a few others being the only dissentients. Similar meetings were held at Hobart Town on 15th April and 6th May. The abolitionists were in the majority, but the opposite party, numbering 308 individuals, signed a protest, complaining that the speakers on their side were interrupted, and that the question had not been fairly discussed. Meetings were also held in some of the country townships, with varied results.

These discussions swelled the literature of the day, as well as the oratory of the platform. Several pamphlets were issued, and the newspapers published voluminous correspondence on the subject. Petitions were also forwarded to the Governor in advocacy of abolition from the clergy of the Church of England, signed by all but three; from the "Colonists of Van Diemen's Land," from the mechanics, tradesmen, and others, of Launceston; from the mechanics of Hobart Town, from the "Inhabitants of Cornwall;" and from the "Parents and Guardians of Van Diemen's Land." The controversy was, upon the whole, conducted in a respectable manner. The speakers and writers rarely indulged in personal recrimination, although they boldly gave expression to sentiments which each party believed to be right.

Viewed in an exclusively moral aspect, the question admitted but one solution; but there were many who could not separate the prosperity of the colony from the cheap labour of the convicts, and the large Imperial expenditure which their presence secured. The gangs were improving the means of communication by making excellent roads and bridges between Hobart Town and Launceston; towards the Huon in the south side, Swanport in the east, and Deloraine in the west. The farming system had been abandoned, having proved a failure; bushranging was kept in check by the strict system of surveillance which existed at Port Arthur. These considerations induced many ex-

cellent colonists to hesitate before they utterly condemned transportation. The probation system, however, they almost unanimously opposed.

Sir William Denison was inundated with lengthy replies to the circular, and with petitions for transmission to the Secretary of State. It would have been impossible for him to express the colonial view amid such a diversity of opinion. He therefore adopted one of his own, which gave great offence to the anti-transportationists. He was, however, doubtless sincere in his belief that a sudden cessation would prove ruinous to the country by the suspension of public works, and the disarrangement of the labour market. Still, a section of the community complained that he misrepresented the case to the Home authorities; that he viewed the subject of convictism through a telescope, magnifying all circumstances in favour of the system, but reversing the glass when observing its defects. Whatever may have been the Governor's motives, the fact remains that he unfortunately wrote in advocacy of continuing the system with certain modifications. This was disastrous to the hopes so fondly nurtured of obtaining freedom from the curse of convictism—hopes which had been generated by the knowledge that Earl Grey was anxious to put an end to the system of transportation altogether. The great majority of the colonists now regarded the Governor as an enemy to the common cause. Societies were organised throughout the colony, having for their object the abolition of transportation. Most of the local newspapers gave a generous support to the movement, notably the *Launceston Examiner*, a journal of considerable literary merit, steadily devoted to the advocacy of total abolition.

It was also determined to establish a London agency to watch events in the British metropolis, and advance the interests of the colonists by corresponding and holding personal interviews with the Secretary of State. The

office of agent was accepted by Mr John Alexander Jackson, a gentleman of much colonial experience, and of independent means, who formerly resided near Launceston. Mr Jackson fulfilled his mission with great ability, and rendered valuable service to the colony.

While this agitation was still going on, the inhabitants were surprised by an announcement that the Home Government had resolved to abandon the system of transportation. Sir William Denison laid on the table of the Executive Council a despatch from Earl Grey, dated February 5, intimating that such a course had been determined on, subject to the approval of Parliament. The London newspapers supplied further information.

In the House of Lords, March 5th, Earl Grey moved the second reading of the "Custody of Offenders Bill," the object of which was to assimilate the law of England to that of Ireland, whereby offenders could be disposed of otherwise than by sending them to Norfolk Island or Van Diemen's Land. His Lordship also stated that it was his intention to move the second reading of the "Prisons Bill," the object of which was to change the constitution of the three national prisons of Pentonville, Millbank, and Parkhurst. He then stated to the House the views and intentions of the Government, which, condensed, were as follow:—He proposed that every criminal sentenced to transportation should in the first place serve a term of separate confinement for eighteen months in a prison within the United Kingdom, and that on completing his term in prison he should undergo a further period of punishment by labour on public works. During this term of hard labour the convict was to be given a direct and powerful motive for good conduct, not only by being allowed in this manner to shorten the duration of his sentence, but to obtain a recompense for industry in the shape of wages. The wages earned were to be allowed to

accumulate till the expiration of the sentence, so that on regaining his freedom he might have the means to emigrate at his own expense, receiving a pardon conditional on his not remaining in England. He might go to Australia, where he would be a free man. Earl Grey, in the course of a lengthy speech, made some pertinent remarks in support of the system he proposed, and of the necessity of abolishing transportation. He said "he had seen both the Protestant and Roman Catholic bishops of Van Diemen's Land, who were at this moment in England, having, he believed, been induced to come by their desire to represent to Her Majesty's Government the absolute necessity of putting an end to a system which led to such fearful results. Those right reverend gentlemen concurred in giving him a picture of the state of society in that island which was really too frightful to be contemplated." And again:—"He was persuaded that the time had come when the advantages of representative government must be granted to Australia; and, when it had given to the colony those advantages, would the Legislature dare to say that penal labour, which could not be inflicted at home, should be inflicted there? It was impossible. To insist upon maintaining transportation to Van Diemen's Land would be to drive away the free colonists, at whatever pecuniary sacrifice to themselves, to take refuge in South Australia, New South Wales, or some of the neighbouring colonies."

A circular was also addressed from the Home Office to the visiting magistrates throughout England, intimating that in consequence of the suspension of transportation of male convicts to Van Diemen's Land it would be necessary to make immediate provision for the confinement and employment in England of the greater portion of such offenders.

Nothing could exceed the joy of a large portion of the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land and their gratitude to

the Secretary of State on receipt of such welcome intelligence. There was no reason to suppose Earl Grey capable of subsequent vacillation on a subject to which he had devoted so much attention, especially as the changes which he proposed accorded with the views he had held for many years. It will be seen, however, that the colonists were doomed to disappointment. Transportation was again revived, and it was not until the colonies had made desperate efforts, and its continuation had been rendered impossible by the gold discovery, that it was finally extinguished.

In the meantime Sir William Denison had difficulties to contend with in other directions. The inadequate powers of the Legislature rendered many of their measures futile, and invited popular resistance to the Government. Acts of Council were passed which, when submitted to the judgment of the Supreme Court, were found to be inoperative. Two of these enactments, passed in 1846, during Wilmot's administration, came into force in the following year, and created considerable agitation.

* The Differential Duties Act was stoutly opposed by the merchants and shipowners of Hobart Town. They complained that the imposition by that Act of a duty of 15 per cent. on the produce of New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand was a most impolitic measure, and would materially injure, if not destroy, the important trade carried on between Van Diemen's Land and the colonies in question. In 1846 the number of vessels which arrived at the ports of Hobart Town and Launceston from the above-mentioned colonies was 332, representing 37,455 tons. The imposition of high duties upon the industry of subjects of the same empire was deemed to be highly injurious, inasmuch as it would lead to the introduction of retaliatory measures, and thus cripple the wholesome intercolonial trade which was springing up. The Government, however, proceeded to levy the duty when the Act came into operation

(April 1). The merchants declared it to be illegal, and paid the duty under protest; the Legislative Council of New South Wales remonstrated against the injustice of the Act: it was disallowed by the Queen, and all who had paid the duty had it returned to them.

The Dog Act, which came into operation at the same time, was unimportant in itself, but it opened up the question of the power of a nominee Council to impose direct taxes. Dogs were to be registered: a tax was imposed upon them varying from 5s. to 10s. Some paid it under protest; others refused on the same grounds of illegality that were advanced in the case of Differential Duties. Mr. Morgan, editor of the *Britannia* newspaper, was proceeded against for non-payment of the duty, and was fined. He appealed, first to the Quarter Sessions, and on the decision of the magistrates being there upheld, he carried his appeal to the Supreme Court.

The Judges, having heard the arguments of counsel, delivered their judgment before a crowded bar and a numerous attendance of spectators. Chief Justice Pedder gave his opinion that the Governor and Council had no right to levy a tax upon the inhabitants for other than local purposes, a restriction which the Act to restrain the increase of dogs did not provide. He came to the conclusion that the Act was not binding, and must be set aside. Mr. Justice Montagu concurred in the observations of the Chief Justice, remarking that if the Court had no right to interfere, then would the subject, indeed, be left without protection. He laid down the law of the constitution, and the right of the subject to ask that Court for the redress of wrongs.

But the Governor was not disposed to let the matter rest with the ruling of the Judges. He had at the time no Legislative Council, as the Queen's warrants for the re-instated members had not arrived. He determined,

therefore, to act on the authority of the Executive, and even went so far as to aim at the removal of the Judges. He charged them with neglect of duty in omitting, as authorised by law, to certify illegality in an Act before it was enrolled. The other members of the Executive were opposed to the dismissal of the Judges, and Denison then requested the Chief Justice to relieve the Government by asking leave of absence, a course which His Honor indignantly declined.*

In Judge Montagu's case the dispute was terminated by the intervention of another circumstance which ultimately led to his removal. A creditor sued him for £200, but as the privilege of his office protected him against a verdict of the Court, Montagu was requested to send in his resignation, with the understanding that he would be re-appointed when the suit was decided. This he refused to do; he was therefore dismissed, and Mr. Thomas Horne, the Attorney-General, was nominated in his stead.

Montagu was an upright and fearless Judge; clear in his interpretation of the law, just in his decisions, but harsh and severe in his denunciations of those whose conduct seemed to merit rebuke. His demeanour on the Bench was often uncourteous; there was a savage vehemence in his utterances when dealing with unquestionable criminality

* This case was brought under the notice of the Secretary of State by the Governor. The following, from the pen of Lady Denison, describes the result:—"Well, dearest M——, the long-expected Judge storm has burst at last, and is pretty well over. . . . Returning from our walk in the afternoon, we found an awful-looking bag of despatches. . . . You may picture to yourself the scene in our drawing-room, as follows. William and Clarke sitting side by side on the sofa, devouring the despatch with their eyes, and William reading it aloud as fast as he could get the words out of his mouth, I (quite past sitting still, from intense nervousness) pacing up and down just in front of them, listening to the despatch, and feeling as if it would never come to an end. It contained an awful rap over the knuckles to William for his conduct towards Sir John Pedder, so awful that I thought a sentence of recall was coming every minute, and when at length it mildly subsided into a soothing little salve, in the shape of a general expression of the confidence which the Government had, and would continue to have, in his zeal and ability, I almost felt as if I should never sit down composedly again."—*Sir W. Denison's "Varieties of Vice-Regal Life."*

which at times became almost amusing to the spectator; the keen scrutiny of his eye not unfrequently confused nervous witnesses: but the clearness and impartiality of his summing up, and the justice and accuracy of his decisions, atoned for peculiarities which were harmless, though not pleasing. In private life Mr. Montagu was retiring and eccentric. He had an inveterate propensity for spending money in experimental farming, which left nothing but loss: he was also an enthusiast in boat racing and yachting.

The experimental devices of the Home Government in regard to the disposal of criminals greatly retarded the progress of Van Diemen's Land. At one time they were to be withdrawn altogether; at another they were sent in as a flood. Settlers were afraid to purchase land and engage in farming pursuits on account of the fluctuating condition of the labour market; consequently, Crown land sales had fallen off to a minimum: 88,788 acres were sold in 1840, and in seven years the annual sales had dwindled down to two or three thousand acres. The Customs revenue told the same tale. in 1840 it was £94,909, and only £83,370 in 1847. In exports, however, there was a considerable improvement, owing to increased trade with the new colonies. Bark and wheat were also sent to England with profitable results. During 1847 the imports were valued at £724,593, and the exports at £600,876, which included—wool, £247,240; grain, hay, flour, and bran, £141,377; timber, £15,414; fruits, jams, and vegetables, £9,712. There was a great falling-off in the produce of the whale fisheries: in 1838 it was valued at £137,077; now it had declined to £67,300. Wheat was selling at 5s. 6d. per bushel, and flour at £14 per ton. At the close of the year a census of the population was taken, with the following

result.—70,164, viz Free, 43,730, convicts, 24,188; military, &c., 2,246.*

The number of public schools had fallen off from 33 in 1837 to 23 in 1847; and in addition to this retrogression, convict masters were employed in the schools in some instances. Some of the clergy had succeeded in introducing denominational teaching into the public schools, the lax discipline enabling them to evade the rules of the British and Foreign System. Private schools in town and country in a great measure provided the means of education which the State neglected to supply. At a much earlier period the colony possessed many schools which were conducted after the manner of superior English academies. Among them may be named the schools of Mr. R. W. Giblin, at New Town; the Rev. Peter Campbell, and Mr. Cowle, at Hobart Town, the Rev. C. Price, Launceston; Mr. W. G. Elliston, Longford; and the Rev. H. P. Kane, East Tamar. Not a few scientific and professional men, both in England and the colonies, owe their early training to the schools of Van Diemen's Land. There were also some excellent schools for girls. Mrs. Clarke's, at Ellinthorpe Hall near Ross; and Mrs. Towner's, at Hobart Town, were among the most note-worthy.

There were other institutions under boards of management. The Hutchins School at Hobart Town (so called,

* Arrived free	-	-	-	-	-	13,818	
Born in the colony	-	-	-	-	-	18,393	
Obtained freedom since arrival	-	-	-	-	-	11,519	
							43,730
Male convicts holding tickets of leave	-					4,749	
" " in Government employment	-					8,660	
" " in private assignment	-					7,278	
							20,687
Female " holding tickets of leave	-					965	
" " in Government employment	-					1,098	
" " in private assignment	-					1,438	
							3,501
Military, and their wives and children	-					-	2,246
Total	-	-	-	-	-		70,164

in memory of the late Archdeacon), belonged exclusively to the Episcopalians. It was built in 1847, on a valuable allotment in Macquarie-street reserved for school purposes by Sir John Franklin, but afterwards granted by Governor Denison to trustees as a site for the new Anglican institution. This partiality to one denomination offended other sects, who complained that the school, being in fact a private establishment, had no claim on the bounty of the State. The Hutchins School, however, under the Rev. J. R. Buckland (for many years its Head Master), attained a prominent position among the educational establishments of the colony.

Sir William Denison in some measure conciliated the other denominations by granting five acres of land in one of the finest positions in Hobart Town as a site for an insectarian school. Some of the leading citizens issued a prospectus, subscriptions were raised for the erection of a large and handsome edifice, to be named the High School, and in a few weeks £5,000 was invested in the undertaking. A board of management was chosen by the shareholders. Mr. J. A. Froude (since celebrated as a historian) had been nominated to the office of Rector; but, in consequence of his theological views, he resigned the appointment. Another Rector was selected, and sent to the colony by the London University. The School was opened in 1850: it became early involved in difficulties, but on the appointment of the Rev. R. D. Poulett-Harris as Rector in 1857, soon secured a leading place as a superior institution, and continues to the present time in a high state of efficiency.

A College, to be supported by the Government funds, had been projected by Sir John Franklin, under the advice of the celebrated Dr. Arnold, and the Rev. J. P. Gell had been selected as its Principal; but various circumstances led to the abandonment of the scheme. In 1846 the idea

was revived by the Church of England. About £10,000 was raised by subscription in England and the colony for the endowment of the College as an Episcopalian institution. It was opened in October, 1846, at Bishopsbourne, near Longford, and named Christ's College. Scholarships and divinity fellowships were endowed: the Warden was head of the institution, and the Bishop sole Visitor. The management was extravagant and injudicious, and the discipline very defective. After a troubled existence of ten years the College was closed: its fine classical library was removed to Launceston, and eventually to Hobart Town. Christ's College has lately been re-established in Hobart on an entirely new plan.

The Launceston Church Grammar School, established at this period, with the Bishop of Tasmania as Visitor, has been one of the most useful educational institutions of the colony. The Rev. W. H. Savigny, M.A., is Head Master.

Very few incidents of historical importance transpired during the year 1848: it was a lull between storms. The movements of the British Government were anxiously watched. The Act of Parliament conferring a new Constitution, with electoral privileges, was looked for with impatience. Many important measures were suspended in order that the representatives of the people in the new Council might have a voice in their construction. The establishment of municipalities at Hobart Town and Launceston, a Cross and By-roads Act suitable to the country districts, and other useful measures, were postponed on this principle. Consequently the streets in the towns and the country roads remained in a neglected condition. The probation gangs, however, had made an excellent road between Hobart Town and Launceston. The cuttings at Constitution and Spring Hills were executed at an enormous Imperial cost, and are creditable to the engineering skill of the public works department of that period; the road to

Deloraine, also, which originally ran through open marshes, impassable for drays in the winter season, was diverted in places and macadamised.

The pastoral and agricultural interests were now suffering severely from the growth of a weed commonly known as the Scotch thistle, which spread with amazing rapidity over the indigenous pastures, as well as over the tilled paddocks; nor did the streets and reserves in the towns escape its ravages. The Governor was addressed on the subject by the Midland Agricultural Association, requesting that a legislative enactment might be passed to force landholders to extirpate the nuisance. His Excellency laid the matter before the Council, and a committee was appointed to consider and report upon the best plan to be adopted. The Chairman addressed circulars to the principal landowners, asking their opinions as to how the matter could be best dealt with. These, of course, varied considerably. Mr. Joseph Archer, whose reply was published, considered the colony was ruined by bad government. It was found unwise in the financial condition of the country to incur the expense of eradicating the noxious weed; nor would it have been possible to do so effectually at that time, when it was flourishing with such extraordinary vigour. In the course of years, however, nature worked her own cure: the thistles became feeble in their growth, and spontaneously died out on the runs.

Towards the close of the year 1848 rumours began to reach the colony that it was the intention of the British Government to make Van Diemen's Land the sole receptacle for the criminals of the Empire. An indignation meeting was held at Launceston on the 26th October, when many of the influential townsmen, including clergymen of the different denominations, expressed their views. The Rev. Dr. Browne spoke to a resolution conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Pitcairn, Rev John West,

and the Ven. Archdeacon Marriott, for their efforts in the abolition cause in the colony; and to the Bishop of Tasmania, Mr M'Lachlan, and Mr. Jackson (the London Agent), for their valuable assistance in England. He also alluded to the labours of Mr Henry Dowling, to whom the colony was deeply indebted for arduous services, gratuitously rendered, in the great work of liberating the country from its yoke of bondage. Mr. Crookes congratulated the meeting that there was now no variance of opinion. Nineteen months ago there was a strong organised opposition to the total abolition of transportation. now, even the Governor and his Council were with them. The Rev H. Dowling regarded the question as a great moral one, in which the destiny of the rising generation was especially concerned. The Rev C Price spoke at considerable length upon the evils of transportation.

At Hobart Town an important public meeting was also held. Petitions to the Queen and both Houses of Parliament, strongly remonstrating against a resumption of transportation, were unanimously adopted.

On the 12th November the fears of the inhabitants were confirmed by the arrival of the *Ratcliff*, from Spithead, with 248 male prisoners on board. At once the citizens interviewed the Governor, by means of a deputation consisting of Messrs Allport, Swanston, T. D. Chapman, Gamaliel Butler, H. Hopkins, Downing, Haller, Robert Officer, W. Rout, W. Crooke, C. T. Smith, Best, and Kisson. The deputation handed His Excellency a petition from the magistrates, clergy, bankers, and others residing in Hobart Town, setting forth the evils which must result from a further influx of criminals, and praying that His Excellency would be pleased to confer conditional pardons on the men lately arrived, and upon any who might hereafter arrive, until such a reduction took place in the convict population as to enable them to procure an honest livelihood

by their labour. To this the Governor replied that the evils complained of did not exist to the extent represented, and that it was not in his power to grant the prayer of the petition—a reply which was regarded as extremely unsatisfactory.

It is only just to Sir W. Denison to state that although his earlier despatches were unfavourable to the total abolition of transportation, his views had undergone a change. In his despatch received at the Home Office on the 5th February, 1848, he remarked:—"As, however, Her Majesty's Government have decided that transportation is to cease, and as that decision has been publicly made known in the colony, I do not consider that it would be possible or desirable to attempt to carry out the suggestions contained in my despatch No. 83. The feelings of a large portion of the community are so fully enlisted in the opposition which has been raised to the convict system here, that any attempt now to revive the system in any form would be looked upon by them as a breach of faith, and would cause, I have no doubt, feelings of hostility which would be very embarrassing to the Government. Under all circumstances, therefore, I think it would be very desirable to carry out fully the intentions expressed in Your Lordship's despatch, that transportation to this colony should be discontinued, and to make every possible arrangement, financial as well as administrative, by which the colony may be enabled to meet and provide for the difficulties of various kinds which must necessarily arise from the change of system."

The fact of Denison recanting his former opinions, and now advocating cessation, intensified the feeling of indignation against Earl Grey, who had repudiated his pledges, violated all his professed principles, and now stood before the Australian colonies as a personification of inconsistency. Perhaps the colonists were premature in their resentment: they did not wait until the wound was in-

flicted. Subsequent proceedings, however, showed that they were right in their apprehensions. The intentions of the Home Government were even worse than could have been imagined: it was intended to send all the criminals of the Empire to Van Diemen's Land.

During 1849 twenty ships with convicts on board arrived at Hobart Town from various parts of the British Empire—six from Ireland, with 884 male and 555 female prisoners; three from England, with 33 male and 313 females: five from New Zealand, with 16 males: two from Adelaide, with 23 males; one from Sydney, with 5; one from Port Phillip, with 10; and two from India, with 21—in all, 1860 convicts.

At the same time efforts were made to induce other colonies to receive similar cargoes. Circulars were sent to the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, New Zealand, New South Wales, South Australia, and Swan River. The handful of colonists in the latter colony were willing to accept the offer, a circumstance which was regarded as of little importance on account of the isolated position of Western Australia with regard to the Australian group. New South Wales had consented to take a limited number of convicts on certain terms, but on these terms being repudiated that colony joined the others in a unanimous refusal. But Earl Grey did not wait for replies: he resolved to try the plan of dispersion at once, and sent the *Neptune*, with ticket-holders from Ireland, to the Cape of Good Hope. On her arrival at Simon's Bay the greatest excitement prevailed amongst the inhabitants. They held meetings, formed defence associations, and firmly resolved that the convicts should not land. Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, expressed his entire sympathy with the people, and promised that not one should leave the ship without new orders from the Secretary of State. The injustice attempted to be done to the Cape colony was severely

censured by the British Press and in Parliament, and Earl Grey, as a last resource, issued orders for the *Neptune* to sail for Van Diemen's Land. An attempt to land the prisoners of the *Randolph* at Port Phillip was resisted with equal success. In New South Wales the *Hashemy* arrived with convicts. meetings were held, and resolutions carried, rejecting transportation in any form whatever. Thus the theory of dispersion had to be abandoned, and the unfortunate island of Van Diemen's Land had to contemplate the gloomy prospect of being inundated by an overwhelming flood of criminals.

The colonists, however, were unanimous in a fixed determination to save the land of their adoption from this last indignity. They were fortunate in possessing men of position and intelligence in whom they could confide as their leaders. Meetings were held in all the chief centres of population; representations were sent home in the form of petitions to the Queen and Parliament, and letters to influential friends, in which the broken pledges and the cruelty of the Home Government were strongly insisted on. The English Press and several members of Parliament warmly took up the cause of the colony. Mr. Jackson, the Home Agent, was unremitting in his efforts to proclaim the wrongs under which Van Diemen's Land was suffering, and to hasten the proposed measures for an elective legislature; for with that instrument in the hands of the people, the transportation question would be speedily settled.

Earl Grey was deaf to all remonstrance: he turned his back upon his former convictions and assertions with extraordinary complacency. "Millions," he said, during a debate in the House of Lords, "had been expended in preparing the country for convicts, and the free inhabitants could not expect that when they chose to call for cessation, the Imperial policy was to be altered on their

demand." And again:—"Van Diemen's Land had been originally intended as a penal settlement, and had a right to receive any number of prisoners the Government chose to send, and he was of opinion that the authority of the Crown should be firmly asserted." His persistence, however, only impelled the colonists to renewed energy. A League was organised, which ultimately extended to all the colonies, and became a mighty power in the anti-transportation cause.

The League originated with the Rev John West, of Launceston, who was deputed by an association in that town to confer with the leading inhabitants of Hobart Town. After a series of meetings, held at the house of Mr Henry Hopkins, in which the whole question was thoroughly discussed, an agreement was drawn up by Mr. Robert Pitcairn, and signed by those present, as follows:—"We, the undersigned, deeply impressed by the evils which have arisen from the transportation of the criminals of Great Britain to the Australian colonies, declare that transportation to any of the colonies ought for ever to cease; and we do hereby pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to procure its abolition.—Robert Pitcairn, Thos. D. Chapman, Henry Hopkins, G. C. Clarke, Joseph Allport, John West, F. Haller, G. W. Walker, Wm. Rout, Henry Smith, P. T. Smith, Robert Officer." The movement was speedily strengthened by the co-operation of nearly all the leading colonists. Foremost in the ranks of the League were Messrs. West, W. P. Weston, Adye Douglas, Henry Dowling, Richard Dry, James Cox, T. D. Chapman, J. W. Gleadow, T. B. Bartley, John Crookes, W. Kermode, Wm. Henty, and many others of high standing in the colony.

The Launceston Association proceeded vigorously to devise practical measures. A conference of delegates from all the colonies was proposed to be held in Melbourne: the

proposal was warmly taken up throughout all Australia. The Rev. John West and Mr. W. P. Weston were chosen as delegates from Van Diemen's Land, and amidst great popular enthusiasm "The League and Solemn Engagement of the Australian Colonies" was adopted by the conference held at Melbourne in February, 1851. This manifesto declared:—"1st. That they engage not to employ any person hereafter arriving under sentence of transportation for crime committed in Europe. 2nd. That they will use all the powers they possess—official, electoral, and legislative—to prevent the establishment of English prisons or penal settlements within their bounds; that they will refuse assent to any projects to facilitate the administration of such penal systems; and that they will seek the repeal of all regulations and the removal of all establishments for such purposes. And lastly. That they solemnly engage with each other to support by their advice, their money, and their countenance, all who may suffer in the lawful promotion of this cause."

Provincial councils were appointed in each colony, and delegates from these local bodies formed the general conference. The general conference appointed an executive board to direct operations, and nominated representatives in London to act in Great Britain. The League was so perfect in organisation, and so powerful in the unanimous support of the Australian people, that apart from extraneous circumstances success was certain. The British Government was pressed on all sides to abandon transportation—by the persevering remonstrances of enlightened members of Parliament, both in the Lords and Commons; by continual urgent appeals from the colonists; and by the unremitting efforts of agents and friends in the mother country. Doubtless the question how to dispose of the criminals was a most difficult one; but there was one thing certain—Van Diemen's Land was no longer

available. If any doubt existed upon that point it was utterly dispelled when Providence in a special manner overruled the designs of the British Cabinet in 1851, when Australia revealed her golden treasures.

The newly-discovered goldfields of California engaged much attention in Van Diemen's Land about this period (1849). The sudden influx of population into San Francisco created a demand there for timber, breadstuffs, and general merchandise, which at that time could be procured more speedily from Australia than from Europe, or even the Eastern States of America. Numerous vessels were consequently laid on from Australian ports, including those of Van Diemen's Land, laden with colonial products and *British merchandise, which realised enormous prices*; but on account of defective agency arrangements, the shippers frequently received no returns. San Francisco presented a scene of indescribable confusion: goods of immense value were lying about the wharves and in the streets, without a roof to cover them; some were stolen, and quantities were destroyed by the weather. Friends in Van Diemen's Land were shocked at the report of those who had ventured over the Pacific in search of gold. Many were unable to return home through poverty or sickness. Gentlemen inured to social refinements had to work at menial employment for their daily bread. In a short time the labour market was overstocked, and suffered a reaction so complete that none but skilled workmen could obtain employment at any price. The Hobart Town and Launceston merchants, instead of realising a profit upon their transactions in the Californian market, suffered considerable loss.



CHAPTER XI.

THE IRISH STATE PRISONERS—SMITH O'BRIEN, T. F. MEAGHER, JOHN MITCHEL, MARTIN, M'MANUS, ETC.—THEIR LIFE IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

AN interesting episode, identified with the colony in its penal character, occurred during 1849 in the arrival of the leaders of the "Young Ireland" party, who were banished from their native land for political offences.

It will be remembered that when the Whigs went into power in 1846, Daniel O'Connell consented to support their Government, when the malcontents of the Repeal Association openly separated from him, and a bitter feud between the "Young" and "Old" Ireland parties ensued. O'Connell maintained his favourite precept of *moral force*, and was supported by the great body of the Catholic bishops and clergy. "Young Ireland" advocated the principle of *physical force*, and when this was brought into practical action during the political crisis of 1848 the leaders of the party came to grief.

The principals in the physical force movement were singularly unfortunate in their attempt to rouse Ireland to arms: they had themselves to fly in terror from their countrymen, who had not forgotten the wise counsels of their great leader O'Connell. The new party were men of strong feelings—acutely sensitive to the wrongs of their

native land, but sadly deficient in judgment and discretion. William Smith O'Brien (one of the leaders) was M.P. for Limerick, a man of great influence in Ireland, possessing large property, and of good family. His brother was Lord Inchiquin, and the title of the marquissate of Thomond was in the family. He was also a lineal descendant of the heroic Irish king, Brian Boru. Smith O'Brien possessed a high personal character for honour and integrity in his intercourse with the world, and for kindness and affection in domestic life. He was, however, a poor speaker in Parliament, and, worse still, the poorest possible leader of an insurrectionary movement. He had dwelt upon the injustice of English rule until, in the honest love of an overflowing heart, his head became crazed. He was respected and beloved by the Irish peasantry for his private virtues and illustrious descent, but when he called them to arms the people stared in blank amazement. They loved him as a country squire of true blood, not as a leader of revolt.

Thomas Francis Meagher was a young man of high intellectual attainments. He was a bold and clever speaker, and would have attained eminence in a better cause. He was the son of Thomas Meagher, Esq., member of Parliament for Waterford. When Louis Philippe fled from France, and Lamartine became the hero of Republicanism, Meagher and O'Brien headed a deputation of Young Irelanders, who waited on the then popular Minister of the young Republic, in hope that Lamartine, whose sympathies were in harmony with the claims of Ireland, would see fit to wage war with England! This was too much for France. She had enough to do at home.

John Mitchel, son of a Presbyterian clergyman in the north of Ireland, was an exceedingly warm-hearted and hot-headed member of the Young Ireland party. He was a clerk in the Provincial Bank at Londonderry, and subse-

quently joined Mr. Fraser, a solicitor. These occupations were too tame for his restless spirit: he started the *United Irishman* newspaper in opposition to the *Nation*, a paper which advocated repeal by agitation and argumentative but not physical force. Mitchel's plan for settling matters was war to the knife. Charles Gavin Duffy, in his newspaper, the *Nation*, advocated delay, believing that, in the enlightened reign of Queen Victoria, justice would be done to Ireland without bloodshed more quickly than with it.

Justin Macarthy, in his "History of our own Times," says of John Mitchel: — "He was a man of great literary talent; indeed, a man of something like genius. He wrote a clear, bold, incisive prose, keen in its scorn and satire, going directly to the heart of its purpose. . . . He issued in his paper week after week a challenge to the Government to prosecute him. He poured out the most fiery sedition, and used every invective that words could supply to rouse a hot-headed people to arms, or an impatient Government to some act of severe repression. Mitchel was quite ready to make a sacrifice of himself if it were necessary. He kept on urging the people to prepare for warlike effort, and every week's *United Irishman* contained long descriptions of how to make pikes and how to use them, how to cast bullets, how to make the streets as dangerous for the hoofs of cavalry horses as Bruce made the field of Bannockburn. . . . He was a fanatic, clever and fearless: he would neither have asked quarter nor given it; and undoubtedly, if Ireland had had many men of his desperate resolve, she would have been plunged into a bloody, an obstinate, and a disastrous contest against the strength of the British Government."

These men were prosecuted for seditious conduct; when arrested they were immediately admitted to bail, and the juries by whom they were tried disagreed in their verdict; whereupon the Government passed a bill rapidly through

Parliament, which made all written incitement to insurrection or resistance to the law, felony, punishable with transportation. It enabled the Government to keep in prison without bail, while awaiting trial, anyone charged with an offence under the new Act. Mitchel was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. He was hurried under an escort of cavalry through the streets of Dublin, put on board a man-of-war, and in a few hours was on his passage to Bermuda.

Mitchel was hardly out of the way before O'Brien, Meagher, and their confederates were arrested. They were charged with high treason, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, and quartered. This terrible sentence was commuted to transportation for life. That, indeed, was a heavy sentence, considering the weakness of the struggle. A handful of soldiers could have scattered the physical force mob at any time. They were numerically weak, and had few sympathisers. Smith O'Brien was quietly apprehended while procuring his ticket at a railway station. Meagher was taken, without resistance, at his father's house. There was no angry demonstration on the part of the people. The priests were blamed by the Young Irelanders for their misfortunes; they hovered round O'Brien, and "melted off the crowd like a silent thaw. When the people seemed to be gathering in force, they were told by the priests that if they shed blood they would lose their immortal souls" *.

Seven of the ringleaders were sent to Van Diemen's Land. O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donohue arrived at Hobart Town on 27th October, 1849, in H.M.S. *Swift*, 360 tons, 6 guns, Captain Adlam, R.N. Four days after the arrival of the *Swift*, the brig *Emma* anchored in the Derwent, having on board John Martin and Kevin O'Dogherty, who had been sent to Sydney in a convict ship,

* Mitchel's *Jail Journal*.

and forwarded on from thence. On their arrival they were offered tickets-of-leave under their parole of honour that they would not attempt to leave the colony while they held such indulgence. To this condition they severally pledged themselves, with the exception of Smith O'Brien, who would make no promise as to his future behaviour. He was accordingly removed to Maria Island to undergo his sentence in penal servitude. The others would enjoy comparative liberty, but they were required to reside in separate districts—a condition which was the source of great grief to the exiles. M'Manus was sent to Launceston, Meagher to Campbell Town, Martin to Bothwell, O'Dogherty to New Norfolk, and O'Donoghue (a medical student) was permitted to remain in Hobart Town.

In the meantime John Mitchel, who had been serving part of his sentence on board the hulks at Bermuda, was sent on to Van Diemen's Land in the *Neptune*, where he spent nearly twelve months in consequence of the delay (already noticed) at the Cape of Good Hope. Mitchel was a young man of delicate constitution, with a mental power far too strong for his physical. The long confinement with a shipload of convicts greatly tried his endurance: indeed, on his arrival at Hobart Town the ship's doctor informed the authorities that Mitchel must be sent to a healthy district, and allowed plenty of quiet, or he would die. Having accepted his ticket-of-leave, Mitchel was sent to Bothwell, where the friend of his youth, Martin, resided. He speedily regained strength in the bracing air of the Bothwell district. Writing in his journal he says:—"I grow stronger every day, and whether it be the elastic and balmy air of these mountain woods that sends the tide of life coursing somewhat warmer through my veins, or the unwonted converse of an old friend that revives the personal identity I had nearly lost, or the mere treading once more upon the firm, flowery surface of our bounteous

mother earth, after two years tossing on the barren, briny ocean—certain it is I feel a kind of joy. In vain I try to torment myself into a state of chronic savage indignation."

Meagher wrote to his friend of the *Nation* newspaper, Mr. (now Sir) C. G. Duffy soon after his arrival—"On the whole I must say that the English Government, ever since our conviction, have acted towards us in a frank, mild, honourable spirit. Sending us out so many thousand miles away from our old home and friends to this lone spot in the far southern sea was, to be sure, a measure of great severity. Yet it would have been hard to say they could have done less. We played for a high stake—the armed possession of our country against a foreign force—the highest stake that could be played for, we lost the game by a wretched throw, and with a willing heart and ready hand we ought, like honourable men, to pay the forfeit, and say no more about it.

"So far, then, you see, I have no complaint to make with regard to the fate that has been decreed us, dull, bleak, and wearisome as it is. But I do complain that, having separated us by so many thousand miles of sea from all that was dear, consoling, and inspiring to our hearts, they should have still further increased the severity of this sentence by distributing us over a strange land, in which the best friendship we could form would compensate but poorly for the loss of the warm, familiar, gay companionship we so long enjoyed together.

"With regard to the country itself, you cannot expect me to say much, since I have seen, as yet, but little of it. But I have seen enough of it to justify me in saying that, so far as Heaven has ordered, and the Divine Hand has blessed it, it is a beautiful, noble island. In most, if not all, those gifts which constitute the strength, the true wealth, and grandeur of a country, it has been beneficially endowed. The seas which encompass it, the lakes and

rivers which refresh and fertilise it, the woods which shadow, and the genial sky which arches it, all bear testimony to the bounteous will of its Creator, and with sights of the brightest colouring, and sounds of the finest harmony, proclaim the goodness, munificence, and power of God in its behalf.

"The climate is more than healthful—it is invigorating and inspiring. Breathing it, manhood preserves its bloom, vivacity, and vigour long after the period at which, in other lands, those precious gifts depart, and the first cold touch of age is felt. Breathing it, age puts on a glorious look of health, serenity, and gladness; and even when the grey hairs have thinned, seems able yet to fight a way through the snows, and storms, and falling leaves of many a year to come. Oh! to think that a land so blest, so rich in all that renders life happy, bountiful, and great—so kindly formed to be a refuge and a sweet abiding place in these latter times for the younger children of the old, decrepid, worn out world at home—to think that such a land is doomed to be the prison, the workshop, and the grave of the empire's outcast poverty, ignorance, and guilt! This is a sad, revolting thought, and the reflections which spring from it cast a gloom over the purest and happiest minds. Whilst so black a curse lies on it no heart, howsoever pious, generous, and benignant it may be, could love this land and speak of it with pride. May that dark destiny of hers be soon reversed! From the pillar to which she is bound; from the derision and the contumely, from the buffeting and blows she is doomed to bear in this her night of weakness and humiliation, from the garment of scorn, the crown of torture, and the gall they have given her to drink; may the brave spirit of her sons decree to her a deliverance—speedy, blissful, and eternal!"

Such a warm-hearted expression of sympathy from this talented young exile was gratifying to the colonists, who

had already evinced a kindly feeling towards the Irish "patriots," as they were called, by visiting them in their cheerless abodes, and receiving them to their houses, thus shedding a ray of happiness on their lot. The most exquisite pleasure they enjoyed during the days of their captivity was, however, a periodical visit to the shores of Lake Sorell, where Mitchel and Martin frequently met Meagher, O'Dogherty, and M'Manus. The following graphic account of a visit to the lake is from Mitchel's pen —

"As we ascended, the mountain became wilder and steeper at every mile, until we were full 2,000 feet above the plain of Ross. Here an opening among the trees gave us a view over the low country we had left, wide, arid, and parched in aspect, with ridge after ridge of rugged-looking wooded hills stretching far towards the Pacific eastward. High and grim, to the north-east, towered the vast Ben Lomond; and we could trace, in the blue distance, the valley of St. Paul's. We were now almost on the ridge where our track crossed the summit of the western range, we had dismounted, and I was leading the horses up the remaining steep acclivity, when we suddenly saw a man on the track above us. He had a gun in his hand, and on his head a cabbage-tree hat, and at his feet an enormous dog. When he observed us he sang out "*Coo-ee!*" the cry with which people in the bush make themselves heard at a distance. "*Coo-ee!*" I shouted in reply, when down came bounding man and dog together. The man was Meagher, who had walked four miles from his cottage to meet us. We continued our ascent merrily, and soon knew—though the forest was thick all round us—that we had reached the mountain top, by the fresh breeze that blew upon our brows from the other side.

"And now, how shall I describe the wondrous scene that breaks upon us here—a sight to be seen only in Tasmania, a land where not only all the native productions of the

country, but the very features of Nature herself, seem formed on a pattern the reverse of every model, form, and law on which the structure of the rest of the globe is put together: a land where the mountain tops are vast lakes, where the trees slip off bark instead of leaves, and where stones grow on the outside of the cherries!

"After climbing full two thousand feet, we stand in a moment on the brink of a steep mountain, and behold the plain of Ross far below; the next minute, instead of commencing our descent into a valley on the other side, we are on the edge of a great lake, stretching at least seven miles to the opposite shore, held here by the mere summits of the mountain range, and brimming to the very lips of the cup or crater that contains it. A cutting of twenty-five feet in depth would at this point send its waters plunging over the mountain to form a new river in the plains of Ross. At another part of its shore, to the north-west, a similar canal would drain it into the Lake River, which flows along the foot of the mountains on that side. As it is, the only outlet is through Lake Crescent and the Clyde, and so it comes to fertilise the vale of Bothwell, and bathe the roots of our trees at Nant Cottage.

"We pass the Dog's Head Promontory, and enter a rough winding path cut among the trees, which brings us to a quiet bay, or deep curve of the lake, at the head of which, facing one of the most glorious scenes of fairy-land, with the clear waters rippling at its feet, and a dense forest around and behind it, stands our friend's quiet cottage. A little wooden jetty runs out some yards into the lake, and at anchor near the end of the jetty lies the *Speranza*, a new boat built at Hobart Town, and hauled up here through Bothwell, a distance of seventy-five miles, by six bullocks. On the verandah we are welcomed by the lady of this sylvan hermitage, give our horses to Tom Egan to

be taken care of, and spend a pleasant hour, till dinner-time, sauntering on the lake shore. After dinner a sail is proposed. Jack is summoned—an old sailor kept here by Meagher to navigate the boat—the stern sheets are spread with opossum-skins, rugs, and shawls; the American flag is run up, and we all sally forth, intending to visit the island and see how the oats and potatoes are thriving—for Meagher means to be a great farmer, and has kept a man on the island several months ploughing, planting, and sowing.

Pleasant evening, of course, except when we spoke of Ireland, and the miserable *debris* of her puny agitators, which are fast making the name of Irishman a word of reproach all the world over.

"We talked much, however, of the Van Diemen's Land election, and of the Australasian League, wherein I find Meagher takes considerable interest. We both sympathise very heartily with the effort of the decent colonists to throw off the curse and shame of convictism; not that the change, indeed, would at all affect us, Irish exiles, who would be kept quite safe at all events, but because our worthy friends here feel so great and so just a concern about the question, for the sake of the land they have adopted for their home and their children's inheritance.

"The air up in these regions seems to be even purer and more elastic than, in other parts of the island, the verdure brighter, the foliage richer; and as we float here at our ease we are willing to believe that no lake on earth is more beauteous than Sorell. Not so berhymed as Windermere is this Antarctic lake; neither does the Cockney tourist infest its waters, as he infests Loch Lomond or Killarney; not so famous in story as Regillus or Thrasymené in literature, as Como or Geneva, is our lake of the southern woods. It flows not into its sister Lake Crescent with so grand a rush as Eric flings herself upon Ontario; neither do its echoes ring with a weird minstrelsy,

as ring, and will ring for ever, the mountain echoes of Katrine and Loch Achrey. What is worse, there is no fish— not a trout, red and speckled, not a perch, pike, or salmon. But, *en revanche*, see the unbroken continent of mighty forest that clasps us round here. On the north frowns the peak called Cradle Mountain, with its grey precipices rising out of the rich foliage—one peak merely of the great western tier rising not more than a thousand feet from the lake, but almost four thousand above the sea. Opposite, and further off, beyond the Crescent Lake, rises the grand Table Mountain. No signs of human life anywhere. No villas of Elizabethan, of Gothic, or of Grecian structure crown select building sites along the shore. No boats carry parasolled picnic parties, under direction of professional guides, to the admitted points of attraction, and back at evening to the big balconied hotel. . . .

“Why should not Lake Sorell also be famous? Where gleams and ripples purer, glassier water, mirroring a brighter sky? Where does the wild duck find a securer nest than under thy tea-tree fringe, O, Lake of the South! And the snow-white swan that ‘on St. Mary’s Lake’ floats double, swan and shadow’—does he float more placidly, or fling on the waters a more stately reflection from his stately neck, than thou, jet black, proud crested swan of the Antarctic forest waters? Some sweet singer shall berhyme thee yet, beautiful Lake of the Woods. *Tu quoque fontium eris nobilium*. Haunted art thou now by native devils only; and pass-holding shepherds whistle nigger melodies in thy balmy air. But spirits of the great and good, who are yet to be bred in this southern hemisphere, shall hover over thy wooded promontories in the years to come; every bay will have its romance (for the blood of man is still red, and pride and passion will yet make it burn and tingle until Time shall be no more), and the glancing of thy sun-lit, moon-beloved ripples shall flash through the dreams of poets yet unborn.”

Smith O'Brien remained in close restraint at Maria Island for nearly a year, while his comrades in the rebellion were enjoying comparative comfort in their rural abodes. Although Mr. Samuel Lapham, the principal superintendent on the island, was a kind-hearted and humane man, yet the severity of Denison's regulations, issued for O'Brien's special supervision, subjected him to many indignities, and treatment harsher than the British Government ever intended to inflict. His health gave way. In a letter to a friend in England he bitterly complained of the treatment he received from Governor Denison and the Comptroller-General of Convicts. The latter was absent from Hobart Town when he arrived : the instructions which accompanied him to Maria Island were of a general nature, and the local officers allowed him as much liberty as he could reasonably expect. The island is picturesque, and delightfully situated. At first O'Brien thought he could spend his time somewhat agreeably. After the lapse of a week, however, new and more stringent instructions were received, which greatly limited his enjoyment ; and, soon after, the Comptroller-General arrived, with authority from the Governor to consign him to a process of treatment which he thus relates :—" I was shut up in a small cottage, to which a garden is annexed. As the garden is full of potatoes, the only opportunity of exercise which it allows is afforded by a very rough and narrow walk in the form of a cross, about seventy yards by twenty. Being on the side of a hill on which there is no shelter of any kind, this promenade is exposed to every wind that blows when the weather is unfavourable, and to the full heat of the burning day when the sun shines. I could therefore take no exercise in it with pleasure, except for about an hour on a fine evening. No human being, not even children, was allowed to approach me, except the officer who brought my meal, and the officer who inspects my apartments four

times a day. Instant deportation from the island was to be the penalty awarded to anyone who should address a word to me. An amiable Catholic clergyman inhabits the adjoining cottage, and, though his garden is separated only by a low fence from mine, he was not allowed to interchange a syllable with me. Even the Protestant religious instructor of the station was deterred from visiting me, though it was his special duty to visit daily all Protestant prisoners in solitary confinement. I was strictly limited to an assigned ration, and prohibited from purchasing any article necessary to my comfort, even through the officials. I performed all the menial offices (except cooking my dinner) for myself. My letters were subject to inspection newspapers were not allowed to reach me." This tyrannical treatment continued until O'Brien's health gave way, and the surgeon of the station, alarmed at the rapid progress of unfavourable symptoms, reported that more freedom and intercourse with his fellow beings were absolutely necessary. The unfortunate gentleman was then permitted to wander at large in custody of a keeper.

As soon as the colonists heard of the inhuman treatment to which Smith O'Brien was subjected, a number of gentlemen forwarded to him a letter of condolence, in which they urgently entreated him to accept the proffered ticket-of-leave, which was still open to him. His brother, Sir Lucius O'Brien, brought his case before the British Parliament. Sir George Grey defended the Governor, saying that, having refused his parole of honour, it was incumbent on the colonial authorities to guard his person with more vigilance than was usual. Sir Lucius stated that he urged his brother before his departure from Dublin to accept the offer of partial liberty on his arrival in Van Diemen's Land, but was unable to make any impression on his determination to reject it. He submitted that it was not in accordance with the mild spirit of the British

Constitution to pursue a person to the death His brother, he said, believed he was engaged in a good cause, but he (Sir Lucius) thought him very wrong and injudicious, and never by word, sign, or otherwise had his brother received any encouragement from him. But if a man thought himself right, and remained in this frame of mind, was it right to pursue him to such an extremity as to cause the loss of his life?

At length O'Brien's friends devised a plan for his escape. They arranged with one Ellis, master of the *Victoria* schooner, to lie off Maria Island, send a boat on shore at a given spot, and take off O'Brien to California. There was a friendly ear on the island to listen to the plan, and a friendly tongue to tell O'Brien the day and the spot where Ellis would run his boat ashore. Delays occurred at Hobart Town. O'Brien walked daily to the same point, straining his eager eyes to the southern horizon. At last, as he wandered on the shore, a sail hove in sight. It was the *Victoria*. A boat was coming, manned by a crew of three. He walked into the woods to give time for the boat to approach, and remove suspicion in the constable, who was somewhere about, armed with a musket. The boat could not reach the shore on account of a bed of tangled seaweed near the land. O'Brien plunged into the water to prevent delay, and struggled through the seaweed to the boat. At this moment the constable reached the water's edge, presented his musket, and threatened to fire, whereupon the boatmen cried out together, "We surrender!" Poor O'Brien was betrayed; the constable rushed into the boat, stove in the planks with a hatchet which was lying there, and ordered all hands to proceed with him to the station. O'Brien refused to move, but the sailors helped to carry him along. It was believed by the exiles that Ellis and his men betrayed their trust, and had informed the officials of the arrangement some time

before.* This hardly appears likely, as Ellis was tried at Hobart Town for the offence of aiding in O'Brien's attempt to escape, and, being found guilty, his share in the vessel was forfeited. He managed, however, to disappear with the vessel.

The superintendent of Maria Island was dismissed, and the unfortunate captive was now treated more rigorously than ever: he was removed to Port Arthur in September, 1850, after spending eleven months at Maria Island. At Port Arthur the iron will of Smith O'Brien gave way: he bowed to circumstances which he was too feeble to conquer, and, to the delight of his friends, accepted a ticket-of-leave. In November of the same year he resided at New Norfolk, where he had liberty to ride about the district. He also enjoyed frequent opportunities of meeting his former comrades in the inglorious struggle of 1848. Mr. O'Brien was much respected by the gentry of the place. He was pensive and retiring, keenly sensitive to the degradation of his unhappy lot. He retained an ardent love for Ireland and the distressed peasantry who were suffering the horrors of a potato famine at this time. In his letters home he always alluded feelingly to the kindness of the colonists, and entered with them into the troubles they endured under the blighting shadow of the convict system. But for that evil destiny, it is said, he would have consented to the emigration of his wife and family to Tasmania. After a time he removed to the Fingal district, and became tutor in the family of Doctor Brock. Subsequently he went back to reside in his cottage at New Norfolk.

The other exiles were living as philosophically as circumstances would admit. They were too young and

* Ellis afterwards went to San Francisco, where M'Manus met him, and obtained a trial before a Lynch-law jury for his perfidy. He was tried under a convenient tree, but acquitted.

buoyant to turn ascetic, so they made the best of life. Meagher took to himself a wife—a young Tasmanian lady, daughter of Mr. Bennett, a resident in the district of New Norfolk. Mitchel sent home for his wife* and children to solace him in his altered condition. M'Manus still resided at Launceston, where he had a large circle of friends. O'Donohue was proprietor of a newspaper at Hobart Town, boldly registered as the *Irish Exile*; and John Martin clung to his friend Mitchel at Bothwell. They often paid stolen visits to each other—an innocent luxury that seemed right in their eyes, although it rendered them amenable to punishment under the convict regulations. The Government, however, soon heard of this breach of discipline; instructions were issued to the constables to prevent its recurrence. On the 2nd of December, 1850, M'Manus, O'Dogherty, and O'Donoghue went to New Norfolk for the purpose of paying a visit to O'Brien. Informations of their having done so were laid before the police magistrates of Launceston and New Norfolk. They were reprimanded, with a caution not to leave their districts for the future without permission. As soon as the Governor heard of the leniency of the magistrates, he had the exiles apprehended on Christmas Eve, and sentenced them to three months' penal servitude at Port Arthur, revoking their tickets-of-leave at the same time. This arbitrary proceeding on the part of Denison naturally provoked indignation in the minds of the magistracy, who felt it a high-handed stretch of authority thus to interfere with the decisions of police courts. The colonists generally felt commiseration for the gentlemen who were so rudely torn from their quiet abodes and sent to a trebly-convicted penal station, where they were compelled to labour and associate with the vilest, clothed in the same degraded

* This lady was a niece of Sir W. Vernon, Bart., M.P. for Armagh.

garb, exposed to the same privations, subject to the same discipline, and forced to toil on land and in water in the same severe and slavish occupations. After two months spent at Port Arthur, M'Manus's friends had him removed to Hobart Town by writ of *habeas corpus*. Their Honors the Judges of the Supreme Court, on technical grounds, discharged M'Manus. He quietly returned to Launceston, broken in health and spirit by the sufferings he had endured.

Denison was determined to override the decision of the Judges. He sent officers of the penal department, without warrant, to drag M'Manus back to Port Arthur. He was lying on a sick bed, two medical men, attending the sufferer, interposed, and despatched a certificate to the effect that his removal would endanger life. A three days' respite was thus obtained. In a few days after it was reported that M'Manus had taken refuge from his persecutors. Some of his friends, it was conjectured, stipulated with one of the outgoing vessels bound for California. In this case it is quite clear no violation of promise occurred. He had been stripped of the liberty on which his parole rested. The Government offered, through the colonial *Gazettes*, a reward of £50 for his arrest, but in vain; he was bound for the land of the stars and stripes, where he could meet his cruel jailer on the highway without an emotion of terror. News reached the colony in August that M'Manus had arrived at San Francisco. "We rejoice to know," said the *Launceston Examiner*, "that one devoted victim is now beyond the reach of despotism."

The exiles doubtless felt greatly humiliated by the harsh conduct of the local Government, but they were supported in their trials by the warm-hearted kindness of the inhabitants, and their own judicious resolve to make the best of life in exile. Mitchel's soul was still full of poetry. Thus he wrote of the Tasmanian Shannon —

"All my life long I have delighted in rivers, rivulets, rills, fierce torrents, tearing their rocky beds, gliding dimpled brooks, kissing a daisied marge. The tinkle, or murmur, or raving roar of running water, is, of all sounds my ears ever hear now, the most homely. Nothing else in this land looks or sounds like home. The birds have a foreign tongue: the very trees whispering to the wind whisper in accents unknown to me, for the gum-tree leaves are all hard, horny, polished as the laurel; besides, they have neither upper nor under side, but are set on with the plane of them vertical; wherefore they can never, never, let breeze pipe or zephyr breathe as it will, never can they whisper, quiver, sigh, or sing, as do the beeches and the sycamores of old Rosstrevor. Yes, all sights and sounds of nature are alien and outlandish, save only the sparkle and the music of the streams. Well I know the voice of this eloquent river. it talks to me, and to the woods and rocks, in the same tongue and dialect wherein the Roe discoursed to me, a child. In its crystalline gush my heart and brain are bathed, and I hear, in its plaintive chime, all the blended voices of history, of prophesy, and poesy, from the beginning. Not cooler or fresher was the Thracian Hebrus; not purer were Abana and Pharpar; not more ancient and venerable is Father Nilus. Before the quiet flow of the Egyptian river was yet disturbed by the jabber of priests of Merœ—before the dynasty was yet bred that quaffed the sacred wave of Choaspes, 'the drink of none but kings'—ere its lordly namesake river, in Erin of the streams, reflected yet upon its bosom a Pillar Tower, or heard the chimes from its Seven Churches, this river was rushing through its lonely glen to the Southern sea—was singing its mystic song to these primeval woods.

"Oh, sun-loved river! wherefore dost thou hum,
Hum, hum, alway thy strange, deep, mystic song
Unto the rocks and stands? for they are dumb,
And answer nothing as thou flowest along.

Why singest so, all hours of night and day?
Ah, river! my best river! thou, I know, art seeking
Some land where souls have still the gift of speaking
With Nature in her own old wondrous way!

"I delight in poets who delight in rivers, and for this do I love that sweet singer through whose inner ear and brain the gush of his native Aufidus for ever streamed and flashed: how some perennial brook of crystal glimmered for ever through all his day dreams! How he yearned to marry his own immortality with the eternal murmuring hymn of that bright Blandusian fount! . . ."

But he was a convict in Van Diemen's Land, and Sir William Denison treated him as a convict. In the hands of a more generous Governor it is probable the exiles would have patiently awaited the Queen's will concerning their future destiny. As it was, however, they resolved to escape. They flattered themselves into a belief that they could do so in an honourable way. If they erred in judgment upon that point there is much consideration due to the peculiar circumstances which goaded them to action.

Meagher was the first to follow M'Manus: he gave Mr. Mason, the Police Magistrate, notice of his intention to withdraw his parole, but when the police arrived at his residence at Lake Sorell, he interviewed them only at a distance, and then galloped with his friends over the wildest parts of the western mountains, and onward to Badger Head, where he found a vessel was waiting for him bound for California. Meagher was received in the United States with all the demonstrations that Republicanism could afford even to a conqueror. When the civil war broke out, he served in the army of the Federal States, became a distinguished general, and Acting-Governor of the territory of Montana. On the 1st of July, 1867, his career was prematurely closed by an accident. He fell from the deck of a steamer into the Missouri; there was

a strong current running, and he was carried down the stream before aid could be rendered. Thus, at the age of 44, ended the life of a highly talented but misguided man. His Tasmanian wife went on a visit to her father-in-law, T. Meagher, Esq., M.P., at Waterford, where she died on May 11th, 1854, at the early age of 22.

Mitchel remained at Bothwell eighteen months after Meagher's escape, but it was only for lack of opportunity he stayed so long. The Americans were resolved that all the Young Irelanders should be removed from the scene of their degradation. In January, 1853, a stranger arrived in the colony, his ostensible object being to act as correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. His real purpose, however, was to further the escape of the five remaining State prisoners. This was Mr. P. J. Smyth, afterwards a distinguished member of Parliament. He was provided with ample means to carry out the scheme. Smyth held a consultation with the prisoners at New Norfolk, in O'Brien's house. The latter was of opinion that any attempt to escape would be derogatory to their honour unless each presented himself at the police office of his allotted district during office hours, and explained to the Police Magistrate, with his constables within call, that he resigned his ticket-of-leave, and was going away. He declined to take his own chance of escape, preferring to wait, in hope that the British Government would ultimately set him free.

Great difficulties arose; the vigilance of the police was continually upsetting cherished projects. Hampton, the Comptroller-General, spared no expense in keeping a rigid watch over the unfortunate political exiles, an employment which was congenial to his cruel disposition.

Smyth made arrangements for the departure of Mitchel and Martin from Spring Bay (on the East Coast) in a vessel bound for New Zealand. Some one betrayed the movements of the party; a strong reinforcement of police was

sent to Spring Bay; Smyth was taken into custody in mistake for Mitchel, and liberated at Hobart Town.

At length Mitchel made his escape, but it was attended with many difficulties. He has left an interesting narrative of his movements in the *Jail Journal*, which he afterwards published. His interview with the police is thus described.—“At the police barrack on the little hill we (Smyth and Mitchel) saw eight or nine constables, all armed, and undergoing a sort of drill. At the police office door there was, as usual, a constable on guard. Mr. Barr, a worthy Scotch gentleman and magistrate, was standing within a few yards of the gate. We dismounted. I walked in first, through the little gate leading into the court, through the door which opened into a hall or passage, and thence into the court room, where I found his worship sitting as usual. Near him sat Robinson, the police clerk. ‘Mr. Davies,’ I said, ‘here is a copy of a note which I have just despatched to the Governor. I have thought it necessary to give you a copy.’ The note was as follows.—

‘To the Lieut.-Governor, etc.

‘SIR,—I hereby resign the ticket-of-leave, and withdraw my parole. I shall forthwith present myself before the police magistrate of Bothwell, at his office, show him a copy of this note, and offer myself to be taken into custody.

‘Your obedient servant,

‘JOHN MITCHEL.’

“Mr. Davies took the note; it was open. He glanced over it, and then looked at Mitchel, and at Smyth, who was now at his side. After a pause of some time, Mitchel explained: ‘You observe, sir, that my parole is at an end from this moment, and I came here to be taken into custody pursuant to that note.’ Still (says Mitchel) his worship made no move. ‘Now, good morning, sir,’ he said, putting on his hat. Then Mr. Davies shouted, ‘No, no—

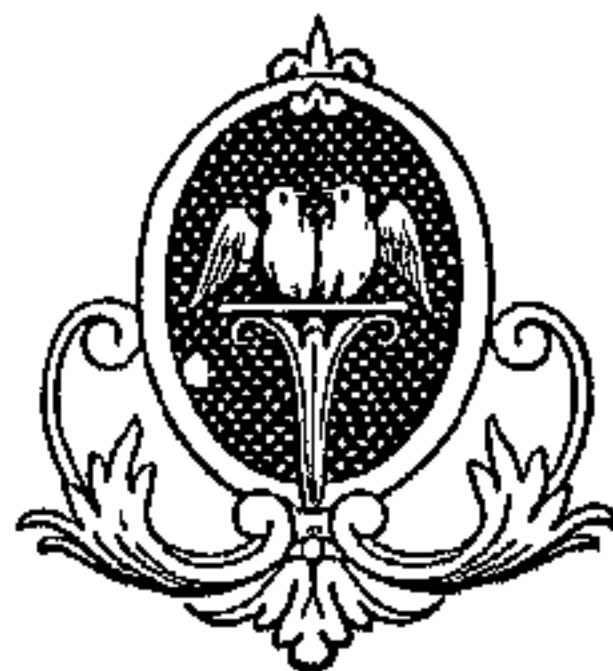
stay here! Rainsford! Constables!' They were, however in their saddles and off."

Mitchel was very unfortunate in his efforts to leave the colony. He was disappointed at not finding a vessel at Badger Head, according to arrangement made with the captain by his friends, Dease, a Launceston merchant, D. Burke, a settler at Westbury, and others. He was then concealed at Mr. George Baker's house, Port Sorell, until fresh arrangements were made. Then he went to Launceston and had to return to George Town. At both places the plans miscarried. Returning to Launceston, he became the private guest of Father Butler. Next he went to Hobart Town, travelling inside the coach disguised as a priest, his fellow-traveller being Edward M'Dowell, the Attorney-General of Van Diemen's Land, who, though a son of Erin, had no idea he was in company with an Irish rebel. Mitchel eventually made his escape from the colony on July 18th, in a ship bound for Sydney; and, singular enough, his wife and family went with him. So perfect was his disguise, no one suspected his reverence the priest. It was supposed he had already escaped from the north side of the island, and that his wife was following him.

On the 10th of October Mitchel passed the Golden Gate, and trod upon the free soil of San Francisco, where he met M'Manus. Hurrying on to New York, he found Meagher. He afterwards settled at Richmond, Virginia, and took part with the Confederates in the rebellion. He subsequently went to Ireland, and was twice elected member of Parliament, but was not permitted to take his seat on account of his former conviction: the term for which he was transported had expired, but he had not served it. The question was still unsettled when his health broke down; his restless spirit was summoned away; and all the hopes, and sorrows, and aspirations of a strangely chequered life were at rest.

Mitchel's faithful friend, Martin, remained in the colony until he was pardoned in 1854. He then went home—but to die. His character is written by Justin M'Carthy:—
“Everyone in the House of Commons respected John Martin, who to the day of his death avowed himself, in Parliament and out of it, a consistent and unrepentant opponent of British rule in Ireland. He was respected because of the purity of his character and the transparent sincerity of his purpose. Martin had been devoted to Mitchel in his lifetime, and he died a few days after Mitchel's death.”

Smith O'Brien received a conditional pardon in 1854, and in July, 1856 was permitted to return to Ireland. But he was broken in health and spirit. He died in Wales in June, 1864.





CHAPTER XII.

IMPERIAL ACT FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES—FIRST MEMBERS ELECTED—PRE-EMPTIVE RIGHT LAND REGULATIONS—NORTH COAST DISTRICTS—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN AUSTRALIA—MARVELOUS RESULTS—NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—FIRST SESSION—SECOND SESSION—ANTI-TRANSPORTATION LEAGUE—CESSATION OF TRANSPORTATION—GREAT PROSPERITY—GOLD DISCOVERED IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—IMMENSE YIELD OF GOLD IN AUSTRALIA.

THE British Parliament assembled in January, 1850. In the Queen's speech, read by the Lord Chancellor at the opening of the session, was the following paragraph.—“Some of the measures which were postponed at the end of the last session for want of time for their consideration will be again brought before you. Amongst the most important of these is one for the BETTER GOVERNMENT OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.”

The colonists had been greatly disappointed the year before by the miscarriage of a similar measure. The draft of the bill had been circulated and published in the colonies; but the session closed before the bill passed through the House of Commons. The amended bill of 1850, however, became law. This measure provided for making Port Phillip a separate colony, to be named VICTORIA. It also provided for the establishment of Legislative Councils in Van Diemen's Land, Victoria, and South Australia, on the

same model as that of New South Wales. One-third of the members were to be nominated by the Crown, and two-thirds to be elected by the people. This event was celebrated throughout the colonies with great demonstrations of joy and patriotism.

It was indeed high time for some change to be made in the legislative institutions of Van Diemen's Land. The country members of Denison's nominee Council were, as a rule, independent men, desirous of the advancement of the colony; but they were continually getting entangled in broils with the Governor, who forced obnoxious measures through the legislature in defiance of their votes and protests. The Government officials constituted one-half of the Council, they were liable to instant dismissal from the service if they wavered in their support of the measures proposed by the Governor. It is therefore easy to understand how joyfully the colonists hailed a reform whereby they would possess a strong body of their own elected representatives, powerful to resist the absolutism that hitherto prevailed, and to make the wishes of the people felt and respected.

The new Act provided that the existing Council should forthwith frame an Electoral Act, fixing the boundaries of the electoral districts, the number of members to be elected, and all necessary details for the establishment of the new Council. It also provided that, as soon as the new Council was established, it might amend the constitution of the legislature by forming two Houses, or otherwise altering the Act as the Council might deem desirable, subject, however, to the assent of the Queen. The qualification for voting was a freehold estate of £100 in value, or yielding an annual value of £10; and in the case of leaseholders the occupancy of a house or land valued at £10 a year.

Much delay took place before any movement could be seen on the part of Sir William Denison towards bringing

the new Act into operation. All the other colonies were before him. Impatient at his tardiness, the colonists held a public meeting at Hobart Town. It was resolved to form a committee,* with instructions to ascertain the cause of delay, and to enquire of his Excellency when his Council would be called together to pass the requisite Electoral Act. The newly-appointed Colonial Secretary, Mr. Peter Gordon Frazer, in reply to a most respectfully worded letter, said "it was with some hesitation that he submitted such a document to the Governor, coming, as it did, from a self-constituted and irresponsible body, who asserted powers and privileges to which they were in no way entitled." Such was the treatment colonists were subject to under irresponsible government.

The Electoral Act was ultimately passed, and Sir William Denison addressed his nominee Council for the last time on Wednesday, July 2nd. He thanked the members for the assistance they had afforded him during the time he administered the government. His warmest acknowledgments were due, he said, to those among the non-official members who, whether in conscientious opposition to, or in honest support of, the measures proposed by the Government, steadily and regularly attended in their places, and so on. This was mere empty sound; Denison would have been only too glad had such men as Gregson, Dry, and Fenton kept away from the Council. Writs were issued for the election of sixteen members to serve in the new Council. These were not returnable until the early part of November. Great excitement prevailed in the meantime, in consequence of a few other advocates of transportation announcing their intention to contest the

* There were some patriotic colonists upon that committee—Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Dry was chairman, Dr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Officer, Messrs Rout, Chapman, Haller, Seal, M'Naughton, John Dunn, W. Robertson, R. W. Nutt, Downing, Degraives, Elliott, C. T. Smith, Joseph Allport, and Dr. Crooke were members.

seats with the men whom the other party had selected as representatives. They were, however, unsuccessful in every district. The sixteen gentlemen chosen by the people at this, the first election in the colony, were—

R. W. Nutt, for <i>Buckingham</i>	T. D. Chapman	} <i>Hobart Town</i>
R. Dry, <i>Launceston</i>	J. Dunn, jun.	
J. W. Gleadow, <i>Cornwall</i>	H. F. Anstey, <i>Oatlands</i>	
Michael Fenton, <i>New Norfolk</i>	Joseph Archer, <i>Longford</i>	
Askin Morison, <i>Sorell</i>	James Cox, <i>Morven</i>	
T. G. Gregson, <i>Richmond</i>	John Walker, <i>Brighton</i>	
R. Cleburne, <i>Huon</i>	W. S. Sharland, <i>Cumberland</i>	
R. Q. Kermode, <i>Campbell Town</i>	W. Archer, <i>Westbury</i>	

Nothing could exceed the joy of the colonists at such a satisfactory result. The question of transportation seemed to be at last on the point of settlement.

At this particular juncture—when the old Council was defunct, and ere the new one had time to assemble; while some of the elections, indeed, were still pending, Sir W. Denison exercised a most extraordinary stretch of power, whereby large areas of the Crown lands fell into the hands of speculators. He proclaimed what were called the “pre-emptive right” land regulations. Mr. W. R. Allison had the credit of counselling His Excellency in the matter. The regulations provided that any lessee of Crown lands might select for cultivation and future purchase any part of the lands leased to him, not less than one hundred acres, conditional upon his paying thirty shillings per annum for every hundred acres so selected for ten years, when the sum of one pound per acre was to be paid for the land. The prospective purchaser was permitted to select and rent for pastoral purposes, upon a tenure of ten years, ten times the area selected for purchase, and he could secure the leased lands for another ten years if he occupied his purchased lot as a homestead, and paid for it on the expiration of the first ten years. Thus a few large sheep-owners might occupy for twenty years, on easy terms, all the pasture lands of the Crown. In the first instance, no

limit was fixed; but the maximum area was afterwards fixed at 640 acres for purchase, and 5000 for rental; and the maximum allowed for purchase was again reduced to 500 acres.

Perhaps the Governor did not foresee what would be the tendency of such a land law. Professedly it was introduced for the purpose of tempting the native youths to stay at home, instead of going across the Strait. Practically it had the very opposite effect. The large flock-masters, of course, eagerly embraced the opportunity of securing the best lands contiguous to their original grants, which they could now "*quietly enjoy*" for twenty years.

But a greater evil in the operation of the pre-emptive right regulations was the wholesale appropriation by speculators of the fine agricultural forest lands in the county of Dorset, and along the north-west coast from the Rubicon to Emu Bay. Prior to this date there were only a few isolated settlers inhabiting the districts bounded by the waters of Bass Strait. Beginning at the north-western corner of the island (Woolnorth), the Van Diemen's Land Company occupied nearly all the coast line to the Emu River. There were about two freehold purchasers at Table Cape. From Emu Bay to the Mersey there were only four—one at the Leven, two at the Forth, and one at the Don. Between the Mersey and the Tamar there were about half-a-dozen landholders; on the east side of the Tamar, fewer still. Denison's new land regulations, however, soon altered the isolation of these settlers, so far as appearances upon the map could alter it. They were closely wedged in by "*prospective purchasers*," who, in a spirit of pure speculation, took up at random blocks of land, first of 640 acres, and, when that area was disallowed, of 500 acres, until the whole country to the west side of Port Sorell was alienated for a distance of about ten miles back from the coast. The "*lessces*," as they were called,

had liberty to complete their purchase at any time within ten years, or defer payment for that period, subject only to the annual payment of a paltry sum. They had heard that the soil was rich, and capable of wonderful production, but had never seen it. If they lost in the venture, the stakes they risked were small; if they were lucky, as they had reason to believe would be the case from the events looming in the northern horizon,* their gains might be great.

It was unfortunate for the colony that these land regulations were promulgated. The timber trade on the coast, which was now rising to considerable importance, was greatly hampered by the nominal alienation of all the Crown lands, and *bona fide* settlement was entirely suspended. The latter was a calamity, as matters afterwards turned out.

The north-western districts were admirably adapted to the requirements of a yeoman class, and the maintenance of a considerable population. The sub-soil, resting on basaltic rock, is deep; the surface soil, largely composed of decayed vegetable matter, is of a brown or chocolate colour, exceedingly productive. Unlike the midland districts, the surface yields no grass. It is covered with a bed of leafy, tangled underwood, beautiful in appearance, but difficult to penetrate. Tree ferns lift their tall, stately trunks, thickly clothed with delicate parasitical ferns, and spread out their graceful fronds over the green foliage at their base. High overhead tower the eucalypti, whose projecting branches form a leafy trelliswork, partially excluding the sun's rays, and shading the delicate mosses, and lichens, and ferns below. These lovely wilds in their indigenous vegetation seem to have been adorned by Nature with her most liberal hand, and in arranging the luxuriant foliage she has far exceeded the most studied efforts of Art. Shadows from the overhanging boughs rest

* The gold discovery.

on shrubs beneath, multiplying the almost infinite variety of emerald tints with changing tones of light and shade. From shrub to tree, and tree to shrub, vines and creeping plants hang in wreaths and festoons ; while some of them, climbing aloft among the trees, grow vigorously to huge proportions, and, liberating themselves from the branches that supported them in their youth, stretch out horizontally in mid-air, forming a network of strong cordage, or dangling loosely down from some fastness, perhaps fifty feet high, swing to and fro like heavy bell-ropes. Wherever moss and lichen can find a breathing-place, and a spot to root in, they become inhabitants, and are well nurtured in the warm, shadowy, humid atmosphere of the forest. In all directions little rills of purest water are gushing forth, making melody along their pebbly beds as they wander on to meet some larger rivulet in ferny glen, whence spring the tall, spiral, bright-leaved sassafras and the dark, sombre myrtle, their roots bathing in the crystal stream, and their foliage imparting, if possible, more exquisite beauty to the landscape. The air, laden with aroma of the fragrant musk-tree, is cool and invigorating, undisturbed save by the music of the rippling stream, or the distant sound of some little cascade, as the waters hasten on to the ocean. Wandering in those primitive forests, amid trees like those of Eden, "pleasant to the sight," one might fancy himself translated to the period when God first made the earth, and saw that it was good; ere sin blighted the face of nature, and thorns and thistles and noxious weeds sprang up as a record against man.

To return, however, to more practical considerations : it would have been better for the colony had the agricultural areas been thrown open to *bona fide* settlers. As it was the whole country had been appropriated by persons possessed with a speculative mania for land. Many lots, taken at a venture on barren tiers and in localities which

were too far back to prove remunerative without roads, were abandoned; some changed hands at a large profit; and others, favourably situated, were held by their original selectors, let to tenants, or kept in a state of nature, to the great obstruction of subsequent settlement.

It is not easy to account for Sir William Denison's conduct in thus wasting the Crown estate at a time when discoveries of gold in the sister colonies had assumed a magnitude that clearly indicated an entirely new condition of affairs, whereby landed property especially would be greatly enhanced in value.

The discovery of gold in Australia marked a wonderful era in its history. It was like a stride of hundreds of years. Rumours of auriferous deposits had long been current. Gold was found as early as 1849 in the vicinity of Mount Barker, South Australia. The whole line of the Onkaparinga was said to contain auriferous deposits, and a company was formed to work them. Before the Californian discovery, traces of the precious metal were found in New South Wales. At Camden a gentleman picked up a small piece of pure gold in Mr. Macarthur's garden. A prisoner in the service of the Government at Port Arthur offered to show a deposit of gold in Van Diemen's Land on condition of receiving a reward, but the Governor discountenanced the revelation, as he did not consider the colony ripe for such a discovery. The Rev. W. B. Clarke was long impressed with the conviction that the rocks of New South Wales were auriferous. Count Strzelecki discovered gold in New South Wales in 1839, as the following extract from a letter he wrote to Mr. Thos. Walker shows. It was dated from the Athenæum Club, 25th November, 1852,—“That you should have preserved one of my letters, bearing the date of 1839, and which so strongly establishes the fact which you are maintaining, is to me as surprising as gratifying. I was under the impression, until I saw it

actually in print, that the only person with whom I had communicated on the subject of gold was the late Sir George Gipps, to whom I handed specimens both representing the metal as attached to the rock, and as disintegrated from it. Sir George Gipps considered the discovery of gold (as I confess I considered it myself) more as a mineralogical curiosity than an economic element of value, and entreated me not to say anything about its existence, for fear of creating an unnecessary perturbation in the colony, and rendering the discipline of the convict population difficult. This was also the opinion of the home authorities on my return to England in 1843."

It was not, however, until 1851 that any practical development was made. In April of that year, Mr. E. W. Rudder, who had recently returned from California, wrote to the Sydney daily journals, announcing the discovery of an extensive goldfield in New South Wales. Mr. Rudder and his companions, when in California, were struck with the similarity of the auriferous formation there to that in certain localities in New South Wales, and they determined on their return to prospect the place in search of the precious metal. They did so, and were eminently successful. "It gives me the greatest pleasure," Mr. Rudder wrote, "to be able to inform you that we were not mistaken in the opinion we formed: a goldfield has been discovered extending over a tract of country of about three hundred miles in length. The gold resembles that of California in every respect externally, and appears equally pure. I have seen the specimens which have been procured, and from what I know, I have no doubt but gold will be found distributed over as wide, if not a larger, space than in California. The gold has been discovered by a gentleman (an old well-known colonist) with whom I had the pleasure to travel many hundred miles when in California, and I

know him to be a miner of considerable experience." That gentleman was Edmund Hammond Hargreaves, and the date of his grand discovery was the Twelfth day of February, 1851.

Everybody knows how marvellous was the yield from the surface washings in the Bathurst district. At first, many were sceptical some refused credence to the reports that were in circulation, others fancied that they were looking upon some fabric of the imagination when they inspected ponderous masses of solid gold. One of the first lumps found weighed down thirty-five sovereigns. This novel product of the soil was quaintly described in the *Sydney Morning Herald* as "about three inches long, of varying breadth and thickness, in shape like a piece of lead which has undergone the action of fire, and when in a liquid state has been thrown carelessly amongst ashes or rubbish." The "Hundredweight Nugget" was found in July by an aboriginal servant of Dr Kerr, about eight miles from that gentleman's head station, fifty-three miles from Bathurst. The gold was embedded in an isolated block of quartz, which was lying on the surface of the ground. The blackfellow, who had heard much ado about gold, saw the glittering treasure while he was rambling in the bush, and at once went home to acquaint his master, whereupon Dr. Kerr hurried back with the lucky discoverer. In the excitement of separating the gold from the quartz block in which it was encased, and which weighed about 3 cwt. in all, they unfortunately broke the lump into fragments. One lump was about a foot in diameter, and weighed 75lbs. gross, out of which 60lbs. of pure gold was taken. The total weight of metal extracted was 106lbs. Had it been preserved whole, it would have been the largest lump of gold then found in the world. The blackfellow was rewarded by his master with two flocks of

sheep, two horses, a quantity of rations, and a team of bullocks to plough some ground for maize and potatoes.

Fabulous accounts of success continued to arrive at Sydney. Three brothers sold £1,800 worth of gold in a month; a party of five £120 worth in a week. One man brought in a lump of pure gold weighing 53oz. 2dwts.; another obtained $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz. in less than an hour, lumps weighing 46oz., 20oz., and several upwards of 1oz., were found by one party; a Bathurst blacksmith found 11lbs. weight in a hole in one day. Sober people not only looked on in wonder at the extraordinary good fortune which had suddenly dawned upon the colony—they became affected by the craze, abandoned their usual callings, and, shouldering pick and shovel, went off to the diggings.

In the colony of Victoria, the first discovery of gold was at Strathfilden, in July—five months later than the New South Wales discovery. Buninyong next entered an appearance, then Ballarat, of magic memory. Here the first diggers had little use for their tools: gold was lying on the surface of the flat, exposed by the dripping of water from the trees. Boys and girls could lounge on the ground, and pick out large nuggets* with a penknife.

Van Diemen's Land, lying in close proximity to such wonderful discoveries, was of course sensibly affected. The population seemed to be moving across the Straits *en masse*—deserting their wives and families, their farms, their various trades and occupations, in pursuit of wealth. After a time the greater part returned home, many improved in circumstances. But the colonists derived more benefit from the results which followed the discovery than

* The word "nugget" was a slang gaol expression, long used by the convicts for a bit of tobacco. All old colonists will remember how they had often been accosted by the road gangs. "Give us a nugget, master," was the common request. The word came to be afterwards used in denoting the compact or plump proportions of horses and other animals, and it was subsequently applied to lumps of gold. Lexicographers have now incorporated it with the English language.

from the immediate gain acquired by rushing to the diggings with their dishes and cradles.

The new Legislative Council was summoned to assemble on the 30th day of December, 1851. Two days were occupied in preliminaries—reading the proclamation, swearing in members, electing a Speaker, and settling other matters pertaining to the initiation of an entirely new system. Besides the sixteen elected, there were four official and four other members nominated by the Governor. The official members were Messrs. Peter Gordon Fraser, Colonial Secretary; Adam Turnbull, Colonial Treasurer, Valentine Fleming, Attorney-General; and Francis Smith, Solicitor-General. The nominees were the Honourable Richard Gilbert Talbot, of Malahide; William Race Allison, of Streanshall; Edward Bisdee, of Lovely Banks, and — Leake, of Campbell Town. The Chief Justice, Sir John Pedder, although a very useful member of the old Council, was now wisely removed from the disturbing arena of political strife. The Council, upon the whole, was a good one: indeed, almost every member was well fitted for the important duties he had to perform: many possessed high legislative ability, and rose to distinction. Mr. Dry was unanimously chosen Speaker—a pleasing token of confidence in the character and talent of a popular native-born youth.

The new form of government was far superior to the old one; still there was something anomalous in its constitution. The Government officials acted as Ministers of the Crown, but, unlike a British Cabinet, they were not amenable to the Legislature, nor were they liable to be displaced by a want of confidence vote. They introduced measures emanating from the Executive which the Council might reject, though it could not turn out the men who submitted them. The Legislature, however, was only in a transition state: it had power to amend the constitution, and it did so.

Sir William Denison was now shorn of the absolute legislative power he formerly possessed. If he introduced measures which were objectionable to the people's representatives, they were rejected. He had no voice in the debates. His personal interference was confined to a speech at the opening and at the close of each session; but he could withhold the Royal assent to any bills which passed until they had been submitted to the Queen.

On New Year's Day a large number of spectators assembled in the Council Chamber to see the newly-elected members, and hear the Governor deliver his opening speech before the new Council. His Excellency accepted the altered condition of affairs with a good grace, seating himself on a chair at the side of the Speaker, and then proceeding to read his speech. He rejoiced, he said, that the boon of free institutions had been conceded—regretted the unavoidable delays which had occurred before members could be called together—and was happy in being now able to lay before them several measures involving the principle of local control, including bills for the establishment of municipalities in Hobart Town and Launceston—to provide for a supply of water to the latter town—for the construction and maintenance of cross and by-roads—and a bill making provision for the establishment of schools. Other matters were adverted to as not requiring immediate attention, but the subject of transportation was not named.

The Council's reply to the speech echoed its sentiments, but it went further: it expressed regret that His Excellency had not considered it necessary to allude to the all-important subject of transportation, and referred with regret to the continuance of the system, notwithstanding the promise of Earl Grey to the contrary. A very lengthened and warm debate took place, the Government party strongly opposing the introduction of irrelevant matter into the

reply. Four times they divided the House, and as many times were defeated, indeed, the vexed question of transportation was paramount during the session, creating much acrimony, and impeding the progress of useful measures. A majority of the Council adopted an address to the Queen, remonstrating on the influx of criminals it was strongly, but respectfully, worded. The Governor, in closing the session, thus alluded to it — "In compliance with your desire I shall forward the address relative to transportation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to be laid at the foot of the Throne; but I deem it a duty I owe Her Majesty and Her Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of this colony, to express the deep sorrow I feel at the language of the resolutions contained in the address." Members went home burning with indignation at His Excellency's comments, which they considered totally uncalled for. They had no opportunity for reply until they again met, when the matter was revived in an animated manner.

The only useful measures passed during the first session were the Customs Duties Act and the Cross and By-roads Act. The latter enabled landholders in proclaimed road districts to appoint trustees and make a road rate for the construction and maintenance of roads within the district. The rates were not to exceed one half-penny per acre upon uncultivated land not belonging to the Crown, three pence per acre on land in cultivation, and sixpence in the pound on the yearly rental (whether actual or estimated) of all buildings. The Government was also to contribute a rate of one farthing per acre on unoccupied Crown lands, an item which was considerable in some of the outlying districts, where there were large tracts of unalienated land. The Act was soon altered by substituting a rate on the annual value of property, and withdrawing the aid derived from Crown lands. Hitherto there had been no fund for

opening roads in the heavily timbered districts, where population was spreading rapidly, and where township reserves had been marked off. Settlers were now enabled to clear off the timber, erect culverts over the minor streams, and open cart roads from place to place.

The new Customs Duties Act was an important and useful measure. It consolidated various statutes, ten in number, and provided a revenue from Customs under one simple tariff. The obnoxious Differential Duties Act, which inflicted an *ad valorem* duty of fifteen per cent upon all merchandise coming from the other colonies, was repealed. Hitherto, all articles imported from Great Britain were wholly exempt from duty. an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. was proposed by the Government, but Mr. T. D. Chapman opposed this, and carried resolutions which reduced the schedule as follows —

Brandy 12s., and all other spirits 9s. per gallon.

Wines, 1s per gallon.

Tobacco and cigars, 2s. per lb.

Tea, 3d. per lb. Coffee, 1½d. per lb

3 Sugars, 3s. to 6s. per cwt.

3 Dried fruits, 1d. per lb. Hops, 2d. per lb.

Malt liquors, 2d. per gallon

The second session of the Legislative Council was opened by the Governor in mid-winter (June 15), after an unusually brief recess. As soon as His Excellency had read his opening speech and withdrawn from the Council Chamber, Mr. Nutt gave notice of motion for an address to the Queen, in answer to the charge of disloyalty preferred against members by His Excellency the Governor in his closing speech of last session. Mr. Nutt read the address, and Mr. Cox moved an adjournment of the House to Thursday, which was carried. When the Council met on Thursday, a prolonged debate ensued upon Mr. Nutt's motion. It was contended by the Colonial Secretary and

the Attorney-General that a reply to the Governor's speech should take precedence of all other business. The Speaker ruled otherwise, giving a standing order as his authority. Mr Nutt failed to carry his motion for an address to the Queen, but an amendment of Mr. Sharland was adopted, to the effect that an address be presented to the Governor, requesting him to relieve the Council from the imputation contained in the objectionable paragraph of his speech. A deputation of the Council waited on His Excellency, who replied in a conciliatory spirit. He regretted that after a residence of more than five years he was not better understood. "Had I believed you to be faithless or disloyal," he remarked, "I should have expressed my opinion of your conduct in plain and simple terms." He also permitted the Council to peruse a copy of the despatch he forwarded with the petition, in which he alluded to the tone of the language employed as calculated to produce erroneous impressions as to the real sentiments of the Council, and its loyalty and fidelity to the Queen.

So went the time away, with free institutions in the hands of the people. The Council was by no means satisfied (having thus asserted its dignity by calling forth an explanation from the Governor) to let the matter drop. Members were obdurate on the transportation question. They had no power to alter the system any more than they had power to alter Denison's opinion that convict labour was essential to the well-being of the colony; but they considered it desirable to keep up an agitation in the House as well as out of it. They refused to pass the estimates until they received a reply to the petition forwarded to Her Majesty in March. They again addressed the Queen, praying that the Order-in-Council which made Van Diemen's Land a place for the reception of transported criminals be rescinded. When the votes were about to be taken, the newly-appointed Colonial Secretary, Mr. H. S.

Chapman, left the Council Chamber without voting; Dr. Turnbull (at this time Chairman of the Land Board) and the Solicitor-General voted with the elected members in favour of the address. only Mr. Attorney-General Fleming and three nominees opposed it.

Such a strong expression of opinion in the Legislative Council would have cooled the ardour of many a weak-minded Governor, but Sir William Denison was equal to the occasion. he was prepared to defend the convict system under all circumstances. He virtually dismissed Mr. Chapman and Dr. Turnbull, allowing them, however, leave of absence on half-pay until the decision of the Secretary of State could be obtained. Lieutenant W. T. N. Champ was appointed Acting-Colonial Secretary, who, with Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Andrew) Clarke, the Governor's Private Secretary, filled the vacant seats in the Council. Subsequently, the dismissal of Chapman was confirmed by the Home authorities, on the ground that as representative of the Government in the Legislative Council he had no right to abandon the policy of the Crown *Turnbull was re-instated in his office as Chairman of the Land Board, but not to his seat in the Council. In Mr. Solicitor-General Smith's case, there was a condition when he took office that he was to exercise liberty of conscience on the transportation question—a point which the Governor conceded† in order to secure his valuable services in the Council.

A deputation from the Council waited on Denison to request him to forward the address to the Queen. He said he would do so, but that he entirely disapproved of the prayer of the petition; that he considered the sudden stoppage of transportation would be fraught with ruin to a large portion of the owners and occupiers of property;

* After leaving Tasmania Mr. Chapman became a Judge in New Zealand. He died in 1882.

† Despatch, October 22nd, 1852.

and he denied that it would effect any amelioration in the moral condition of the people. This opened fresh vials of wrath, which the Council freely poured on the head of the Governor. Another long address "to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty" was proposed, declaring a want of confidence in Sir William Denison, and a conviction that during his administration it would be impossible to preserve that harmony and good understanding which should exist between the Legislative Council and the Executive. The debates were long, loud, and angry.* The resolution was actually carried by a majority of four, and Denison was requested to forward the address to the Secretary of State.

An attitude so hostile to the Queen's representative could only be justified on the principle that violent diseases require violent remedies. Denison himself was to blame for much of the ill-feeling that existed. His conduct was often insulting to the higher class of colonists, from whom he held himself aloof, while he was closely allied to a small section who believed in the questionable luxury of cheap convict labour, and who were either blind or indifferent to the moral and social evils it involved. He made the question of transportation a personal matter, displaying a vindictive spirit towards those who differed from himself.

Nearly all the people's representatives in the Legislative Council were members of the Anti-Transportation League, an organisation which had now extended to all the colonies, the leading citizens identifying themselves with the move-

* Denison always communicated his troubles to Mrs Denison, his mother. On this occasion he wrote — "Former letters have given you a good idea of the character of the representatives of the people. They are an impracticable set, owing partly to their ignorance of their proper functions, partly to their fear of responsibility, and their craving for popularity."

I am gradually living down my enemies. The newspaper press, which was for some years altogether opposed to me, has changed its tone, and now, out of seven papers, four are decidedly in my favour, while one of the remaining three allows that, with the sole exception of transportation, the measures proposed by me are the best adapted to the wants of the colony."

—Sir W. Denison's *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life* (1870).

ment. Yet Sir William Denison, in his zeal for the continuance of a corrupt system which was all but universally condemned, thus addressed the Secretary of State :—" The previous attempt of the Anti-Transportationists in 1849 having been a total failure, the present scheme has been made to embrace the whole of the Australian colonies. The pledge taken, viz, that the members of the League will not employ any convicts who may arrive in the colony after a given date, being operative only in Van Diemen's Land, a few itinerant agitators have proceeded from this colony in order to organise an opposition in the adjacent colonies, and, if possible, to raise a fund for the purpose of paying themselves and other subordinate agents, which they have failed to do from the pockets of the people here. The effect they have produced in the colony is beneath contempt. They have got, it is true, several to sign their names to the engagement not to hire men who may land after a certain date ; but this engagement is violated every day. The convicts are more eagerly sought after than ever, and so long as the demand for labour exists to an extent which the ordinary means at the disposal of the colony are inadequate to supply, so long it will be for the benefit of the colony that transportation should continue. When the records of the convict department show that there does not exist any urgent demand for the labour of the men who may be sent here, or when I can discover any other method by which an amount of labour adequate to the supply of its wants can be poured into the colony, then, and not until then, shall I be prepared to admit that it would be for the benefit of the country, in either a moral or industrial point of view, that transportation should cease."

It is probable, when Denison forwarded to Earl Grey his despatch of 21st August, 1851, from which the above extract is taken, that he thought it would never see the light

outside of Downing-street That only makes the misrepresentations in which he indulged the more inexcusable. The "itinerant agitators" who proceeded to Melbourne as delegates of the greatest union ever organised in the colonies—the Australasian League—were Mr. W. P. Weston, a magistrate of great independence, and the Reverend John West, author of the *History of Tasmania*, and afterwards chief editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. They were men of high character; they received no remuneration for their patriotic exertions beyond bare travelling expenses. Mr Weston, indeed, was a gentleman of independent fortune, and one out of many subscribers of one hundred guineas each to the funds of the League.

Notwithstanding the bitter antagonism which prevailed between the Legislative Council and the Governor, some useful measures were passed during the session of 1852. The Customs Act was rendered more suitable to the requirements of the country, a bill was passed conferring municipal institutions upon Hobart Town and Launceston; and a Water Bill empowered the Launceston Corporation to supply that town with water by borrowing a sum not exceeding £10,000 for the purpose. These measures were urgently required to meet the local wants of the two chief towns. Elections of aldermen took place on the 1st of January, 1853. Mr. W. Carter was chosen by the councillors as first Mayor of Hobart Town, and Mr. W. S. Button received a similar distinction at Launceston. A Post Office Act was also passed, which provided for the prepayment of postage by means of stamps, replacing the troublesome system hitherto in use of paying for transmission on the delivery of letters and packages. The sum of £12,500 was voted from the land fund for immigration, but the home authorities, to whom all expenditure under that head had to be submitted, disapproved of the plan proposed by the Council, and therefore the money was not spent.

The Whig Government went out of office in the early part of 1852, and a Tory Cabinet was formed under Lord Derby, with Sir John Pakington as Secretary of State for the Colonies. Great were the rejoicings when it became known that Earl Grey had retired from the administration of colonial affairs. The colonial empire was suffering under grievances of more or less magnitude there was scarcely one colony without some wrong which it sought to redress.

Although a Derby Cabinet was not regarded with unqualified favour, yet the change was hailed with satisfaction, as matters could hardly be worse. Sir John Pakington was interviewed by a deputation of Australian colonists, who urged the pledge of the Imperial Government to discontinue transportation. The Minister expressed surprise at finding that so many shiploads of convicts were still sent to Van Diemen's Land.* He advanced arguments opposed to the views of the deputation—alluded to the willingness of Western Australia, of 144 inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land, and some colonists at Moreton Bay, to receive criminals, yet the deputation carried away the impression that a change of policy was imminent. The Derby administration, however, was not twelve months in power when it gave place to a new Ministry formed by the Earl of Aberdeen, with the Duke of Newcastle at the Colonial Office.

It devolved upon the latter Minister to make the joyful announcement that transportation had absolutely ceased, but the decision was arrived at by his predecessor, and communicated to the Governor in Sir John Pakington's last despatch, dated 14th December, 1852. It was not, however, until May, 1853, that the official notification appeared in the *Hobart Town Gazette*.

* In 1851 2,006 convicts were landed, in 1852, 2,805; and in the beginning of 1853, 1,507.

The year 1852 was a period of unparalleled excitement throughout the Australian colonies. It was a period of transformation as rapid and startling as that of the dingy chrysalis bursting from its earthly cell, and emerging as the gay butterfly on brilliant wings. The immense yield of gold in New South Wales and Victoria was soon converted into specie, which found its way through a variety of channels into the pockets of all classes of the community, except, perhaps, those who were under engagements at fixed salaries. Hundreds of fortunate adventurers, enriched by success at the diggings, found their way to Van Diemen's Land, and freely spent the wealth they had so easily acquired. Hotels were crowded; stage coaches and all manner of conveyances were loaded to excess with excursionists; shop-keepers sold their goods at an immense profit; land and house property rose to a fictitious value; and the revenue was largely augmented by the liberal consumption of dutiable articles.

Many tales were told of reckless extravagance and wilful waste. Men were known to light their pipes with bank notes, and even to eat notes like sandwiches between bread and butter! Lucky diggers gave any price asked for whatever they desired. The Governor's wife (in Melbourne) was selecting a ball dress of costly material, but hesitated at its enormous price. A rough digger standing by said to the shopman, "Put it up for *my* missus." Thus many fooled away their money: they followed the maxim, "Give freely, having freely received;" but the channels of their liberality were mostly corrupt. On the other hand, men of humble station, who in ordinary circumstances must have toiled all their life for a bare living, laid by an ample store for the future, leading the lives of good citizens, and utilising their capital. A gentleman from Van Diemen's Land, visiting Melbourne, met his old convict servant—a London pickpocket, in former days. This man invited his

former master to his house in the suburbs, where he lived, retired and respected, in a handsome villa of his own, surrounded by well-kept pleasure grounds. He entertained his guest sumptuously, and placed a well-appointed carriage, drawn by fine horses, at his service during his stay. A writer in the *Argus* observes—"The splendour of a digger's wedding is something startling to ordinary people. Young Irish orphan girls, who scarcely knew the luxury of a shoe till they landed here, lavish money in white satin for their bridal dresses at ten or twelve shillings a yard, and disdainfully decline to purchase a shawl because the poor shopkeepers do not happen to have got an article worth ten guineas."

The first payable gold in Van Diemen's Land was found at the Nook, four miles from Fingal, in February, 1852. It attracted about 200 persons for a short time. They thoroughly prospected the country round, and those who steadily persevered made it pay. Very minute particles of gold dust were procured along the Tower Hill Creek and on the hill-sides, where beautiful specimens of crystallized quartz abounded; but in a few weeks the place was left in the hands of a few of the original claimants, who made a fair profit on their industry for a considerable time. There were no attractions, however, for the multitude, trained as they were, at that eventful period, to look for something more than a fair return for their labour.

The population was flocking to Victoria with increased force, consequent on the reports of those who had returned from the gold-fields. As many as 400 passengers were often crowded on board the little steamers trading to Melbourne from the port of Launceston; and, in addition to the two steamboats, several sailing vessels were laid on for the conveyance of passengers to and fro. Some of the country districts were utterly deserted by the male inhabitants. On the north coast men accustomed to splitting palings

could earn from two to five pounds a day at that occupation, yet they preferred to cross the Strait for a season. Nor was this surprising; it was the natural result of the wonderful events which were transpiring so near at hand.

At the close of the year 1852, upwards of one hundred tons of gold had been exported from Victoria; and it was estimated that the total yield amounted to twelve millions sterling. The gold which had been exported from New South Wales and Victoria, by the end of 1853, amounted to 1,625,255 ounces in the former colony, and 4,617,828 ounces in the latter; making a total of 6,243,083 ounces, or about twenty-four millions sterling in value!*

* Nuggets of gold of great size and value have been found at various times in the colony of Victoria. During 1853 several large masses of gold, varying from 11 lbs. 11 ozs. 15 dwts. to 134 lbs. 11 ozs., were brought to light at or in the neighbourhood of Canadian Gully. The "Lady Hotham," found in 1854, weighed 98 ozs. 1 dwt. 17 grs. In 1855 two large nuggets, weighing respectively 40 lbs. and 47 lbs., were found at Bakery Hill; and in 1858 the "Welcome" nugget, weighing 184 lbs. 9 ozs. 16 dwts., was unearthed at the same place. On February 5, 1869, a nugget named the "Welcome Stranger," weighing 2,280 ozs., was found at Moliagul, about an inch from the surface. In March of the same year a nugget was found at Berlin weighing 893 ozs.; and in the months of May and October following, two others were found in the same locality, quite near the surface; they were named the "Viscount Canterbury" and the "Viscountess Canterbury," and weighed respectively 1,105 ozs. and 884 ozs. During the year 1870 several large nuggets were found, the principal of which were—one on May 31, at Berlin, weighing 1,121 ozs., another at the same place on October 3, weighing 896 ozs.; and a third on November 11, at Macintyre's diggings, and only a few inches from the surface, weighing 452 ozs. During the year 1871 also large nuggets were found at Berlin. Amongst the largest were—The "Precious," found on January 5, weight 1,621 ozs., the "Kum Tow," April 17, 718 ozs.; and the "Needful," May 10, 247 ozs. These three nuggets were discovered at a depth of about 12 feet from the surface. A large number of nuggets have been found on other goldfields, varying in weight from 20 ozs. to 200 ozs. In the year 1872 the under-mentioned large nuggets were discovered:—On April 2 the "Crescent" was found at Berlin, at a depth of two feet: it weighed 14 lbs. 11 ozs.; on May 8 a nugget weighing 477 ozs. was got in the same locality, at a depth of nine feet; at Dunolly the "Schleurm" nugget was found, weighing 478 ozs., at a depth of three feet from the surface; the "Spondulix" nugget was found in a quartz reef at the same place, at a depth of eight feet from the surface: it weighed 130 ozs. Numerous other nuggets have been found varying in weight from 20 ozs. upwards, but none of them call for special notice.—*Australian Handbook.*



CHAPTER XIII.

A NEW ERA — PUBLIC REJOICINGS — MARKET PRICES — STATISTICS — MR. FLEMING APPOINTED CHIEF JUSTICE — PENSIONS — SCHOOLS — LAND REGULATIONS — PROGRESS OF NORTH COAST DISTRICTS — IMMIGRATION — RELICS OF CONVICTISM — INCREASE OF MEMBERS IN COUNCIL — GOVERNOR DENISON RECALLED — HIS GENERAL CHARACTER — HIS DEPARTURE.

THE foregoing pages record events which transpired when the fair island of Tasmania was bowed down under the weight of a monstrous system which raised its giant arm in antagonism to the progressive efforts of spirited colonists, who were tempted to the colony by liberal rewards in the shape of free grants of land, by the natural beauty of the country, the salubrity of its climate, its manifold resources, and the splendid prospect of wealth their development afforded to an industrial free population.

We now enter upon a new era. The hostile aboriginal tribes had long ceased to inflict terror and dismay; the sanguinary depredations of bushrangers, who in former days had intimidated, robbed, or murdered the free settlers, were now as tales of the past, or if occasional outlaws appeared in the outlying districts, they had ceased to be objects of dread. The people were in the enjoyment of representative institutions, which, though not perfect, pro-

ected them from the injustice irresponsible government often inflicts. Colonists were intoxicated with the extraordinary surfeit of gold that poured into the country, creating unprecedented prosperity in every branch of industry. The Australian colonies had suddenly taken a magic stride in their trade, their commerce, and their population. Tasmania participated, but not in the same degree as her neighbours. She was, however, the recipient of a greater blessing—greater, because it affected the intellectual, the social, and the moral well-being of the colony. The decision had gone forth from Downing-street that transportation should cease at once and for ever.

Wednesday, the 10th day of August, was chosen as a holiday to celebrate the joyful event of the cessation of transportation. The jubilee was general, extending to the remote rural districts. It was just fifty years since the foundation of the colony, an event which was also commemorated at the same time. Nothing could exceed the joy of the inhabitants. They united in every possible arrangement to make the demonstration a success. In Hobart Town the Trinity Church bells ushered the day by joyous peals. At 8 a.m., public thanksgiving services were held at St. David's Cathedral, Chalmers Free Church, the Independent, Baptist, and St. George's Churches. During the day business was suspended, flags were waving over the city and the harbour, the children were feasted sumptuously, and in the evening there was an illumination and display of fireworks. But the Government officers and clerks were not allowed to share in the general rejoicing. Sir William Denison had issued a circular ordering them to attend to their official duties, and on no excuse to be seen outside.

At Launceston the arrangements were elaborate and costly. At ten o'clock services of thanksgiving were held in the churches. The Mayor (Mr. W. S. Button) gave

a luncheon to members of the Legislative Council, aldermen, and other gentlemen, preparatory to the public proceedings of the day. The Honourable Richard Dry, member for Launceston, and Speaker of the Legislative Council, presented to Mr. Henry Dowling an address signed by a large number of magistrates, members of Council, and others, expressive of the high estimation in which he was held by the subscribers for his labours in the anti-transportation cause. "We take this opportunity," they said, "to assure you that we have not been unobservant or unmindful of your unwearied exertions, so gratuitously and willingly afforded, although at the sacrifice of much of your time, of your pecuniary interests, and latterly of your health. In our own behalf, and in the name of that large and respectable portion of the community who supported the London Agency Association, we tender you our best thanks, and request your acceptance of the accompanying casket, enclosing a purse of 250 sovereigns—not as in any degree a compensation for your services, but as a small token of the estimation in which they are held by your fellow-labourers in that arduous and protracted struggle now so happily crowned with success." At noon Mr. Dry addressed an assembled multitude, who joined with enthusiasm in singing an anthem composed for the occasion. A procession was then formed, which passed through a triumphal arch and along the main streets, headed by a band playing lively airs. A feast was arranged for the children, large numbers of whom also went in procession. An enthusiastic public meeting, illuminations, and display of fireworks closed the day's rejoicings.

At such an auspicious era we may abandon the name given by the old Dutch navigator—so expressive of crime and wretchedness—and adopt the more euphonious one of Tasmania, by which name the island was now commonly known. As early as 1842 the Royal patent constituting

the diocese created Dr. Nixon "Lord Bishop of Tasmania." The Royal Society and other institutions also adopted the change at an early date, but it was not until November, 1855, that the new designation was legalised by statute.

The statistical reports of 1853 revealed a condition of unexampled prosperity, indeed, the ruling prices of all merchantable commodities and the value of land and labour were so extravagantly high that no one could accept them as an index of the future: they were the temporary result of a disturbed condition. Flour was £28 per ton at Launceston in the month of April; wheat was 10s. 6d. per bushel; oats were 16s. per bushel; potatoes, £14 per ton, pressed hay sold for £30 per ton. In Melbourne the prices were considerably in advance:—Flour, £33; hay, £40; bran, 5s. per bushel, oats, 21s., potatoes, £20; bricks, £12 per 1,000, five-foot palings, £5 per 100, or one shilling each, jams, 1s. 3d. per lb.; apples, 17s. 6d. per bushel; and other colonial produce in like proportion.

The revenue arising from the sale and leasing of Crown lands was sensibly affected by the great increase of capital: 50,768 acres of land were sold, which, with rentals, amounted to £90,690 at the end of the year—more than double that of the previous year. The amount of coin in the banks (£1,340,352) was greater this year than at any previous or subsequent period—a circumstance which led to considerable investments in real estate. Land taken under the pre-emptive right regulations changed hands, in many instances, on the north coast at a profit of two, three, and four hundred per cent; and that, too, before the original lessee had paid for or had even seen the land. The Commissariat expenditure was larger in 1853 than in any former year, amounting to £309,138, most of which was spent in the colony. The value of imports for the year was over two millions and a quarter. The value of articles exported exceeded one million and

three-quarters sterling, of which timber formed an important item of £443,161; and fruit, jam, and vegetables, £123,464. The inward shipping represented 192,420 tons, which was more than double the amount of 1843. Notwithstanding all this activity, there was a remarkable decrease in the population. In 1842 there were 40,767 adult males in the colony; in 1852, there were only 24,893: two years later there were less—22,261. This was accounted for by the great exodus of adult males to Victoria, most of whom afterwards returned. The number of acres in tillage was also greatly reduced, a circumstance which may be traced to the same cause.

The high prices of food and clothing created a panic among those who were depending upon fixed salaries. Mercantile houses, bankers, and shopkeepers had to double the stipends of their assistants. Mechanics, tradesmen, and labourers could hardly be induced to remain in their situations at any price. Government officials felt the pressure of circumstances most of all. They were loth to abandon the prospect of promotion and a pension ultimately, yet they were sorely pressed for a time. The Council was slow to increase their salaries, because a principle was involved while the penal system lasted; but as soon as that grievance was removed they were increased on a liberal scale. Salaries of £100 were increased to £175 in 1853, and to £200 in 1854. Officials who formerly received £400 per annum had their stipends increased to £520 in 1853, and to £620 in 1855: others in like proportion.

A bill to grant retiring pensions to the Judges of the Supreme Court was passed on May 4th. Mr. Chapman succeeded in carrying amendments which provided that in order to claim his pension the retiring Judge must have sat on the Bench for at least fourteen years, and be sixty years of age. As soon as the Governor had signified the Royal

assent to the Act, Sir John Pedder resigned on a pension of £1,500 a year. Never was any man more worthy of ample provision for his old age. He had presided on the Bench in Tasmania for more than thirty years, during most of which time he had not only administered the law, but had acted as member of the Executive, an office at that time surrounded with many perplexities. It was, indeed, Sir John Pedder's prudence and foresight that often prevented grave injustice and dangerous blunders in the administration of affairs under the peculiar and difficult conditions of a colony half bond and half free. His retirement was regarded with regret that the colony had lost a clear-headed and impartial Judge, on the one hand; but with satisfaction, on the other, that he retained emoluments justly due to such a long and faithful service.

Mr. Valentine Fleming, the Attorney-General, succeeded Sir John Pedder as Chief Justice, a circumstance which created a feeling of dissatisfaction in some quarters. It was considered that the Governor had shown political favour, and had departed from the observance of customary precedent in appointing the Attorney-General over the head of the Puisne Judge (Mr. Thomas Horne). Denison, however, was perfectly right: there was no rule to limit his discretion. Mr. Fleming, it is true, was not a popular nominee of the Council, but he had served the Government for many years: first as Commissioner of Insolvencies, at a very low salary, but with certain emoluments that were something more than lucrative at a time when the colony was in a state of general bankruptcy; then as Solicitor-General, and afterwards as Attorney-General. Mr. (subsequently Sir) Francis Smith succeeded Mr. Fleming in the latter office.

Certain ecclesiastical establishments were at this time supported from the public revenue of the colony, the sum of £15,000 per annum having been reserved by the

Constitution Act for that purpose. The clerical recipients of stipends from the Treasury ranked, of course, as other Government officers. Further provision was made for the clergy by the passing of a Pensions Act in 1854, whereby ministers receiving salaries could retire on life annuities. The measure was warmly opposed by Dr. Henry Butler, Mr. T. D. Chapman, Captain Michael Fenton, Mr. J. W. Gleadow, and other members of the Legislative Council. It was argued that a dangerous precedent would be created, and that the finances of the colony would be involved in an expenditure of a very serious character, as the Act was prospective in principle, and likely to affect the country injuriously at a distant period, when increasing liabilities entailed by the Act might prove too much to be borne. There was at the time a surplus revenue of £66,000 over the expenditure of 1853, but it was unreasonable to suppose that such a state of financial prosperity would last. It was also contended that the clergymen came out to the colony under the distinct understanding that they must be entirely dependent on the voice of the Colonial Legislature, and must not look to the Home Government for any allowance or pension whatever; that it was derogatory to the sacred character of Christian institutions to receive support wrung from the reluctant hands of taxpayers who belonged to other denominations; that it was destructive of religious vitality, and cast a deadening influence over the churches it was intended to support; that the duties of the clergy were entirely distinct from those discharged by Government officers, properly so called, because their services were not given to the public generally, but to individuals of particular congregations. These arguments, however, had no influence with a majority of the Council, and the Pensions Bill was passed.

The public schools in Tasmania were greatly reduced in number during the disturbance created by the gold dis-

coveries. There were 87 Government schools in 1851; 72 in 1852; 43 in 1853, and 50, with 2,734 pupils, in 1854. The only wonder is that so many school-masters, receiving wretched stipends, could have been induced to retain their appointments, while persons of inferior grade were enriching themselves at the diggings. A reaction now took place, and the number of schools continued each year to increase.

In 1853 a Select Committee was appointed by the Legislative Council for the purpose of taking into consideration the question of public education. In its report the Committee condemned the principle of denominational schools, on the ground that "it would necessarily lead to the multiplication of small schools, and thereby either increase the expense to an amount beyond what could be safely charged on the public revenue, or perpetuate the employment of inefficient teachers," and recommended the adoption of a system of general schools, "so modified and arranged that children of all religious denominations could attend." In pursuance of the recommendations of the Committee, the Council voted for the year 1854 a sum of £9,415 under the head of Education, and a Central Board, consisting of the members for the time being of the Executive and Legislative Councils, to superintend the affairs of the Education Department. The Government declared its object to be "to establish a system under which the benefits of a sound education may be ensured to those classes who have it not in their power to combine to provide adequate instruction for their children."

In 1854 the Central Board issued new regulations. The hour from 9 to 10 a.m. was set apart for religious instruction, an arrangement being made with the ministers of the various denominations in the neighbourhood of the school as to the particular day on which each should instruct the children belonging to their respective communions. A

selection from the Scriptures was to be used in school suited to either Roman Catholic or Protestant, such as that sanctioned for the national schools in Ireland, and the secular reading books were those published or sanctioned by the Irish Commissioners of National Education. A system more liberal, and more generally adapted to the necessities of the people, could not have been devised. It acknowledged the vital truths of Christianity, but ignored the narrow gauge of sectarian differences. This system has remained in force to the present day, with some alterations of detail. The erection of school-houses progressed slowly. The rules required that in country districts one-third of the cost of building or renting should first be collected by local contributions before Government sanctioned the expenditure of the other two-thirds. The stipends, as a rule, were then, as now, too low to induce thoroughly efficient teachers to remain in the service. The regulations provided that ministers of religion, magistrates, and other influential residents should be requested to act as special visitors.

The operation of the pre-emptive right regulations of 1851 was suspended in June, 1854, and a notice was issued which practically prohibited the sale of Crown lands except by auction. The prescribed area for depasturing purposes was not less than 500 nor more than 5,000 acres, subject to a licence fee of £1 per annum for each 100 acres, with leave to renew the same for five years, but subject to three months' notice to quit at any time if the land was required by the Government. All improvements made by the lessee in the way of fencing or clearing were to be assessed by arbitration and allowed for, the amount, thus paid to be added to the upset price of £1 per acre if the land was sold by auction. Any person, therefore, who selected land in view of settling upon it had no concession beyond the payment for his improvements: the land

was thrown open to public competition. It was, indeed, high time that the speculative game of appropriation under the regulations of November, 1851, should be stopped. Out of 817 applicants to purchase an aggregate of 263,802 acres, only 127 persons completed their purchases of 53,500 acres; and most of this passed into other hands at an enormous profit to the speculator. Of the remaining 210,302 acres selected for purchase, some few lots were retained by original selectors or transferred to others, who continued to pay the annual charges incident to the right of purchase; but by far the greater part reverted to the Crown. So great was the pressure in the Survey Office, with a staff altogether inadequate for the work, that years elapsed before all the surveys could be executed; and when they were completed it was found that many selections had been made of worthless land, and that no road reserves to the back country had been provided in any case. Thus the Crown got back a quantity of land, which was subsequently alienated, under new conditions, to other applicants.

The fine agricultural districts which lie in the north-western division of the island had been entirely neglected by the Government, notwithstanding the large alienation of Crown lands that took place under the pre-emptive right system. At this period population was spreading rapidly in the County of Devon. There was a considerable trade with the other colonies in timber and agricultural produce, the latter consisting chiefly of potatoes. As early as 1844 a police station had been established at Port Sorell—a step which was deemed necessary on account of the depredations of absconders from the road gangs. There was at that time only a handful of settlers along the whole line of coast.*

* The first residents in East Devon were Captain Thomas (speared by the blacks), his nephews, Messrs. B. W. and Samuel H. Thomas; Messrs W. F. Wright, George Hall, and H. Bonney (1829-38). Mr. James Fenton was the first settler in West Devon (1840).

It was soon found to be necessary to remove the police establishment to the river Mersey: a township had been laid out at the mouth of that river, and Torquay became head-quarters of the district.

Coal was discovered between the Don and Mersey rivers in March, 1850. A company was formed to work it, and the shares were all rapidly taken up in Launceston. a large expenditure took place on the company's ground, the shaft filled with water, and the works were abandoned with a heavy loss to the shareholders. The coal seam was found to be much broken, and too thin to pay for working after the usual manner of companies. The seam was found at Tarleton and at the Don, where it is still worked on a small scale. Hitherto all efforts to discover a lower seam have been unsuccessful. A saw mill was erected at the Mersey; stores went up at Torquay and Tarleton, and population increased.

Everything, however, was in a most primitive condition in the fine and now thickly populated districts of the north-west coast. There were no roads but bush tracks cut by the settlers for their own convenience; no bridges over rivers, which were dangerous to ford. The only post-office in 1854 was at the New Ground, at the house of an isolated settler, a few miles from Port Sorell. The inhabitants at the Mersey, Don, and Forth entered into a private arrangement to carry the letters and newspapers from the post-office once a week, each taking his turn. Sometimes the new settlers got lost in the bush for a whole night with the mail, thus risking their lives in the venture. Amusing incidents often occurred during this private mail service, and sometimes calamities more grave than gay befel the amateur letter carriers. On one occasion a Forth settler, just arrived in the colony from Canada, was making a pedestrian pilgrimage to Launceston. He called at the house of the New Ground post-master, who

generously lent the foot-sore traveller the mail horse on condition that he should leave mails at Deloraine, and bring back the horse with the return mails. The settler had proceeded as far as Avenue Plains, when a man approached him with blackened face, revolver in hand, and demanded the mail bags or his life. The Canadian, unaccustomed to that style of address, entreated the ruffian to spare his life, hastily vacated the saddle, and leaving his charge in the hands of the spoiler, pursued his solitary way on foot, rejoicing at his delivery from the jaws of death. The horse was found improving the occasion on the luxuriant pasture of the plain, but the mail and the robber were never heard of.

From Deloraine to the coast there was no authorised public road. The settlers travelled by way of either the Avenue Plains or a circuitous track by Native Plains, used by the Messrs. Field for driving stock from station to station. By the latter route the Mersey, when fordable, was crossed and re-crossed, in order to avoid a terrific chain of steep rocky hills and ravines. There was only one Road Board to look after the roads north and west of Deloraine: they had held occasional meetings at Deloraine, but never expended money beyond the township. Their annual report for 1854 stated that "in February the surveyor (Mr. Clayton) proposed a line of road from Deloraine to Elizabeth Town as direct as practicable, but the interests of the inhabitants on the Dunorlan estate required a deviation which was agreed to, and a contract has been taken by Mr. Charles Field to clear the road fifty feet wide from Deloraine to the Rubicon." The fine country now known as the Sassafras was unknown even at this late period except by experienced bushmen, who considered it a formidable undertaking to penetrate the almost impervious scrubs between the Mersey at Latrobe and Port Sorell. Great progress, however, was now made in opening out the

country. The coast people obtained a Road Trust separate from Deloraine; they procured the services of Mr. James Scott to survey and lay out lines of road between the various township reserves, these roads were cleared of timber, and made passable. A little screw steamer (the *Titania*) was laid on for regular weekly trips to the ports from the Tamar to Circular Head.

Victoria was at this period in such a prosperous condition that all the available labour in Tasmania was drained away. It was therefore deemed necessary to provide means for the encouragement of immigration. Bounty tickets were issued by the Government for the introduction of mechanics, labourers, and domestic servants, from any part of Europe, upon payment to the Immigration Agent of £3 for every single person, male or female, and £5 for every family. The Government allowed £20 for the passage of each adult embarking in the United Kingdom, and a corresponding scale for children. The colonists, however, had no faith in the Emigration Commissioners appointed by the Home Office; the persons they sent to the colony were not the sort of immigrants required, the Commissioners were blamed for seeking to rid the United Kingdom of worthless paupers, rather than to benefit the colony by sending a suitable class of servants. The colonists, therefore, formed themselves into societies for the promotion of emigration: appointed agents to proceed to England and Scotland, who would personally visit the rural districts, hold meetings, and distribute pamphlets containing information about the colony. The Rev. B. Drake, of Launceston, and Mr. Joseph Bonney, of Perth, were selected as agents, and Mr. John Walker, of Hobart Town, who was then in Scotland, rendered valuable assistance. By these means the colonists were eminently successful in procuring a superior lot of immigrants from Scotland and from the rural counties of England. Many of them have remained

in the colony to the present day, and are possessed of freehold estates.

The stoppage of transportation was a priceless boon to the colony; but it was a long time before the baneful results of the wretched system entirely disappeared; the newspapers still contained accounts of shocking murders, and of the depredations of bushrangers. Dalton and Kelly were among the most notorious outlaws of the time. They visited Mr. S. Lord's house, at Fingal, when an evening party had assembled, intimidated the ladies, appropriated all the money and jewelry they could find, shot a constable dead, and decamped with two of Mr. Lord's blood horses. Next they appeared on foot at the Mersey and Don, where they robbed Mr. Drew of his watch and what cash he had in the house. Having heard that Drew was a hard task-master, they resolved to shoot him, but did not carry it into effect. There was a vessel lying at anchor in the next river: in order to seize the vessel they pushed on to the Forth, but Mr. John Williams, owner of the schooner, who kept a hotel on the opposite bank, fortunately obtained timely warning of their approach, and took steps to defend the schooner in the middle of the stream. He was assisted by Clarkson, district constable of Emu Bay, who was casually passing at the time, and by some settlers, who procured firearms and proceeded on board. When Dalton and his comrade arrived, they had determined at any risk to get possession of the vessel; but fearing delay, lest a party from the Don might attack them in the rear, they accepted the offer of a whaleboat instead of the schooner, and proceeded out to sea.

The two bushrangers were now supposed to have quitted the colony: they were compelled, however, by a rough sea to make into the Leven, where they were comparatively safe, as there were no habitations within reach. Here they found Mr. Fenton's horse, with saddle and bridle, in an

old shed. Dalton mounted, and scoured the country in search of some dwelling. Along a road used for carting timber he met two loaded drays, took the drivers down to the river in custody, and compelled them to assist in launching the boat. Dalton, upon leaving, gave one of the men presents of various articles which he had stolen; to the other (a settler at the Forth) he offered a large roll of Tasmanian bank notes, which he considered would be useless to him in Melbourne, but the settler fortunately declined the gift. While attempting to change the notes in Melbourne, Dalton was recognised by a detective in disguise, who represented to the robber that he knew a house where he could procure gold in exchange for the notes by a liberal allowance of discount. His conductor, however, led him to the police station, where he was securely bolted in. In a moment, struggling and resisting violently, he was overpowered by a number of policemen. Dalton was loaded with revolvers, which were concealed beneath an overcoat. Next day, Kelly was standing by an English vessel on the wharf, when he was arrested. The prisoners were conveyed to Launceston, where they were tried and executed.

Another notable outlaw closed his sanguinary career on the gallows as recently as June, 1855. This monster, who was known as "Rocky Whelan," left a horrible record of his deeds. Whelan's statement was taken before the Colonial Secretary on the day prior to his execution, as follows:—"I, John Whelan, *alias* Rocky Whelan, condemned to suffer to-morrow morning for robberies on William Kearney and Richard Carpenter, which I acknowledge to have committed with deep sorrow, and, in order to make what reparation I can, do solemnly declare that I did, and being then alone, commit the following murders:—

1. An elderly man, between Brown's River and North-west Bay, about two months ago, I shot him in the head, and

robbed him 2. A young man (I learned afterwards his name was Dunn), on the Huon track, about six or seven weeks after Carpenter's robbery, I shot him in the head, and struck him on the head with the butt of the pistol, and then robbed him. 3. An elderly man, at Bagdad, six or seven weeks ago, I shot him in the head, and then robbed him 4. A young man, on the Westbury road, about a week after the last murder, I shot him in the head, and took away a few shillings 5. A hawker, near Cleveland, about three days before I was taken, I shot him in the head, and took away several things, most of which are now at the police office. The full particulars of these murders I have given to the Very Rev. W. Hall, Vicar-General, and the Rev W. Bond, hoping that the bodies yet undiscovered may be found." Such a shocking revelation of human depravity terrified the new settlers, who were now arriving in considerable numbers from the adjacent goldfields, attracted by the delightful climate of Tasmania, and the quiet, English-like appearance of the rural homes of the early colonists.

These dregs of convictism, however, soon died out they were rare survivals of what was once the rule, when the hand of the murderer was raised in every corner of the land, and unoffending victims fell an easy prey to the blood-thirsty criminal, who took a savage delight in avenging indiscriminately his real or fancied grievances.

During the Parliamentary session of 1854 an Act was passed to increase the number of members of the Council from 24 to 33, six of the nine additional members to be elected by the people, and three to be nominated by the Governor. This measure was passed by a small majority of the House, including the Government party. The elected members were not generally favourable to the measure, because a Constitution Bill, based on the principles of representative government, was then before the

Council; a draft bill had been prepared by a committee of the House, which was passed during the session, and only awaited the Queen's assent. It was, therefore, deemed most inopportune to meddle with existing arrangements until they were superseded by the form of government provided in the new Constitution Act.

Mr Alexander Clerke, the member who introduced the Council Extension Bill, withdrew it in the early part of the session, and again brought it forward at a later period, pressed it to a division, and carried it, although it was very properly contended by some members that a bill having been dismissed from the notice paper could not be again introduced during the same session. New electoral districts were thus created, three additional members were nominated by the Governor, and six were elected, who took their seats when the Council met on 17th July, 1855.

Sir William Denison's administration of the government of Tasmania came to a close with the year 1854. He had ruled the colony during the most important period of its history. On his arrival in 1847 he found trade, commerce, and financial affairs in a most depressed condition, brought about mainly by the unjust action of the British Government; when he departed, happiness and prosperity prevailed on every hand. But the prosperity arose from external causes more than from any development of a promising character at home. There was a million sterling lying idle in the banks, there was no public debt; the land revenue for the year was £112,225, the exports were valued at one and a half millions, and the imports at something over two and a half millions. Still the population had not returned from the goldfields across the Strait. When Denison arrived the population numbered about 68,000; when he went it numbered only 64,800.

It would be a difficult task to write the character of Sir William Denison. As a public man he was a strange

compound of candour and duplicity—a faithful servant in carrying out the behests of the Home authorities, and not too scrupulous in the use of means to accomplish that end; he was a generous and kind-hearted friend, and most estimable in the private relations of life. On the other hand, he was relentless in his antagonism to the colonists who differed from his views, and sadly lacked the discretion which might have prevented many a broil in public affairs. He was, moreover, deceitful in his conduct, as the unforeseen publication of his voluminous despatches, marked “Private and confidential,” clearly proved. In these despatches he expressed sentiments which were never intended to see the light. Lady Denison acknowledges this in one of her letters to a friend in England, published by His Excellency (with questionable wisdom) along with other curious epistles, in his “Varieties of Vice-Regal Life.” Her ladyship says —“Somehow or other this despatch, which was marked ‘Confidential,’ and was never intended to form part of a Blue Book, was printed by the Colonial Office, and so came out here, for all eyes to see, remarks and all! . . . I am afraid it has made a ferment altogether. The other day Mr. Clarke had a sort of warning letter from an officer quartered at Oatlands, in the heart of the country, kindly meant evidently, but saying that from the language he had heard among the settlers in those parts, he thinks that if William goes to the Midland agricultural dinner he will be insulted. . . . Yesterday William had another warning letter from the Bishop, who is gone up the country . . . he wants him to write now, and decline going to the dinner.”

Another of Lady Denison’s letters, published in the same volume,* and addressed to her mother (Lady Hornby), reveals a very erroneous impression of the colonists. Alluding to some guests at Government House, her ladyship remarks:—“They were, when we asked them to

come here, in a wretched inn, where they could get nobody to wait on them, and no comfort whatever. Indeed, I think our house is almost the only place in the colony where you can really find order and comfort. The consequence of this state of things is that we are often making our house, in some way or other, a refuge for the destitute; and I sometimes wonder when we are gone what the town will do without our servants, who have gone about to a great extent within the last few months, helping people in cases of sickness, &c." This lady's statements must be received by the reader with considerable caution. Why Sir William Denison published these private letters (of which there are many from himself to his mother, and from Lady Denison to her mother), it is difficult to understand. They reveal features that do not elevate his memory in the estimation of the colonists.

Denison left the shores of Tasmania on Saturday, 13th January, 1855, to enter upon the government of New South Wales. He remained in that colony for six years, and was then appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Presidency of Madras. He returned to England in 1866, and died January 19th, 1871, at the age of 67.





CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNOR YOUNG ARRIVES — HIS FORMER CAREER — STATE OF THE COLONY — LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL — COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY — J. S. HAMPTON'S CASE — SUDDEN PROROGATION OF COUNCIL — NEW CONSTITUTION ACTS — OLD COUNCIL CEASES TO EXIST — PUBLIC WORKS — LAUNCESTON WATERWORKS — POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS — TASMANIAN EXHIBITS AT GREAT EXHIBITION — ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW PARLIAMENT — FIRST MINISTRY — COMPENSATION TO RETIRING OFFICIALS — PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT — MINISTERS RESIGN — T. G. GREGSON'S MINISTRY FORMED AND DEFEATED — W. P. WESTON'S MINISTRY FORMED.

SIR HENRY EDWARD FOX YOUNG entered upon the government of Tasmania in the early part of January, 1855. He had had much experience in the art of governing, having spent the greater portion of an active life in offices connected with the administration of affairs in various British settlements.

Governor Young was son of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arctas Young, who had served with distinction in the Peninsula. He was born in 1810, at Bradbourne, near Lee, in Kent; was educated at Bromley School, and entered as a student of the Inner Temple; but his father's fortunes called him out to the West Indies, and he began his official life at an early age. In 1834 Mr. Young was appointed Treasurer of St. Lucia, and in the following year he was made a member of the Court of Policy and

Government Secretary of British Guiana, in which office he displayed great ability throughout an eventful period—the emancipation of the negro slaves. Returning to England in 1847, Mr Young received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope. Sir Henry did not find a congenial sphere in the Cape Colony for the exercise of his abilities, and before the close of the year he sent home a request to be relieved. His despatch crossed another from Downing-street, appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia. On receipt of the latter, Sir Henry at once embarked for England, and arrived there in February, 1848. On 15th April he married Augusta Sophia, the eldest daughter of Mr. Charles Marryat, of Park Field, Potter's Bar; and on the 27th of the same month he sailed with Lady Young for South Australia, the government of which colony he administered until he received his appointment as Governor of Tasmania.

Sir Henry Young found the island colony in a most prosperous condition. The intoxication produced by the sudden shift of fortune, when the gold of Victoria came in like a flood, showed no sign of abatement; the colonists were buoyant and sanguine of the future. The contingency of a reaction was not thought of while all things seemed to promise continued prosperity.

In addition to the large number of immigrants who had already arrived, hundreds were on the way to the colony. Early in 1855, one English firm sent out six ships, of the aggregate burden of 15,500 tons, with emigrants to Tasmania. These were the *Lightning*, 3,500; the *Ocean Chief*, 3,000, the *Oliver Lang*, 2,500; *Fortune*, 2,000; *Switzerland*, 2,500; and *Conway*, 2,000 tons. The immigrants by these vessels were a superior class of farm servants, many of whom settled in the colony after the period of their engagements had expired.

The revenue of the past year was £21,500 in excess of the total expenditure during the same period. The prosperity of the colonists may be inferred from the fact that they had raised by private subscription and had sent home the sum of £25,000 to the Patriotic Fund for the widows, orphans, and other sufferers by the Crimean war—a munificent donation from so small a community. A Royal mint for manufacturing the colonial gold into sovereigns and half-sovereigns was established in Sydney. Owing to the then new process of extracting gold from quartz, the Victorian mines gave promise of yielding more of the precious metal than ever. Upwards of 47 millions sterling had been realised from the produce of gold in that colony between the beginning of 1852 and the close of 1855, the yield of the latter year being more than three millions in excess of the previous year. Coal had been discovered at various places in Tasmania—at the Mersey, at Fingal, Douglas River, and Schouten Island, on the east coast; at New Town, Prosser's Plains, and Port Arthur. These deposits of such a valuable product in proximity to Victoria (where none existed) led people to believe that a large export trade would spring up. The timber trade at the Huon and on the north coast had already assumed large proportions: in 1853, timber valued at £443,000 was exported, and in 1854 this export was valued at £306,857.

With such brilliant prospects and results it is no wonder that extravagance to a large extent prevailed: few could foresee the reaction which was close at hand. The coal measures turned out badly; the timber trade dwindled down to an inconsiderable item; and the fortunes of the colony were sadly reversed in a few years. The other colonies found a way to retain their vastly increasing populations by opening their territorial domains, and inducing settlement by means of liberal land laws, and the

continued development of mining enterprise. The copper mines of South Australia were in a flourishing condition : in 1856 they produced ore valued at half a million. The attractions presented by the other colonies drew away numbers of the population of Tasmania. Her products found a less profitable and ever diminishing market, as her neighbours progressed in supplying their wants from their own soil.

It was unfortunate for the new Governor that the political institutions of the colony brought him personally into conflict with the Legislature. Under the representative form of government, such as was soon after conceded, the Queen's representative was in a far more agreeable position. But at this time the Governor had to initiate measures, or undertake the sole responsibility for those his advisers thought proper to recommend. The officers of his Government were not amenable to Parliament: they could not be turned out of office by a want of confidence motion. Hence the odium of a distasteful policy recoiled upon the Governor, and unseemly collisions between the Legislative Council and the head of the Executive unavoidably occurred. The constitution was a hybrid one: it could not have existed for any length of time without violent disorder and continual deadlocks.

Sir Henry Young summoned the Council to meet on the 17th July. The six newly-elected members under the Extension Act were Messrs. Adye Douglas, Charles Meredith, T. W. Field, James A. Gibson, A. Perry, and Doctor W. Crooke; there were also several new members, including Messrs. W. L. Goodwin, Joseph Bonney, James Lord, and J. H. Wedge, who had replaced others resigned or deceased. Mr. T. J. Knight, Mr. James Lord, and the Mayor of Hobart Town (Mr. W. G. Elliston) were appointed nominee members. Mr. Dry, the Speaker, was among those who resigned. The Council was, therefore, greatly

changed since it last met. Captain Fenton was chosen Speaker in the place of Mr. Dry, whose retirement, in consequence of broken health, was universally regretted.

At this time, when the Constitution Act, which provided for an entirely new system of government, was awaiting the Royal assent, there was really no necessity for so much legislative parade, nor is it clear that the increase of members did anything for the welfare of the country. It multiplied the hours spent in debate, and that was all. There was no burning question of the day requiring immediate attention, there was, indeed, nothing to do that would not have been better left undone until the reins of government were in the hands of the people. Under such circumstances the Extension Act was not required. Mr. Douglas was the only representative member who succeeded in passing a bill of practical utility; and that was one enabling the Launceston Corporation to supply that town with water. The same member advocated a preliminary survey for a railway between Hobart Town and Launceston, a proposal which was withdrawn for the time. An attempt was made by some of the new members to burk the Constitution Act by altering and amending some of its sections. Mr. T. D. Chapman and others pointed out the absurdity of meddling with a measure passed last session, and now lying at the foot of the Throne, if not already assented to. Members, however, had assembled, and they must do something. Accordingly, a committee was formed to enquire into the working of the convict department. This was going a step beyond the functions of the Legislative Council: the Council had no power to interfere with Government departments. The Select Committee, however, proceeded on the principles laid down in May, assuming to themselves the same powers and authority as those possessed by committees of the House of Commons. They summoned several witnesses, and

interrogated them. Dr. Hampton, the Comptroller-General of Convicts, was summoned, but he declined to attend. The Committee reported it to the House, where it was resolved that "John Stephen Hampton be summoned by the Speaker to appear at the bar of the House." Hampton refused to obey the summons, whereupon it was further resolved that, having failed to appear in pursuance of the order of the House, he was guilty of contempt, and the Speaker was then ordered to issue his warrant for the apprehension of Hampton, who was to be kept in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms during the pleasure of the House. Major Fraser proceeded to execute the warrant. He went to the Police Magistrate (Burgess), and requested the aid of constables to carry it into effect. Mr Burgess replied, "I do not consider myself warranted to act without further instructions." The Sergeant-at-Arms then applied to the Sheriff with another warrant, which required that officer to assist. The Sheriff said that he had no staff at his disposal that could be spared, and that he was himself unfortunately a feeble man, 75 years old, and therefore utterly incapable of acting personally in the matter. While the House were debating on the subject on the 14th, a letter was handed up to the Speaker from Hampton, wherein he expressed his willingness, in order to prevent a breach of the peace, to allow Major Fraser, the Sergeant-at-Arms, unaccompanied by any other person, to enter his house and remain there, holding him as his prisoner until his (Hampton's) legal advisers should have sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the necessary return should have been made thereto, and the judgment of the proper tribunal upon the legality of the warrant and arrest should have been given.

A long discussion followed. The Attorney-General urged that the proper course would be to direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to execute the warrant in the manner

proposed by Hampton, whose offer he considered a reasonable one, seeing that a doubt existed as to the legality of the warrant. Mr Gregson moved "That the letter received from John Stephen Hampton cannot be entertained, that the warrant of the Speaker, in the hands of the Sergeant-at-Arms, be carried out in its entirety, and that John Stephen Hampton be brought to the bar of this House by the Sergeant-at-Arms." This was carried by 15 votes against 9. The excitement which prevailed out of doors was intense. Crowds of citizens collected at the street crossings and in the neighbourhood of Hampton's house, eager to see or hear the result.

On the 18th, Major Fraser reported to the Speaker that he had succeeded in taking Hampton into custody at his own house, but that that gentleman had refused to proceed with him to the bar of the Council, and as he had no force with him, he did not attempt coercion, and was now awaiting further instructions. A writ of *habeas corpus* had been served upon the Sergeant-at-Arms, to which no return had yet been made. Major Fraser's report was read to the House by the Speaker, who, at the same time, informed members that he, also, had been served with a writ to appear to an action at the suit of Hampton.

The case had now assumed a very grave aspect. The opinion of the law officers of the Crown was clearly antagonistic to the proceedings; but the Council was inexorable, and it proceeded to consider what next to do in order to maintain its dignity. It was resolved that an address of the Council be presented to the Governor, earnestly requesting him to direct the police authorities to aid and assist in the execution of the Speaker's warrant by bringing Hampton to the bar of the House; it was also resolved that the Speaker and Sergeant-at-Arms should enter appearance to the writs, and employ the necessary legal assistance.

At this stage the proceedings of the House were suddenly brought to a close by the unexpected entrance of the Governor. He seated himself for a few moments on the right of the Speaker, after which he rose, and read the following speech, the Speaker and members standing:—
“Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the Legislative Council. It is with great reluctance that I feel compelled to interfere between the assertion and the practical enforcement of the powers and privileges which you have thought proper to assume. The law officers of the Crown have advised the Governor and the Legislative Council that the Speaker's warrant is illegal. It would be satisfactory that the legality or otherwise of the Speaker's warrant were disposed of by the Judges of the Supreme Court of Justice; but as your votes and proceedings are directed so as not to abide that issue now pending, there is no alternative left to me. The Speaker's warrant to the Sergeant-at-Arms, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and *posse comitatus*, to deprive a subject of Her Majesty of his liberty, is an act which unless warranted by law, is the supremacy of tyranny over law. In order, then, to enable the judicial tribunals to pronounce judgment on the legality of a warrant affecting the liberty of the subject, I hereby, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested, prorogue this Council to the 20th day of October next.”

The Governor's sudden appearance and speech created quite a sensation. The members remained in groups discussing the extraordinary proceedings for some time after the Governor, with his aide-de-camp and the Speaker, had left the Council Chamber. Afterwards, the Judges (Fleming and Horne) gave judgment against the Council. Without waiting for the result of their decision, Hampton, who had been liberated by virtue of the prorogation of Council, obtained leave of absence on the alleged ground of ill-health, proceeded to Victoria, thence to England, and was

never more seen in the colony, where his name had become infamous by the revelations of witnesses examined during the course of the Council's enquiry into the working of the convict department.

Sir Henry Young, it was said, made a mistake when he screened Hampton. Far more prudent would it have been for him to have remained neutral, and to have allowed the Supreme Court to settle matters without his interference. The London *Times* commented severely upon the Governor's conduct in "dissolving his Council with a precipitation and violence which recall the days of the Oxford Parliament of Charles II., or the attempt to seize the five members by Charles I." This was an extreme view of the case. The Home Government commended His Excellency for the course he had adopted; but it was thought in the colony that he had erred in straining the prerogative in order to protect Hampton, when the question involved was pending the judgment of the Supreme Court—the only competent tribunal to decide on matters affecting the liberty of the subject; that he had no right to forestall this decision and pre-judge the case, although it may have appeared quite clear to him that the Legislative Council had no power to enforce the attendance of witnesses before Select Committees. At the same time this view does not exonerate the Council from blame for making so grave a blunder as to order the arrest of a free subject without being clear as to its legal authority for so doing. They certainly had a right to enquire into all matters affecting legislation; but unfortunately, the necessary means for the enforcement of that right was not provided for by statute.

The Legislative Council, dissatisfied with the decision of the Supreme Court, carried the case on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Sir Frederick Thesiger was engaged on behalf of Fenton, the Speaker

of the Council. The Privy Council confirmed the decision of the Supreme Court. They cited two similar cases on which judgment had been given:—*Beaumont v. Barret*, from Jamaica, when it was decided that an Assembly possessed of supreme legislative authority *had* the power of punishing contempts; that the power was inherent in such an Assembly, and incident to its functions. The other case, *Keilley v. Carson*, came before the Judicial Committee from Newfoundland, in 1842, when four of the members present were of the number who adjudicated in the former case, and the judgment of the Committee was delivered by Mr. Baron Parke, who had also delivered that in the former case. Nevertheless, the Court overruled *Beaumont v. Barret*, and decided that the Newfoundland House of Assembly did *not* possess the power of arrest, with a view to adjudication, on a complaint of contempt committed out of its doors. The appeal of *Fenton v. Hampton* was decided against the Council on the authority of *Keilley v. Carson*, by which the Court held itself to be bound. Their Lordships also in both cases laid down that the power of committal enjoyed by the House of Commons is held by ancient usage and prescription—the *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti*, which apply exclusively to the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

The Constitutional Acts passed by New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, had been all sent home for the Queen's assent long before the Tasmanian Act. But they were badly framed; they interfered with certain Imperial Acts, and touched upon matters which were strictly within the province of the Imperial Parliament, or belonged to the Royal prerogative: consequently, the South Australian Act had to be sent back to the colony, and the Acts of New South Wales and Victoria had to be amended. No such delay was necessary in the case of the Tasmanian Act, which had been framed in accordance

with the power conferred on the Council by the Act of 1850.

At a meeting of Her Majesty's Privy Council, held at the Court of Buckingham Palace, on the 1st day of May, 1855, at which Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and other illustrious statesmen were present, the Queen declared her assent to the "*Act to establish a Parliament in Van Diemen's Land, and to grant a Civil List to Her Majesty.*" Mr J. W. Rogers, the new Solicitor-General, who arrived from England with his appointment on 4th August, 1855, was the bearer of a despatch to the Governor announcing the Royal assent to this Act. Tasmania was, therefore, distinguished as the first colony of the group to receive the grant of free institutions

Nothing could be more liberal than the concessions made by the mother country. The land fund, which at this time was yielding large returns to the revenue of each colony, was now placed entirely at the disposal of the colonial legislatures. Each colony was permitted, within certain limits, to alter or amend its constitution at any time when such might be deemed desirable. New South Wales had adopted the elective or representative principle for the Lower House only: the members of the Legislative Council, or Upper House, were to be nominated by the Executive. In South Australia both branches of the legislature were to be elected by the people, the whole body of electors forming one constituency for the return of the members of the Upper Chamber. In Victoria and Tasmania the Upper Houses were also elected by the people, the qualification of voters being higher than that of electors of the lower branches. In none of the colonies had the Governor power to dissolve the Upper Chamber

Under the new Act Tasmania was to elect fifteen members as representatives in the Legislative Council, who

were to enjoy the prefix of "honorable" while they retained seats. Five members were to retire in three years, five in six years, and five in nine years—the date of each member's retirement to be decided by lot. Their successors were to be elected for six years. In cases of death or resignation, the vacancies were to be filled by members elected to complete the unexpired term of their predecessors. The House of Assembly was to consist of thirty members, elected for five years, but subject to the power of dissolution possessed by the Governor. The Ministry were to be chosen by the Governor in accordance with the practice prevailing in the mother country in respect to the formation of the Imperial Ministry. All Ministers of the Crown were to hold seats in the local Parliament. The Crown resigned all territorial and other revenues, including royalties. These were vested in the Parliament of Tasmania, subject only to the reserve of a civil list of £15,300 per annum as a provision for the salaries of the governor, judges, crown law officers, colonial secretary, treasurer, auditor, and a few existing pensions; and subject also to a reserve of £15,000 per annum for public worship.

* The Australian Constitution Acts were an interesting and important development in British colonisation. They were the outcome of a gradual revolution of opinion which had at length effected an entire change in the point of view from which colonial possessions were regarded. In former times colonies had been looked upon as mere appanages of the parent state, existing solely for her interest and profit. They were to be managed like any other estate, with as much justice and consideration for the occupiers as might be, but yet with a jealous eye to the profit of the owner.

This theory had received a rude shock, if not a mortal wound, when the taxed tea was thrown overboard in Boston harbour eighty years before, but national ideas change

slowly, and not a few dependencies since that time had had bitter experience that the old fallacy was not dead. Tasmania in particular, since the first settlement was planted on her shores in 1803 for Imperial purposes, had been used as a lumber ground upon which England found it convenient to shoot the rubbish that would prove troublesome if permitted to accumulate at home. The wishes and interests of the free colonists who had been induced to emigrate were a matter of small concern: they were weak and distant subjects of the empire, and any rights they might imagine they possessed could not be allowed to stand in the way of the advantage that the mother country derived from the removal of her criminals to a safe distance. In the course of time, however, it became evident that as the distant dependencies increased in power and population they were developing a social and political life of their own. The time had come when the swarms thrown off from the parent hive must organise and shape their own destinies. Statesmen began to perceive that the ties which bound the colonies to the mother country might be strained too far, and that the best means of securing the loyalty of the colonists was to elevate them to a condition approaching that of autonomy. It was ultimately conceded that the sentiment of freedom was not something peculiar to the soil of the British Isles, which lost its virtue when transplanted, but was a personal birthright which Englishmen carried with them wherever they wandered and founded communities.

The new policy therefore aimed at forming the colonies into self-governing dependencies, under the tutelage of the empire, protected by her power and sharing her prestige, but otherwise self-dependent and self-reliant. Thus it came to pass that Tasmania, with its handful of people, was invested with the gift of a political constitution even more liberal than that of the mother country. Her people were now to enjoy the most ample power of self-government.

ment, and to have the exclusive right to manage all internal affairs through the representatives whom they returned to the local Parliament under a suffrage but little removed from universal. The direct administration of the government was vested in an executive, formed on the exact model of the British Ministry, exercising analogous functions within its sphere, and controlled in the same way by the votes of the chosen representatives of the people. The Governor was no longer an autocrat, responsible only to a distant secretary of state. he became a constitutional ruler, whose acts, like those of his royal mistress, were the acts of his Ministers, who in their turn were not responsible to him, but to Parliament.

The colonists were certainly started on their new career in no grudging spirit. They received their full share of the national inheritance. They were endowed with the whole of the waste lands within the limits of the territory—though there were some statesmen who thought that these lands belonged of right to the empire, and should not have been given up unreservedly to a handful of colonists. The mother country, however, kept nothing back for herself. She did not even claim as against foreign nations the privilege of differential duties, but allowed the colonists by means of customs tariffs to levy for their own benefit a tax on her industries and manufactures. Only enough was retained to entitle the colonists to the privileges of children of the empire, able to claim her strong aid against foreign aggression. The Governor, as Viceroy of the Queen, was the visible sign of the allegiance still owing to the throne of England. The Queen, it is true, retained her veto over local legislation, and her exclusive prerogative to make treaties with foreign states; and the Imperial Parliament, as the general council of the empire, was still the supreme arbiter in case of need. With these exceptions there was little to remind the colonists that they were not citizens of an independent republic.

The Constitutional Act was proclaimed in the *Hobart Town Gazette* of the 30th October. It was declared that the Act "should commence and take effect from the day of the date of such proclamation." The old Council, however, went on legislating as if nothing had occurred to limit its term. It was necessary for the old Council to meet and pass an electoral bill prior to the election of members to sit in the new Parliament, and accordingly the Governor opened a session on November 28th, when he invited the Council to pass the estimates for 1856, and also to pass an Electoral Act. He proposed, perhaps unnecessarily, one other measure—a bill to compel the attendance of witnesses before committees of the Council. The latter bill was no doubt submitted in a conciliatory spirit, in order to allay the angry feelings of members in regard to the Hampton case; but it was indignantly rejected by a majority, who still clung to the notion that they possessed an inherent power of committal for contempt. The Council passed the necessary Electoral Act, the estimates for a part of the year, and also did many things which they ought not to have done under the circumstances. They voted money for telegraph lines, for the Hobart Town water works, for the Launceston sewerage, they guaranteed interest upon £15,000 for the Launceston water works, and they passed a bill to grant retiring allowances to officers and servants in the public service, a bill which would have saddled the country with heavy liabilities had not the Governor refused the Royal assent to a measure which he considered should be reserved for the consideration of the new Parliament. The Council was prorogued on February 7th, 1856. The people then began to look for representatives under the new constitution. The voting was to be by ballot, a novel system at that time.

It was a happy day for all Governors when the cumbrous weight of Parliamentary duties was removed from their

shoulders. Sir Henry Young justly appreciated the relief. In his closing address to the old Council, he said—"Eman-
cipated from political and party controversies, impeded
neither by feeble nor timid advisers, nor surrounded by
those who conceive their possession of office to be against
his inclination, the Governor may expect his official func-
tions, as well as his personal influence, to be strengthened
by exclusive concentration to those higher objects which
are special to no one political party, but common to all, as
conducting to the moral and material progress and improve-
ment of the whole colony. Placed in an office the tenure
of which is fixed by command of her Majesty, partisan
leadership, the strife, separations, and divisions of party
politicians, are inappropriate to the post of Governor,
whose legitimate ambition must be to head not any one
party, but a coalition of all patriotic colonists, in promoting
the advancement and prosperity of Tasmania, and in as-
sisting to expand and elevate its public spirit." Thus the
Governor joyfully took leave of the old system.

A great change for the better was now perceptible in the
moral and social condition of the colony. The vexed ques-
tions which formerly disturbed the community were at
rest. The convict element, with its hideous associations,
was rapidly disappearing. New arrivals of the immigrant
class tended to elevate the tone of public morals in the
humbler walks of life, and the public schools and places of
worship were better attended *

Public works were of course in their infancy at this
period not only in Tasmania but in all the Australian
colonies. The first telegraph line in Victoria was put in

* A return sent in from ministers of the various churches of the average
attendance on Sundays gave the following result —Church of England,
6,014; Roman Catholic, 4,335; Church of Scotland, 2,000; Wesleyan,
4,000; Free Scotch Church, 645; Independent, 1,260; Society of Friends,
60; Free Wesleyan, 40; Hebrew, 70; total, 18,424—a very fair proportion
in a colony containing about 30,000 adults, many of whom were precluded
by their isolated position from attending any church

operation between Melbourne and Williamstown on the 3rd March, 1854, an event of great importance in those days. A gas company was formed at Hobart Town about the same time, and in March, 1857, the city was lighted with gas. Initiatory steps were taken towards building a mechanics' institute at Launceston, to replace a temporary building which had been used for lectures and reading room by an association established in 1842. The subject of supplying Launceston with water had long been agitated. Various plans had been proposed and abandoned. Governor Arthur made the first attempt by an open cutting from the South Esk at Evandale. Other projects resulted in failure, and the town still depended for water upon the shutes of the Cataract Mill, the proprietor of which derived a splendid return from the monopoly of supplying the water carts.

At length a plan was proposed to supply Launceston with water from the St. Patrick's River, a tributary of the North Esk. The town surveyor (Mr. George Babington) and other engineers pronounced the scheme practicable, and a bill was passed enabling the Town Council to borrow the necessary funds to carry it into execution. At a distance of thirteen miles from the town and an elevation of 1,120 feet, the water of the St. Patrick's River was led into the rocky bed of the Distillery Creek by means of a tunnel 620 feet, and an open channel 1,200 yards in length. At a point about seven miles down the creek and six miles from Launceston (314 feet above the sea level), a reservoir capable of holding one and a half million gallons of water was constructed, from whence the water was conducted in iron pipes to the town. The works were completed and opened in October 1857. No town in the Australian colonies has a better supply of water, both as regards quantity and quality, than the town of Launceston. One million gallons of water are stored within the precincts of the town.

in three reservoirs, each at an elevation of 255 feet from the sea level.

Postal communication with England was facilitated by the rapid progress of the adjacent colonies: still at this period it was very imperfect. Various steam navigation companies entered into contracts for the mail service, which resulted in loss to the shareholders. Four schemes were projected, but not one achieved success. The Australian Steam Navigation Company, whose vessels were designated "boomerangs," because they were always turning back, broke up with a serious loss to the shareholders. The Australian Pacific Company, *via* Panama, abandoned their enterprise, sold their vessels, and closed up the concern. The General Screw Company were on the point of relinquishing their contract when their ships were employed by the British Government in the Crimean war service, which relieved them from payment of a penalty. The Peninsular and Oriental Company incurred a loss of £40,000 during the two years they brought the Australian mail from Singapore to the colonies, and they gladly availed themselves of the war to withdraw their fleet. It is said that the latter Company realised £950,000 for the use of their vessels in conveying troops and provisions to Turkey, and that the General Screw Company in the same way recovered more than they lost in the Australian mail service. During the war the mail service was dependent on sailing vessels, and at its close there was some difficulty in procuring a suitable line of steamers to execute the work. Two companies offered to negotiate on very reasonable terms if the Government would wait twelve months while ships were built. Another company, which left the service when the war broke out, proposed to take a new contract as soon as the transport service from Turkey and the Black Sea had closed. None of these proposals was considered suitable, as there was necessity for immediate action. A

fourth tender was therefore accepted, although the terms were considerably in excess of the others. A company, afterwards known as the European and Australian, engaged to carry monthly mails between Southampton and Melbourne (by way of Suez) for the sum of £185,000 per annum. The first four vessels sailed direct for Melbourne, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, in order to take up their station south of the isthmus, so that the monthly communication between Melbourne and Suez should be regularly kept up. The Company's first mail-ship, the *Oneida*, steamed from Southampton on October 19th, and reached Melbourne on December 23rd, with Sir Henry Barkly, the new Governor of Victoria, on board. The Peninsular and Oriental line shortly afterwards took the contract, which they have ever since executed with great precision and general satisfaction.

Tasmania was not behind other parts of the world in competing for prizes at the National Exhibitions. Seventy cases of exhibits were sent to the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, when wheat grown in the colony, and other products, received first awards. At the Paris Exhibition of 1855, Tasmania received a first class medal for products obtained without cultivation. Mr. David Gibson and another exhibitor received first class medals for wheat; Mr. R. Q. Kermode, for wool; and Mr. Isaac Wright, for oats. Mr. Grant, of Tullochgorum, received second class medal for wheat; Messrs. Milligan and Walker, for wheat and flour; and Pescodd and Sim, of Launceston, for biscuits.

The election of representatives to serve in the new Parliament was now the all-engrossing question. There was no dearth of candidates. Five were nominated to fill three seats in the House of Assembly for Launceston; seven to fill the five seats for Hobart Town; and in several of the country constituencies seats were contested by rival candidates. The ballot was a great success: no disturbances

occurred at the poll, such as were common under the old system of open voting. The polling for the Assembly took place between September 8th and 22nd inclusive, when the writs were returned with the following result:—

<i>Launceston</i> —	<i>Selby</i> —Ronald C. Gunn
J. W. Rogers, <i>Solicitor-General</i>	<i>Ringwood</i> —W. P. Weston
Adye Douglas	<i>New Norfolk</i> —Michael Fenton
W. T. N. Champ, <i>Colonial Secretary</i>	<i>Brighton</i> —Henry Butler
<i>Hobart Town</i> —	<i>Westbury</i> —T. W. Field
T. D. Chapman, <i>Colonial Treasurer</i>	<i>Deloraine</i> —A. F. Rooke
Maxwell Miller	<i>George Town</i> —C. S. Henty
Robert W. Nutt	<i>Campbell Town</i> —William Race Allison
Francis Smith, <i>Attorney-General</i>	<i>Glamorgan</i> —Chas. Meredith
James A. Dunn	<i>Fingal</i> —F. L. Von Stieglitz
<i>Glenorchy</i> —R. Officer	<i>Franklin</i> —Wm. Crooke
<i>Norfolk Plains</i> —J. C. Gregson	<i>Queenborough</i> —D. M'Pherson
<i>Morven</i> —Fredk. M. Innes	<i>Clarence</i> —Edward Abbott
<i>Sorell</i> —Askin Morrison	<i>Devon</i> —J. A. Gibson
<i>Oatlands</i> —Henry F. Anstey, <i>Secretary of Lands and Works</i>	<i>Cumberland</i> —Thos. L. Gellibrand
	<i>Kingborough</i> —A. Nicholas
	<i>Richmond</i> —T. G. Gregson

Total, 30 members.

The elections for the Legislative Council were concluded on October 17th. The following fifteen members were returned:—

<i>Hobart</i> —	<i>Derwent</i> —Capt. W. Langdon
T. Horne, <i>Puisne Judge</i>	<i>Huon</i> —T. J. Knight
John Walker	<i>Jordan</i> —E. Bisdee
E. S. P. Bedford	<i>Pembroke</i> —Jas. Whyte
<i>Tamar</i> —	<i>Longford</i> —R. Q. Kermode
W. Henty	<i>Meander</i> —W. E. Nairn
W. S. Button	<i>North Esk</i> —J. H. Wedge
<i>Buckingham</i> —T. Y. Lowes	<i>South Esk</i> —P. T. Smith
<i>Cambridge</i> —F. Burgess	

The first Ministry of Tasmania consisted of the following men:—

William Thomas Napier Champ, *Colonial Secretary and Premier*

Thomas Daniel Chapman,* *Colonial Treasurer*

Francis Smith, *Attorney-General*

John Warrington Rogers, *Solicitor-General*

Henry Frampton Anstey, *Minister of Lands and Works*

William Edward Nairn, *without portfolio*.

Compensation to the officers of the former government (Messrs Peter Gordon Fraser, W. T. N. Champ, and Francis Smith) was provided in the Act for liability to loss of office, to be paid either in the form of a bonus or as an annual pension. Mr Fraser chose the pension of £600 a year, which he still draws. Messrs. Champ and Smith preferred a bonus. The former therefore received £6,000, and the latter £4,500. No such provision was made for the Solicitor-General's retirement. Among the members of Parliament were some who held non-political offices under Government. These were Messrs Rogers, J. C. Gregson, Burgess, Abbott, Nairn, Horne, and Dr. Bedford. These officials, elected as representatives of the people, occupied an anomalous position. A Government order was at once issued notifying that officers of the Government elected as members of either House would be expected not only to abstain from any action adverse to the Government, but to afford it their unqualified support. "Should any officer of Government, being a member of Parliament, fail to comply with these conditions, or should it at any time

* Mr Chapman's city constituents presented him with a handsome address, and £400 to be expended in the purchase of plate, to mark their sense of his past services in the Legislative Council. The *Launceston Examiner* (October 21st) says—"Such a commemoration is a pleasing proof that exertion and sacrifice for the public good are appreciated by the community. There is not a more laborious or valuable member of Parliament than Mr. Chapman. His straightforward conduct on all occasions, his stern integrity, his incessant toil, his purity of purpose, and admitted ability, render him a representative of which the city may well be proud."

appear that his attendance in Parliament is incompatible with the proper discharge of his official duties, he cannot be permitted to continue in office."* This order was plain and peremptory: electors as well as candidates profited by it: Government officials soon disappeared from the legislature.

The new Parliament was opened on Tuesday, December 2nd, 1856, by commissioners appointed by the Governor. After each House had been sworn in, it proceeded to elect its chairman. Judge Horne was chosen President of the Legislative Council, and Captain Fenton was elected Speaker of the House of Assembly. The Governor read his speech on the following day. He informed honorable members that a considerable falling off had occurred in the revenue derived from customs duties, and that reductions in departmental expenses would be found necessary. He also informed them that the Government had let a contract for the erection of a telegraph line between Hobart Town and Launceston. Provision was proposed to be made for extending the system of public education, and several other matters were adverted to.

One of the first questions brought under discussion in the new Parliament was the right of the Executive to issue the order which prohibited holders of non-ministerial offices under the Government from voting according to the dictates of their conscience upon measures emanating from the Government. Strong expressions of opinion were evoked from members in both Houses. A resolution condemnatory of the order was passed in the Council, but a similar motion proposed in the Assembly was lost, although the members whom it affected recorded their votes in its favour. The Governor was requested to reconsider the matter. He did so, and guided by his responsible Ministers adhered to his action. In Victoria a similar order had been issued, the

* Council Order.

only difference being that *there* the notice was given *before* the elections, instead of *after* them, as in Tasmania.

The Honorable Thomas Daniel Chapman, the first Colonial Treasurer under responsible government, delivered his financial statement on December 9th, 1856. He found himself in a rather perplexing dilemma. The revenue for the current year had been estimated at £330,000, but only £250,000 had been realised. With a deficiency of £80,000 in one year's revenue, and an estimated deficiency of the same amount in 1857, it was obvious that the Treasurer had entered on his duties at a most inauspicious period, when a sudden collapse of financial prosperity indicated difficulties ahead. The extraordinary prosperity induced by the gold discoveries at the close of Sir William Denison's administration had come to an end, and it was necessary to provide for a rather unpleasant re-action. Mr Chapman proposed a reduction of £35,000 in salaries, as the causes which led to their increase had now ceased to operate. He proposed raising a loan of £80,000 by debentures, payable in eight equal sums of £10,000 each year, commencing in 1859. He also proposed borrowing £100,000 for public works; and in order to equalise the revenue and expenditure, he submitted a new customs tariff, increasing the duties on tea, sugar, wines, spirits, tobacco, and other articles included in the tariff of 1852.

The proposal to increase customs duties having been assented to by the House (January 9th, 1857), a resolution to that effect was immediately put in force. In the Legislative Council, however, the question of the power of the Assembly to act thus was warmly debated. Mr. Knight submitted a motion to the effect that the Governor's Order-in-Council, directing increased duties to be levied forthwith, was issued without lawful authority, inasmuch as the only warrant for such order was a resolution of the House of Assembly, and no opportunity had been afforded

to the Legislative Council to deliberate upon or concur in the said resolution. Mr. Knight carried his motion by a majority of one—six voting for, and five against it. This proceeding is worthy of record. it was the first of many troubles arising from the existence of two representative chambers. A conference of members from both Houses, to decide the powers of each in regard to money bills, was proposed and agreed to. The managers of the conference met and adjourned,—met again, and arrived at no decision.

In the meantime the country was intolerant of the very sound of "more taxation." Meetings were held in various parts, and views hostile to Mr. Chapman's proposals were strongly expressed. Mr. Chapman's position was surrounded by difficulties, not only on account of the unfriendly attitude of the Council, but also from the hesitancy of members of the Assembly to carry out their own resolutions, owing to a pressure out of doors. There was not a shilling in the treasury, and the stipends of officials were still unpaid. In vain did the Treasurer and his colleagues urge members to maintain the credit of the country by yielding to the necessities of the situation—to grant supplies, and provide for expenditure in the manner proposed, rather than allow a sentimental antagonism to further taxation to be the means of plunging the colony into greater and more prolonged difficulties. In view of alleviating the feeling that preponderated, Mr. Chapman proposed to abandon a portion of his new tariff by striking out the increased duties upon tea, sugar, and a few other articles.

Matters were suddenly brought to a crisis by the resignation of Ministers. On February 14th, Mr. Thomas George Gregson moved "that this House is of opinion that reductions should take place in the salaries of the Governor, Colonial Secretary, Colonial Treasurer, and Attorney-General." Mr. Champ urged that a reduction in the Governor's salary would be a breach of faith, and a premature interference

with the provisions of the Constitutional Act. A lengthy discussion ensued; several amendments were proposed, all of which were lost. Mr. Gregson's motion was carried, and Ministers resigned.

Thomas George Gregson had been at one time a popular patriot; but he was better fitted both by nature and habit to act as a tribune of the people in resistance to the arbitrary measures of an irresponsible Executive, than to fill the office of a Minister of the Crown under a free constitution. He excelled in attack and invective, but lacked the moderation and self-control essential to a statesman. By his turbulent behaviour in the Assembly he had alienated many of his friends, and forfeited the confidence of the public. Still constitutional precedent required that to him, as the mover of the resolution which had compelled the resignation of Mr. Champ and his colleagues, the Governor should commit the task of forming a new Ministry. Mr. Gregson's Cabinet took office on 26th February, 1857. It consisted of—

Thos. George Gregson, *Colonial Secretary and Premier*

Charles Meredith, *Colonial Treasurer*

John Compton Gregson, *Attorney-General*

Maxwell Miller

James Whyte

John Helder Wedge

} *Without portfolios*

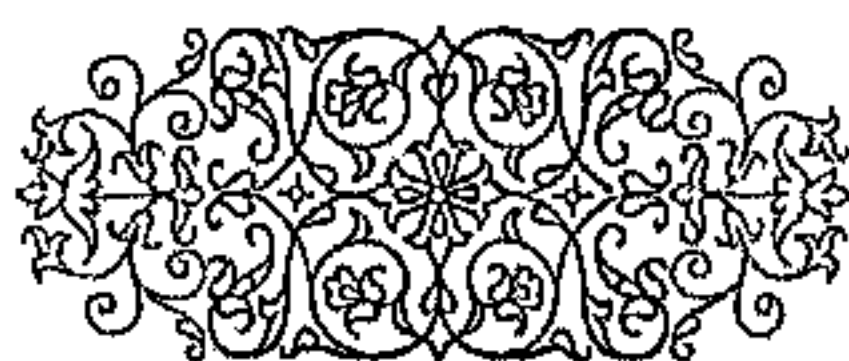
It was not possible for Parliament long to tolerate the reckless conduct of Gregson as a leader of the House. He indulged in violent and eccentric ebullitions of feeling against the members who opposed his policy, and disturbed the debates by unseemly interruptions, often disregarding the authority of the Speaker. Gregson's colleagues were respected, but they made a mistake when they united themselves under such a leader. His son, Mr. J. C. Gregson, was most of all unfortunate: for the doubtful tenure of a portfolio he resigned the permanent appointment of Chair-

man of Quarter Sessions at Launceston. A direct vote of censure, carried in the House of Assembly by a large majority, compelled Mr Gregson's Ministry to resign office on the 25th April.

Mr W. P. Weston, mover of the vote of want of confidence, was called upon to form a new Ministry. The members were sworn in on 25th April as follow —

W. P. Weston, <i>Premier,</i> <i>without office</i>	Francis Smith, <i>Attorney-</i> <i>General</i>
William Henty, <i>Colonial</i> <i>Secretary</i>	T. J. Knight, <i>Solicitor-</i> <i>General</i>
F. M. Innes, <i>Colonial Trea-</i> <i>surer.</i>	R. Q. Kermode, <i>without</i> <i>office.</i>

After a fruitless session Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of June. During the recess the commission which had been appointed to enquire into the public departments with the view of consolidating offices, and reducing the cost of the civil service, sent in a useful report, the result of a vast amount of careful and laborious enquiry. Ministers, guided by this report, determined to effect a sweeping retrenchment in the public service, whereby the expenditure would be reduced to a level with the revenue. They also relied upon sales of land to redeem the debt incurred by the deficiency of 1856. Their anticipations were not realised: the end of the year revealed a declining revenue from all sources.





CHAPTER XV.

PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT—THE ABBOTT LAND CASE—EDUCATION BILL—RURAL MUNICIPALITIES—WASTE LANDS ACTS—LAND STATISTICS—THE UPPER HOUSE—STATE AID—FIRST SUBMARINE CABLE—GOLD—POLICE AND GAOLS—OFFICIAL CHANGES—SECOND PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC WORKS—GENERAL DEPRESSION—GOVERNOR YOUNG'S DEPARTURE.

THE second session of the first Parliament of Tasmania was opened on 13th October, 1857. Mr. Weston had resigned the office of Premier in favour of Mr. Smith, the Attorney-General, but still retained a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Innes did not make his financial statement at the commencement of the session, as is now the practice. Several useful measures were passed, and an adjournment took place until the early part of January, 1858, when the Treasurer explained the financial position.

Mr. Innes stated that the revenue had been declining since the commencement of the year 1855, at which time the then Treasurer had a credit balance of £132,000. At the close of that year the balance was only £23,000; but £100,000 had been spent on immigration. The old Council subsequently passed a bill to authorise the raising of £200,000 by debentures for immigration purposes, out of which sum the £100,000 (spent as above) had to be refunded

to the general revenue. The revenue continued to decline, and notwithstanding the refund of the £100,000 the Treasurer's account at the close of the year 1856 showed a large deficit, so that when the new Parliament opened a further sum of £80,000 had to be borrowed to meet current expenses. Thus commenced the Public Debt of the colony. The land fund, too, which was at this period mixed up with the general revenue, and which had yielded such splendid returns, all went to keep up costly establishments, rendered necessary in a great measure by the relics of convictism.

It was therefore necessary to provide for deficiencies; and for this purpose increased duties upon wines, spirits, and tobacco were proposed to Parliament, and granted. A direct tax of sixpence in the pound on the annual value of property, to be called a police rate, was also assented to. Dogs were to be taxed 5s. a head. A duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was imposed on probates of wills, 3 per cent. upon letters of administration; and 50 per cent. was added to inland postage, the stamp required upon an ordinary letter being 6d., instead of 4d. as before. These latter imposts were exceedingly unpopular, especially that which affected the widow and the fatherless.

The long-pending "Abbott claim" occupied much time in the session of 1858. This was a claim of Mr. Edward Abbott for compensation for the loss of 210 acres of land on the Launceston Swamp, originally granted to his father, the late Major Abbott, but afterwards resumed by the Government. The case was for many years before the home authorities; then it was tediously discussed in the old Legislative Council without any result; and at last it came before the new House of Assembly, who referred it to a commission. Mr. Abbott claimed something over £15,000 as compensation. The equity of his claim for compensation was generally admitted, but the amount he claimed was deemed exorbitant. The commissioners spent a long time

in investigating the case, and ultimately awarded £2,012. Mr. Abbott, at this time a member of the House of Assembly, was frantic with disappointment, for he had previously refused £7,000. He conducted himself in a most disorderly manner in the House, where, supported by Mr. Gregson and a few others, disgraceful scenes were constantly occurring. The amount awarded to Abbott was placed upon the supplementary estimates, and passed by both Houses as compensation for 45 instead of 210 acres. This left open the question of further compensation. The matter was finally settled by a tribunal of seven arbitrators chosen by lot from the special jury list, the Sheriff presiding. On 10th December, 1860, the court sat, Mr Adams appearing as counsel for Abbott, and the Solicitor-General for the Government, when a further sum of £3,000 was awarded. Thus ended the almost interminable Abbott claim.

The Parliamentary session of 1858 produced an important educational measure having for its object the encouragement of a high-class education for the youth of the colony. Ministers introduced a bill to establish and endow annual scholarships tenable in the United Kingdom by the youth of Tasmania. The bill was favourably received by all parties, and was warmly advocated by Messrs. Smith, Chapman, and Maxwell Miller. While it was before the House the Rector of the High School at Hobart Town (the Rev. R. D. Harris) suggested that it should include provisions for the foundation of a Tasmanian University, and also for the establishment of a degree of Associate of Arts, to be conferred on boys who should pass an examination on the model of the recently-established middle-class examinations of the University of Oxford. The University scheme was considered premature, but the other suggestion of Mr. Harris was adopted. The bill as finally passed provided for the appointment of a Council of Education con-

sisting of fifteen members, who were to form an examining board, with power to confer the degree of Associate of Arts, and with two Tasmanian scholarships and some minor exhibitions in their gift. The scholarships, of which two were to be given annually, were to be of the value of £200 per annum each, tenable for four years at an English University, to be conferred on Tasmanian youths passing the best examination.

The good effects of this scheme on the higher education of the colony were soon apparent. From the High and Hutchins Schools, Hobart Town, the Church Grammar School, Launceston, and the Wesleyan Horton College at Ross, boys were sent up to take the degree of Associate of Arts. The stimulus thereby given to good and systematic teaching rapidly raised the standard of all the better schools throughout the colony. The series of graduated exhibitions in the Council's gift, culminating in the Tasmanian Scholarships, has enabled many Tasmanian boys of ability but of narrow means to secure the benefit of an English University training with advantage to their native land as well as to themselves.

Many useful measures were passed during the Parliamentary session of 1858, one of the most important of which was an Act to establish rural municipalities in the country towns and districts of the colony. By this Act any town, or any electoral, police, or road district might be constituted and proclaimed a rural municipality on the receipt by the Governor in Council of a petition signed by not less than fifty owners or occupiers of property, provided a counter-petition signed by a greater number of persons similarly qualified was not received within two months from the publication of the former petition. The municipal councils were to consist of six councillors, one of whom was to be chosen as warden; two were to go out of office in December of every year succeeding the first elec-

tion The charge and control of the police force of each rural municipality thus established were to be transferred to and vested in the council of the municipality. Roads within the boundaries of any proclaimed municipality were also to be under the control of the councillors, the powers vested in road trustees within the district thenceforth to cease. Wardens were to exercise the powers of police magistrates, and the entire police establishment of the district was to come under the management of the council.

The districts were slow to accept the boon of local self-government, although substantial subsidies were offered by the Government in order to prevent the possibility of the institutions being a burden to the people. Many objected to the transfer of the constabulary from central control to that of constantly changing local bodies, whereby the loyalty and efficiency of the force might be impaired in times of emergency when the central authority should require the assistance of a territorial police. Others dreaded municipal institutions in prospect of the local taxation they were likely to entail, and again, there were some colonists of high standing who believed that the power they already possessed in the police districts would be considerably reduced if the people were allowed a voice in the management of local affairs. These obstacles to local self-government were, however, gradually overcome, and in the course of a few years all the country districts but a few of the outlying settlements took municipal action.

Provision was made during the session of 1858 for extending settlement by offering the waste lands of the Crown on exceedingly liberal terms. An Act was passed authorising the gratuitous disposal, upon certain conditions, of the unsettled lands lying between the Arthur river and South Cape, extending inland to Adamson's Peak, King William's Mount, Barn Bluff, and some of the lakes. The conditions required residence for five years and a certain

outlay in cultivating the land, upon the fulfilment of which a grant of the land (not exceeding 640 acres) was to issue. This Act remained almost a dead letter until it was repealed six years later. Not so, however, another Act which was passed for regulating the sale of waste lands in the settled districts. The latter enabled selectors to purchase by private contract one lot of land not exceeding 320 acres, at the rate of 20s. per acre, with credit on liberal terms if required. Land-jobbers were thus prevented from competing with persons who had explored the country, and after much toil and perseverance had selected suitable places for their future homes. Many new settlers availed themselves of the provisions of the Act, and founded young settlements in agricultural districts, the favourite localities being the North coast and Dorset, where large tracts of forest land were available. The new settlers, however, had to go back for miles in places where the "pre-emptive right" blocks were still worth holding. As a rule these blocks were lying unimproved, and no roads had been reserved through them. The more distant owners had therefore to hew their road to the port through a wild forest, and even then they passed to and fro on sufferance, or were fined for trespassing.

The scale upon which the waste lands are alienated is mostly an index of how far a young country is advancing. Exceptional causes prevent the sale of Crown lands in Tasmania from being any guide to the extent of *bona fide* settlement. The land purchased for actual occupation was inconsiderable in proportion to the area sold, most of which remained idle in the hands of speculators, the extent fluctuating according to the degree of existing prosperity or depression. There are no returns available which draw a line between the lands sold for occupation and those owned ~~but~~ not occupied. The following tables show the total

number of acres of *country* land sold during twenty years ending in 1855, with the average price per acre.

When country land was sold at the upset price of 5s. and 12s. per acre:—

Year.	Acres.		£	s.	d.
1836 ...	25,367	Average price	0	9	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1837 ...	21,570	" "	0	9	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1838 ...	19,934	" "	0	5	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1839 ...	42,385	" "	0	10	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
1840 ...	88,296	" "	0	11	4
1841 ..	78,946	" "	0	11	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1842 ..	25,729	" "	0	8	8
1843 ..	49,742	" "	0	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1844 ...	4,619	" "	0	7	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1845 ...	1,450	" "	0	15	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1846 ...	1,270	" "	1	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1847 ...	1,636	" "	0	16	8

When the upset price was raised to £1:—

Year.	Acres.		£	s.	d.
1848 ..	1,544	Average price	1	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1849 ..	826	" "	1	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1850 ..	1,544	" "	1	12	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1851 ..	2,956	" "	1	1	4

While pre-emptive right regulations were in force:—

Year.	Acres.		£	s.	d.
1852 ...	5,363	Average price	1	7	5
1853 ..	35,550	" "	1	0	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1854 ...	32,433	" "	1	1	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1855 ...	21,508	" "	1	1	2 $\frac{1}{4}$

Thus it will be seen that the demand for land was spasmodic, resulting from peculiar circumstances, such as the prosperity which followed the settlement of Port Phillip in the first place, and then the gold discovery, rather than from steady colonisation in Tasmania. Out of the 94,854 acres purchased during the last four years in the above return, 81,575 acres were bought and paid for at the rate of £1 per acre under the pre-emptive right system of selection, nearly all of which remained unimproved, having been purchased for purely speculative purposes.

The rentals derived from Crown lands afforded a much more uniform and reliable revenue, as will be seen from comparison in the following return for six years :—

Year.	Acres.		£	s.	d.
1851 ...	1,836,417	Rented for	21,405	6	9
1852 ...	1,913,719	„	23,543	18	3
1853 ..	2,314,414	„	29,454	5	3
1854 ..	2,284,214	„	29,152	4	3
1855 ...	2,260,234	„	27,583	9	10
1856 ...	2,009,477	„	25,478	5	1

There was much need for the land law of 1858. Sales by auction had almost entirely ceased in the previous year, when only 7,024 acres of country land were disposed of. The following table shows for a few years the result of permitting private selection :—

1858 ...	44,236	acres of country land sold
1859 ..	74,023	„ „ „
1860 .	87,727	„ „ „
1861 ...	103,883	„ „ „
1862 ...	39,569	„ „ „
1863 ...	78,086	„ „ „
1864 ...	140,061	„ „ „

This land was not all taken up for actual settlement. A spirit of speculation again crept in, and persons who had no intention of utilising the soil availed themselves of the privilege of selecting a section, no provision having been made to render occupation compulsory.

It has already been stated that the issue of free grants ceased in January, 1831, and that much confusion arose in the settlement of claims and boundary lines. The Caveat Board, established for the purpose of adjudicating on these matters, was abolished in 1858, and its jurisdiction was transferred to the Supreme Court. It was many years before all the old grants were surveyed and titles issued. The following return shows the quantity of land given away

as free grants from the foundation of the colony to the end of 1864.*

Year.	A.	R.	P.	Year.	A.	R.	P.
1804 ...	400	0	0	1836 ...	19,433	0	0
1805 ...	1,090	0	0	1837 ...	5,319	0	0
1806 ...	749	0	0	1838 ...	13,066	0	0
1807 ..	<i>Nil</i>			1839 ...	5,797	0	0
1808 ..	<i>Nil</i>			1840 ..	5,115	2	0
1809 .	<i>Nil</i>			1841 ...	2,193	0	0
1810 ...	2,770	0	0	1842 ...	1,359	3	0
1811 ...	710	0	0	1843 ...	82	0	0
1812 ..	<i>Nil</i>			1844 ...	<i>Nil</i>		
1813 ..	33,553	2	0	1845 ..	800	0	0
1814 ..	100	0	0	1846 ...	1,340	0	0
1815 ...	370	0	0	1847 ...	342	2	0
1816 ..	3,890	0	0	1848 ...	<i>Nil</i>		
1817 ...	17,150	0	0	1849 ...	399	0	0
1818 ...	4,535	0	0	1850 ...	200	0	0
1819 ...	4,430	0	0	1851 ..	1,893	0	0
1820 .	9,740	0	0	1852 ..	1,200	0	0
1821	50,340	0	0	1853	400	0	0
1822 ..	8,040	0	0	1854 .	1,288	0	0
1823 ...	457,588	0	0	1855 ..	2,132	0	0
1824 ..	71,259	2	0	1856 .	<i>Nil</i>		
1825 ...	121,648	2	0	1857 ...	<i>Nil</i>		
1826 ..	48,880	0	0	1858 ...	13	0	34
1827 ...	75,986	2	0	1859 ...	83	2	24
1828 ..	153,197	0	0	1860 ...	723	1	24½
1829 ...	193,674	0	0	1861 ...	21	2	18
1830 ..	103,077	0	0	1862 ...	127	2	20¾
1831 ...	574,212†	0	0	1863 ...	17	1	5
1832 ..	32,244	0	0	1864 ...	324	1	39
1833 ...	32,341	0	0	Uncertain } 4,811	0	0	
1834 ...	14,510	0	0	dates }			
1835 ..	13,796	0	0				

From the above return it appears that the large area of two millions ninety-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-three acres of the best land were given away, while the total area of lands sold to the same date (1864) was

* The grants are carried into the years when they were actually approved of, without reference to the dates of the location orders.

† In this quantity are comprised 366,425 acres (in nine grants), the property of the Van Diemen's Land Company.

only 1,278,746 acres. The system of free grants had a most pernicious influence on the progress of the colony: it fostered the growth of large pastoral estates, and discouraged the settlement of an industrial class of immigrants upon the soil to an extent which no subsequent measures could counteract. The grass-covered hills and open plains were practically closed to the agriculturist. Large tracts of rich forest land, it is true, still belonged to the Crown; but they had to be purchased at a comparatively high figure, and then cleared of timber at a price which far exceeded the first cost. To these causes may be ascribed the almost entire suspension of immigration and the slow growth of a rural population.

To avoid the necessity of returning to the subject of land grants, it may be stated here that a considerable area of land, mostly consisting of valuable allotments in towns, was bestowed in ecclesiastical endowments. Sites for churches and parsonages and land as glebes for the clergy were given with a liberal hand by the Governor-in-Council, without reference to Parliament until, in 1868, an Act was passed prohibiting endowments in land for any religious purpose. Prior to that year 2,142 acres of land were granted to the churches as follow (for details see APPENDIX B) —

	A.	R.	P.
Church of England	1,716	3	10½
Church of Rome	243	1	24
Church of Scotland	150	0	35
Wesleyan Church	25	3	22½
Baptists	5	2	18
Congregationalists*	0	1	0

There were also granted 15a. 2r. 24½p. for burial places (undenominational), and 15 perches for a sailors' chapel, Hobart.

At this period an important measure became law whereby the relation of the Upper House to the country was seriously

* Tamar-street, Launceston.

affected. The Constitution Act had provided that the Legislative Council should be composed of fifteen members, and that every third year five members should retire and five new members be elected in their place, "to the intent that one-third of the whole members of the Legislative Council, consisting of such five members as shall have held their seats for the longest period, shall vacate their seats every five years." By this means a sufficient permanence was given to the tenure of seats, while the triennial election of one-third of the Council was calculated not only to keep alive in the members a sense of responsibility to the country, but, in the event of difference between the Houses, to give to the constituencies an opportunity of expressing an effective opinion on the questions at issue.

It unfortunately happened that during a time of popular agitation the defective wording of the Act suggested a means of defeating its clear intention. Some of the members on the popular side anticipated the approach of the period when their seats would be vacated, and resigned. They were immediately re-elected. By this stratagem they precipitated the retirement out of their proper rotation of other members who were favourable to the Government, and who in consequence had but a feeble chance of re-election.

To prevent a recurrence of such a violation of the principle aimed at by the framers of the Constitution Act Mr. Smith introduced an amending bill, which enacted that in future each member, whenever elected, should hold his seat for six years from the date of his election. It was carried in both Houses, and effectually accomplished the object in view, but at a price which was either not foreseen, or if foreseen, was disregarded. Its practical result was to render the Legislative Council still less responsible to the country. The original plan of the framers of the Constitution Act was well devised. It protected the Council from

sudden and hasty change, but at the same time, by compelling a substantial part of the Chamber to submit itself at regular intervals to the judgment of the constituencies and abide their verdict, it provided for a gradual modification of the Legislature in harmony with the progress of public opinion. The new amendment, under the semblance of recurring to the spirit of the original enactment, was in truth overturning its whole design. The occasional election of a solitary member at irregular and uncertain intervals was henceforth the only control which the country could exercise over the Upper Chamber, and left but an empty shadow of responsibility.

Experience has shown the mischief of the ill-advised change. With diminished responsibility the weight and influence of the Council have declined: exempted from the gradual and wholesome change in its composition which would have preserved its truly representative character, it has become increasingly ready to enter into conflict with the more popular branch, while the Assembly has naturally been less ready to tolerate its interference. Thus all the difficulties attending a dual Legislature have been greatly intensified to the detriment of useful and progressive legislation.

The question of State aid to religion had long been debated. It was thought by some that the churches would flourish more vigorously if left to their own resources, without any interference on the part of the Government. This question came prominently before Parliament in the year 1859. Mr. Anstey, a Roman Catholic member of the Assembly, introduced a bill for the abolition of State aid in three years. It passed the second reading and was then remitted to a select committee of the House, who brought up their report on September 19th. It was not indeed a report: they submitted an entirely new bill, providing for abolition "on certain terms." The terms were these—that

in lieu of the annual appropriation of £15,000, as reserved for public worship by the Constitution Act, the sum of £100,000 should be issued in debentures chargeable on the general revenue, and distributed among the several churches receiving State aid in proportion to the numbers belonging to each, as shown by the last census of the population. This bill never became law; but the extraordinary manner in which it was dealt with by the Legislature deserves notice. It was brought in in the Assembly on the 19th September, was read a second and third time the same evening, passed, and sent up to the Legislative Council. On the 21st (two days later) the bill, without alteration, had gone through all its stages in the Council, and was passed.

The haste with which a measure of such importance was rushed through both branches of the Legislature took the people by surprise. It was the usual practice of Parliament to give the country an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon proposed measures; but this bill, adding £100,000 to the public debt, was awaiting the Royal assent before the country knew of its existence. It was, however, subsequently disallowed by the Queen, because provision had not been made for certain clergymen who had vested interests in the reserved grant for ecclesiastical purposes.*

An attempt was made this year to establish telegraphic communication with Australia by means of a submarine cable across Bass Strait. The route was badly planned,

* The *Launceston Examiner* advocated the voluntary principle "Endowments (wrote the editor) are directly opposed to the genius of the gospel. The uniform history of endowments shows that, under whatever name they exist, they generate corruption and become mere masses of abuse. When religion enters a man's heart it opens his pocket. He places not only his purse, but he consecrates himself, his time, his talents, and his possessions to the service of the Almighty. . . . You may spend any amount of money you please in dotting a country with places of worship, and in salaried functionaries to go through a regular routine service every Sunday, but with no different effect than if so many praying cylinders had been set to work by the streams and rivulets of the island. Both are machinery, and nothing more; and machinery never can produce life. On the other hand spiritual life will produce machinery, and work it to advantage."

and the line lasted for only a short time. The telegraph passed overland from Melbourne to Cape Otway; thence to the northern end of King's Island by cable; again overland across King's Island, from thence by cable to a land station at Circular Head, and (being again submerged) on to the Tamar Heads. This work was undertaken by the Victorian and Tasmanian Governments jointly, the contractor for the execution of the work being Mr. Alexander M'Naughtan, a merchant of Hobart Town. The s.s. *Omeo* brought out the cable from England and, assisted by the s.s. *Victoria*, successfully laid it, concluding her operations at Low Head (River Tamar) on the 12th August. Congratulatory messages were sent by Governor Young to the Governors of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia.

Communication was very soon suspended. The cable sustained injury near the shore end at King's Island; Victoria Cove (where it was landed) having a long reach of rocky bottom instead of sand; as had been represented. It was repaired, and messages passed through in the early part of 1860, but it was again hopelessly damaged. It was afterwards found that the colonies had bought a worthless cable. The outside covering of wire was found to be defective. It cost the colony £42,000.

Ever since the discovery of gold in Victoria there were many enterprising individuals in Tasmania who indulged hopes that payable auriferous deposits would be found in their own island. Some there were who never grew weary of prospecting the country; nor were their expectations of success at all unreasonable, while favourable reports were constantly coming in from all parts announcing discoveries of small quantities of the precious metal. The Fingal gold-field had been worked for years with some degree of success. The alluvial workings at that place continued to yield remunerative results to the men who steadily pursued

their occupation. The number of diggers varied from twenty to one hundred, most of whom, it was believed, obtained larger returns than were reported.

The first quartz-crushing Company (the Fingal) commenced operations in April; but its machinery was imperfect; it obtained, however, about 250 ounces of gold during the first four months. Mr. W. A. Tully was appointed Gold Commissioner, regulations were framed, several quartz claims were taken up, and other companies formed. Mr. Charles Gould (son of the eminent ornithologist) was appointed Government Geologist for the colony. Mr. James Smith, an experienced explorer,* found gold some distance up the river Forth; Mr. Peter Lette found good prospects at the Calder, a tributary of the Inglis. The precious metal was also found at George's Bay, on the east coast; at Cleveland; between the third basin of the South Esk and Hadsphen; at the first basin, near the Cataract; in a street in the suburbs of Launceston; at the Nine-mile Springs (now Lefroy), and at various other places. None of the discoveries made before the year 1860 afforded remunerative employment except the Fingal diggings, and the vicinity of the South Esk river, between Launceston and Hadsphen: the latter was soon worked out. An assay of the Fingal Gold-mining Company's quartz yielded 16 oz. to the ton, but the stone, when crushed by the battery, produced only eight or ten pennyweights—a difference between assays and practical crushing which experience has shown to be not uncommon even at the present time, with greatly improved machinery.

Encouraged by reports of the existence of gold in so many parts of the island, the Government resolved to send out two exploring expeditions—one in the south, under the direction of Mr. Gould; and one under Mr. Ronald Gunn, an old colonist, and a gentleman of much scientific know-

* Afterwards the discoverer of the celebrated Mount Bischoff Tin Mine.

ledge, whose explorations were to extend to the wild north-western country, where gold had been found by Messrs. James Smith, Peter Lette, and Skelton B. Emmett. A large extent of country was examined and reported on; but the travellers did not find the scrubby surface paved with nuggets; nor was it reasonable to suppose that small parties, moving onward over such a broken country, could do more than roughly note the geological features of the ground over which they passed. In the early part of 1860 Mr. Gunn, when making his way back to the coast, discovered the open patches of country known as Gunn's Plains, on the banks of the River Leven, about eighteen miles inland. Mr. Gould produced several valuable geological maps as the result of his explorations.

In consequence of the legacy left by the Home Government when transportation ceased, the cost of police and gaols was a heavy burden on the finances of the colony. Criminals whose sentences had expired were of two classes—the vigorous and sensible, who mostly made their way to some other part of the world; and the old infirm culprit, steeped in crime, without any desire to abandon his evil habits or to better his condition. Many of the latter class remained in the colony, committed further outrages, and swelled the cost of police, gaols, hospitals, and charitable institutions. When unable longer to pursue their career of crime, they had ultimately to be maintained until they died. The British Government had paid the colony £25,000 per annum until April 1st, 1854, when the subsidy was reduced to £6,000, with an intimation that in April, 1858, it would finally cease.

The Colonial Parliament protested against the injustice of such a course. It appointed a joint committee of both Houses to state the case of the colony, and remonstrate against the stoppage of aid from the Home Government, while a multitude of expirees were still a heavy charge on

the Colonial Treasury. The committee forwarded resolutions to the Secretary of State in which the withdrawal of contributions was shown to be oppressive and unjust. They represented that the British Government, when transportation ceased, undertook to bear two-thirds of the expense of the maintenance of police and gaols and of the administration of justice, but failed to do so, and "now owes, for this breach of contract, the sum of £193,204, irrespective of all other claims." They also strengthened their appeal by calling attention to the fact that, after the cessation of transportation, seven hundred desperate criminals from Norfolk Island had been introduced to the colony, thereby entailing a vast expense for their coercion, and aggravating the social evils under which the inhabitants suffered.

Remonstrances were useless. The Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary for the Colonies, turned a deaf ear to these complaints. No relief was afforded to the overburdened revenue; yet it was impossible to refuse the pitiful wrecks of convictism admission into the charitable institutions, whatever the cost might be. Both Houses of the Legislature passed a resolution requesting the Governor to grant £5,000 towards sending back British criminals whose sentences had expired. Sir Henry Young declined to adopt a course calculated to embarrass the relations of the colony with the mother country.

Richard Dry, formerly Speaker of the old Legislative Council, had now returned to the colony from England, where he had received the honour of knighthood from Her Majesty the Queen. Some personal changes in the Ministry took place. Judge Horne had retired from the Bench with a pension of £800 a year, and Mr. Francis Smith, the Attorney-General, was elevated to the seat thus vacated. The gain to the Bench from this change was considerable; but Mr. Smith's retirement from the political institutions

of the country was a loss to the Legislature. Mr. T. J. Knight was appointed Attorney-General, and Mr. Weston became Premier in Mr. Smith's place (1st November, 1860). The Crown Solicitor, Mr. W. L. Dobson, received the appointment of Solicitor-General. Mr. Wm. Archer, member for Devon, also became a member of the Ministry. Again in February, 1861, Mr. Knight resigned office, and Mr. W. L. Dobson became Attorney-General.

The second Parliament of Tasmania opened 15th August, 1861, whereupon Dr. Robert Officer was elected Speaker, and Dr. Butler Chairman of Committees. Out of the thirty members composing the House of Assembly, thirteen were new men. One of these was the State pensioner, ex-Judge Horne, who had been formerly a member of the Legislative Council. A reconstruction of the Ministry had taken place—Mr. Weston retired in July, and Mr. T. D. Chapman became Premier.*

There was much vitality in the colony during the latter years of Governor Young's administration, although it would be a difficult matter to discover the cause. Buildings of a superior order were improving the size and appearance of the two chief towns. New public buildings were erected at Hobart Town and Launceston on a scale costly and elaborate for the time. The new Government House in the Queen's Domain, the foundation of which had been laid so far back as the time of Sir John Franklin's administration, was completed in 1857, at a cost of something like £120,000.† On the site of the old Government House a handsome Town Hall was commenced at this period. A fine

* Mr. Chapman's Ministry consisted of T. D. Chapman, Premier, without office, W. Henty, Colonial Secretary, F. M. Innes, Colonial Treasurer; W. L. Dobson, Attorney-General.

† The Government House is, I believe, acknowledged to be the best belonging to any British colony. It stands about a mile from the town, on ground sloping down to the Derwent, and lacks nothing necessary for a perfect English residence.—*Anthony Trollope's Australia and New Zealand* 1873.

Mechanics' Institute had been built at Launceston, at a cost of £8,000. It was opened in April, 1860; and in the same town a handsome Gothic edifice, the Free Presbyterian Church, was opened in January. In four years there had been an increase of nearly ten thousand inhabitants. The census of 1857 returned a total of 80,802 that of 1861 returned 89,986. Still there was a feeling of depression manifest in every direction. Business was dull; prices for agricultural produce ruled very low, there were large bank liabilities, the value of land and houses had fallen considerably; a large number of houses in Hobart Town and Launceston were empty; Adelaide and San Francisco supplied Victoria with cereals; the gold-fields of New Zealand took away many Tasmanian bread-winners. The financial condition of the colony was indeed dark and dreary. £50,000 worth of debentures had been issued for the arrears of 1856; £32,000 to aid the revenue for 1857; £60,000 for 1858, £25,000 for the year 1859; and there was a deficiency of £70,000 in 1860. With such serious deficiencies the position of Treasurer was not an enviable one.

At the close of 1861 Governor Young's term of office expired. He and Lady Young were extremely popular with the people during their stay in Tasmania. They frequently visited Launceston and the northern country districts. His Excellency took a warm interest in rural affairs: he was present at Longford at the first show of the Northern Agricultural Association, and delivered an opening address. This Governor was the first to occupy the stately vice-regal mansion in the Domain. The new Government House is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Derwent, near Hobart, adjoining the gardens of the Royal Society. On January 2nd, 1858, His Excellency left his residence in Macquarie-street, where Arthur, Franklin, Wilmot, and Denison lived in days of trouble and excitement, and took

up his abode in the new mansion, which was in every way better suited for the residence of the Queen's Viceroy.

Sir Henry Young left Tasmania with his family on 10th December, 1861, in the s.s. *City of Hobart*, for Melbourne. Farewell addresses were presented to His Excellency on the occasion, and Lady Young's friends expressed their feeling in affectionate tokens of regret for her departure. Sir Henry was afterwards gazetted Governor of New Zealand, but never took up the appointment; and, with the exception of a short visit to that colony on private business, he resided in London until his death, which took place on 18th September, 1870.





CHAPTER XVI.

GOVERNOR BROWNE ARRIVES—HIS MILITARY EXPLOITS—PARLIAMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—THE WHYTE MINISTRY—CONTINUED DEPRESSION—GOLD—COAL—HARGRAVES'S VISIT—INCREASED DUTIES—MINISTERIAL TOURS—PUBLIC WORKS—LOCAL BOARDS OF WORKS—MR. MEREDITH'S SCHEME TO ABOLISH CUSTOMS DUTIES—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—SIR RICHARD DRY'S MINISTRY—ITS POLICY—REAL PROPERTY ACT—NEW IMMIGRATION ACT—INDIAN SETTLERS—PRINCE ALFRED'S VISIT—ENGLISH SALMON INTRODUCED—IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND REVENUE—STATE AID COMMUTATION ACT PASSED—GOVERNOR BROWNE'S RECALL AND DEPARTURE.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS GORE BROWNE, C.B., was the eighth Governor of Tasmania. He arrived at Hobart Town, with Mrs. Browne and family, in the s.s. *Tasmania*, from Sydney, on the 1st December, 1861. On the following day he took the oaths as Administrator of the Government, his commission as Governor not having arrived from England.

The colonists were pleased with the appointment of a man of whose brilliant military career and of whose popularity in New Zealand they had already heard. Colonel Browne entered the army at the age of sixteen, serving many years with the 28th regiment. In 1836, as Major, he

exchanged into the 41st, and served during the occupation of Afghanistan. After the massacre of the troops at Khyber Pass, the 41st joined General England, and advanced to the rescue of General Nott and his troops. During that war Major Browne held command of the 41st, and also commanded the reserve at the disastrous battle of Hykulzie; and, by forming a square when the van of the army had been broken, was enabled to repulse the enemy and cover the retreat. He held command of his regiment at the battles of Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, and during the march through the Khyber Pass, where he commanded the rear, and, under General M'Gaskell, at the storming of the hill fort at Istaliff, the most daring action during the war. His gallantry and humanity were praised in the General's despatches, which were quoted in both Houses of the British Parliament; and for his services he obtained a lieutenant-colonelcy, and was made a C.B. On his return home he exchanged into the 21st regiment; was made Governor of St. Helena in 1851, and of New Zealand in 1854, which appointment he retained until he became Governor of Tasmania.

Parliament was in session when Governor Browne arrived, but an adjournment to January 7th had been made. When the Houses met, His Excellency had an opportunity of seeing how a country, at peace with all the world, might be disturbed by party strife at home. The opposition were factious and turbulent. Mr. Gregson, in particular, made himself prominent by violent speeches and unparliamentary conduct, for which he was on more than one occasion committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and once expelled the House. Mr. Horne also distinguished himself by his factious conduct, adopting a course the aim of which was to overthrow the Ministry, in view of being himself sent for to form a new one. The Assembly, however, had learnt by experience the incon-

venience of permitting a factious opposition to seize the reins of government, and Mr. Chapman's Ministry continued to command a substantial majority.

The Treasurer, Mr. Innes, made a masterly financial statement, in which he pointed out the still declining tendency of existing sources of revenue, the accumulating debt for current expenses, and the absolute necessity of introducing a sweeping change in the tariff in order to bring the receipts up to the expenditure. He concluded by proposing an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent. upon merchandise and other imports. The Treasurer's proposals were assented to by the House, and the new tariff became law. Outside the House this measure raised a vehement outcry against the Ministry, already unpopular; nor were the two branches of the Legislature in accord. The Legislative Council was violently opposed to the Ministry, and went so far as to pass a vote of want of confidence in them. Ministers heeded not this while they had the support of the House of Assembly, to whom alone, following English constitutional precedent, they considered themselves responsible.

This event afforded an instance of the complications which must often arise under a political system comprising a dual legislature. Similar difficulties have been experienced in England under the popular constitution of that country; but they reach their climax when both Chambers possess co-ordinate powers, and their relative functions have not been settled by a long series of precedents, as in the case of the Lords and Commons.

A few months only had elapsed, however, before the House of Assembly, with strange inconsistency, condemned the measures they had passed only a few months before. On the 14th October Mr. Crookes moved the repeal of the *ad valorem* duties, and carried it by a majority of 17 against 9; whereupon Ministers, instead

of resigning, advised His Excellency to dissolve Parliament. This request was granted. Prior to the dissolution (October 21, 1862), a bill for the more equitable distribution of State aid was passed: it reduced the amount paid to Presbyterians and Episcopalians, the balance going to the other State-paid churches.

As it turned out, the country was put to unnecessary trouble and expense by the dissolution. The elections which followed told plainly that the people were not in favour of the Ministerial policy, and that the days of the Chapman Cabinet were numbered. Mr Henty had already retired from the office of Colonial Secretary and from Parliament, much to the regret of all parties. He had gained the respect of all, on account of the amiability of his character, and the excellent temper and moderation he displayed in the Council. Mr. Innes took his late colleague's portfolio, and Mr. Chapman, the Premier, appeared before the new House of Assembly as Colonial Treasurer.

Parliament (the third) met on 15th January, 1863. It was characterised by an accession of new members, as on the previous occasion. The Governor read his speech on the 16th; on the same evening an address in reply was brought up, and its adoption moved. Mr. Charles Meredith moved an amendment, which in effect amounted to a declaration of want of confidence in Ministers. The amendment was carried by 22 votes against 6. Ministers thereupon resigned, and the Hon. James Whyte, a prominent Oppositionist of the Upper Chamber, was requested to form a new Ministry. Two days elapsed, and Mr. Whyte's Cabinet were sworn in:—

Charles Meredith, *Colonial Treasurer*
 R. Byron Miller, *Attorney-General*
 James Whyte, *Colonial Secretary and Premier*
 James Wilson, *Member of the Executive without office.*

They were, perhaps, as good men as could be found among the Opposition. Mr. Wilson was popular, and the others were not unpopular. Mr. J. D. Balfe, who had distinguished himself as a powerful speaker and able debater, was elected Chairman of Committees in the Assembly, supplies were granted, and business of a pressing nature having been disposed of, an adjournment for a month took place.

At this period the prosperity of Tasmania was at a very low ebb. A liberal land law, as already stated, had induced some farmers to settle in the outlying districts, who still hopefully struggled on in the backwoods. It was soon apparent that such acquisitions were valueless to the country in the absence of a proper system of opening the Crown lands.

The actual numbers who selected and occupied land in the scattered settlements were small; nor were they likely to be sensibly increased while the available land was severed from the shipping ports by a roadless forest, under the shade of which the rich vegetable mould was ever moist, and the tracks impassable. The costly machinery of government had to be extended to those remote places just as though they possessed ten times the population; and until means were adopted to induce further settlement, the opening of numerous distant townships and agricultural sections was bad policy, because unremunerative. This led to a universal outcry for roads and bridges. All agreed that public works in the country districts were essential to the prosperity of the colony, but all did not agree on detail: railways, tramroads, and macadamised highways had each their advocates.

For years past enterprising individuals had striven in vain to develop mineral resources. Gold had, indeed, been found in numerous places, but not in sufficiently remunerative quantities to attract a population, or even

to retain those already settled in the colony. It was confidently expected, too, that the extensive coalfields which exist in Tasmania would be the means of increasing the trade and commerce of the island. Two tons of Fingal coal were sent to Launceston for experimental purposes. Tried at the gas works, it yielded at the rate of 6,900 feet of gas per ton. The New South Wales coal, from deep sinking, yielded from 7,500 to 8,000 feet. The facilities afforded for shipping the latter at Newcastle, with the immense bulk of the mineral, and consequent cheapness of production, operated against Tasmanian enterprise in the same line. At the Mersey and Don the thin seam of coal, which was found on or near the surface in several places was worked on a small scale, and a limited quantity sent to the Launceston market; it has never, however, proved highly remunerative. One company spent £100,000 in the Mersey district in a fruitless effort to develop profitable coal deposits, other companies spent large sums in working the east coast deposits, with similar results.

The energy displayed by both Government and people, and the large amount of money spent in fruitless efforts to develop the hidden treasures of the earth, were worthy of a more successful result. As it turned out, the colony was so much the poorer: individuals lost their time prospecting the country, without practical benefit: the Government, besides offering liberal rewards, incurred considerable expense in the exploration of the country round Macquarie Harbour, where Messrs Gould and Burgess exhausted their strength and rations, boring through horizontal and bauera scrub to no purpose.

A northern association (in 1864) engaged the services of Mr Edmund Hammond Hargraves, the discoverer of gold in Australia; £500 was subscribed privately to a fund for this gentleman's visit, and the Government agreed to sup-

plement that amount with £1,000 if necessary. Mr. Hargraves met with an enthusiastic reception at Launceston. He addressed the crowd assembled at the wharf, and again at the Launceston Hotel. He said that of course he could not *make* gold, but he would do his best to discover it in paying quantities. He visited many parts of the colony—the South Esk, between the Third Basin and Entally, the Fingal district, the north-western districts as far as the River Hellyer, and other localities. This resulted in another loss to the colony. Mr. Hargraves's report contained nothing that could be deemed favourable. He told the people what they knew before, and beyond that gave little information of an encouraging nature.

When Parliament assembled in June, Mr. Meredith announced his financial policy. It met with the approbation of both Houses. The rate of duty on tea and sugar was doubled, and increased on other articles, *ad valorem* duties were abolished, and package or measurement duties substituted in their stead—a change which was readily assented to at the time, although the principle was obviously inequitable. Cases of merchandise were charged a duty of 2s. per cubic foot (case and all), without regard to the contents: thus, a case of kid gloves, or of silks satins, or broadcloth, paid no more duty per cubic foot than the same bulk of fustian or serge. A stamp tax and a duty upon carriages were also assented to, but not without considerable opposition. It was considered that the former would produce a small return for a very large amount of trouble and annoyance in business transactions, and that persons who wished to do so could evade it: so it proved in many instances. There was hardly the same force of reason in objections to a carriage tax; it was a plain tax, easy to collect, and certainly not oppressive to those who enjoyed the luxury of a carriage: still, of all taxes ever introduced, the law enforcing this one has been

the most actively resisted. The wardens and councillors of municipalities declined to co-operate with the Government in collecting the duty, or even to furnish a return of the carriages used in their respective districts. Several refused to pay the tax, under an impression that the Act was invalid. Thirteen gentlemen, of whom eleven resided at the northern side of the island, were summoned to the Hobart Town police court for non-payment of the tax. Mr. Rocher, counsel for the defendants, raised some questions of law, when it was decided to refer the matter to the Judges, who ruled that the local magistrates were competent to hear informations in the nearest court, and that the defendants were needlessly put to the inconvenience of attending at Hobart Town. They therefore quashed the convictions. In the meantime three magistrates were dismissed for "resisting the law." An indignation meeting of justices was held in the north, and resolutions were passed condemnatory of the proceedings of the Government. The Government were in a fix. They had no power to compel the police in the municipalities to obey the dictates of the central authorities, and the councillors, almost to a man, declined to move. Thus the carriage tax, which remained in force until the session of 1882, was only fully paid by the rural districts whose police are under the control of the Central Government.

Although further taxation was naturally unpalatable to the people, Ministers maintained a firm attitude. They were not the men to slumber, nor leave things as they found them. Messrs. Meredith and Whyte were men of more than ordinary observation. Mr. Miller applied himself with zeal to the drafting of bills, which have greatly aided in the administration of justice in criminal cases. Considerable departmental improvements were introduced: the means of communication were extended by the establishment of post-offices in outlying localities.

Messrs. Whyte and Meredith were the first to institute Ministerial tours through the rural districts with the view of learning the wants and wishes of the people. The north-western districts and the north coast were visited in December, 1863, and in February, 1864. Ministers returned from their tour impressed with the conviction that this part of the colony contained great natural resources which would at a future day prove a considerable source of wealth to the treasury, and that the true policy for the Government to pursue in the best interests of the country was to assist in developing those resources by a large expenditure of public money in what would be in the true sense of the words—"reproductive works."

Rejecting proposals which were made for a railway from Launceston to Deloraine, Ministers proceeded to carry out their views by initiating a scheme for opening roads and constructing bridges in the outlying districts. For this object they succeeded in obtaining from Parliament a grant of £106,000. The following were some of the works executed at that time from the means thus supplied:—Roads between Launceston, Bridport, and Ringarooma, £21,690; roads and tramways in the Huon district, £40,000; Forth and Leven bridges, £3,500. Ulverstone tramway, £10,422; River Cam tramway, £1,200, West Tamar road, £2,000; thence to Green's Creek, Port Sorell, £10,000. Many of these works were useful to the struggling settlers in remote parts of the colony, but the tramroads proved an expensive system of road-making; they endured only a few years, on account of the perishable nature of the planks in the humid atmosphere of the forest.

Up to this time the whole of the moneys received from the sale of Crown lands had been carried to the general revenue, but it was now enacted that one-fourth of the land fund derived from each district should henceforth be set apart and spent in providing or improving the means of

communication to the lands purchased within that district. To superintend the expenditure of this fund local boards were appointed. The works proposed by the boards were subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council; but the recommendation of the board was not usually questioned. This was a popular measure, it gave local control in matters that could not be so well attended to by the Central Government. For the first few years of the existence of these boards they had a handsome revenue at their disposal. Afterwards the fund was absorbed in other ways.

There was great difficulty at this period in making provision for the expenditure sanctioned by Parliament. The probate duty had been repealed, and now a succession duty and additional stamp duties were imposed: still the revenue was inadequate. Mr. Meredith therefore made a bold proposal to the Legislature. It was this.—to open the ports free of harbour dues and wharfage; to abolish all Customs duties except on spirits, malt liquors, and tobacco; and in order to cover the deficiency, to levy a tax of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on property and on all incomes over £80 a year. The Treasurer's proposals were rejected by Parliament; and Ministers determined to appeal to the country. On their advice the Governor dissolved the House of Assembly on 18th September, 1866—thirteen months before it would have expired by effluxion of time.

The new Parliament assembled on the 20th November, and was formally opened by Commissioners. Dr. Officer was chosen Speaker for the third time. There were nine new members in the House of Assembly on this occasion, most of whom were gentlemen of property, who went into Parliament prepared to vote against the Ministerial proposals for a tax on income and property. His Excellency's speech was delivered on the 21st, in which he announced the adherence of the Government to the policy which caused a dissolution. The reply expressed the feelings of the House

in the following paragraph:—"We regret exceedingly that your Excellency has been advised to submit again to Parliament those fiscal measures, embracing an income and property tax, which were rejected by the late House of Assembly, and which have been condemned by a large majority of the constituencies of the colony." This was passed by a large majority, and Ministers at once resigned. They had been in office for the comparatively long period of three years and ten months. During that time the Queen had issued instructions that all Cabinet Ministers in the colonies who held office for a term of three years should retain the title "honourable" for life, except when absent from the colony. Messrs. Whyte, Meredith, and R. B. Miller were thus entitled to the distinction.

In a few days the *Gazette* announced that Sir Richard Dry had formed an Administration.

Sir Richard Dry, *Premier and Colonial Secretary*

Mr. T. D. Chapman, *Colonial Treasurer*, and

Mr. W. L. Dobson, *Attorney-General*.

Sir Richard's health was sufficiently improved to all appearance to allow him to venture on the care and anxiety of office; Mr. Chapman was an old statesman—the best financier in the colony; and Mr. Dobson was a young barrister of promise, whose short career in Parliament had gained for him general respect. But it would have taken a large amount of political and private virtue at this perplexing period in the history of the colony to make any Ministry popular. The Dry Cabinet did not materially alter the existing financial arrangements in regard to revenue, but by means of departmental reductions they relieved the expenditure of £26,000 a year—most of which sum, however, was merely transferred to the shoulders of the municipalities. These bodies, which had been largely aided by funds from the general revenue, were now to maintain as well as control their own police.

In the year 1865 an important measure known as the Real Property Act, or popularly as the Torrens Act, and which had already been adopted in the other colonies, was passed into law, its object being to simplify the transfer of real estate. Nothing could be more desirable in a young country than this mode of securing a clear title to land and facilitating dealings with it. It was intended by its author to be a cheap and expeditious means of transferring or mortgaging land without the cumbrous formalities and the expensive enquiries into title which too often attended the old system of conveyancing.

As might have been expected in the inauguration of such a radical change in a complicated system like the law of real property, the new Act was not free from serious defects. These defects, and the heavy fees charged on first bringing property under the operation of the Act, have led many landowners to adhere to old methods. But on the whole the new system, which may shortly be described as "title by registration," has had a great success, and when improved, as it might be by further legislation, will probably eventually secure universal adoption.

Crown lands were forced upon the market rather injudiciously during the years 1865-6. Lots not sold when submitted at an upset price of 20s. per acre, were offered at the reduced price of 10s., and even as low as 5s. per acre. Many purchases were made in this way, which augmented the land fund for the time, but no permanent benefit resulted either to the Government or the people: the lands, being second and third class, were bought only on speculation; they remained idle, and buyers in most cases spent their money for naught. This was the outcome of the practice of surveying large areas in advance of actual requirements—a practice that gave work to the surveyors, but injuriously affected the treasury. The impolicy of thus sacrificing the Crown estate was justly condemned.

In 1867 a new Immigration Act was passed, which conferred on all persons arriving in Tasmania direct from Europe, and who had paid their own passages, land orders of the value of £18 for each person of the age of fifteen years and upwards, and of the value of £9 for each child between the ages of twelve months and fifteen years; such sums to be allowed out of the purchase money of any lands bought by auction or selected for purchase by private contract under existing Waste Lands Acts. There was also a liberal provision for Europeans who might come from India: 50,000 acres were specially set apart for this class of settlers at Castra, in the County of Devon, where they might select land under the 19th section of the Waste Lands Act 1863, and when they had performed the conditions of that Act as to settlement, they were entitled to a remission of £1 per acre in the purchase money. When 5,000 acres of land were thus taken up, 10s. per acre was to be spent on roads in the district.

Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford was the promoter of the Indian scheme. With much toil and perseverance he inspected various localities, and finally selected Castra as a place where, in his judgment, civil and military officers might retire upon their pensions, and enjoy the comfort of a quiet retreat during the autumn of their lives in a country unrivalled for the salubrity of its climate, the purity of its innumerable and never-failing streams, and the productiveness of its soil. In theory nothing could be more promising than the plan marked out by Colonel Crawford. The retired officers of the Indian service needed repose after a life of activity in an enervating climate like that of Southern Asia. The unrest of fashionable life in European cities rarely accords with the taste of the veteran. Such a spot as Castra, with its beautiful park-like plains and shadowy forests, seemed capable of supplying a desideratum, if only a sufficient number, each holding a small freehold estate,

could be found to unite together and form a settlement strong enough to overcome the social desolation of the wilderness. The idea, however, was not successful in practice. Colonel Crawford's pamphlet drew many Indian officers to Tasmania, but very few to Castra.

In the early part of 1868 His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh paid a visit to Tasmania in H.M.S. *Galatea*. He landed publicly at Hobart Town on 7th January, in the presence of from fifteen to twenty thousand spectators. The city was festooned with flags, and graceful arches adorned the principal streets. Five thousand children were assembled on a grassy slope in the public park, and sang an ode of welcome and the National Anthem. In the evening a torchlight procession of boats, with a company of singers, proceeded up the Derwent to Government House, in front of which tuneful voices broke the silence of the still waters. Bonfires blazed upon Mount Wellington and the hills surrounding the city. On the following day the Prince received addresses, held a *levée*, and laid the foundation-stone of the new cathedral of St. David's. On the 9th he was present at the annual regatta, and in the evening attended a ball given in the Town Hall. Next day His Royal Highness, accompanied by the Governor and Sir Richard Dwyer, drove to New Norfolk, lunching on the way at Dr. Officer's, who was afterwards knighted.

The Prince left Hobart Town on the 9th to make a tour to the north. Enthusiastic demonstrations were observed at the several townships along the road: the Royal visitor was the guest of the Hon. R. Q. Kermode, of Mona Vale, for the night, and on the following day arrived at Launceston, where the mayor, aldermen, and citizens gave him a welcome suited to his illustrious birth. The Club Hotel, vacant at the time, had been fitted up for the reception of His Royal Highness and suite. During his stay in Launceston he planted two oaks in Prince's Square, turned the

first sod of the Western Railway, took an aquatic excursion up the Cataract gorge, attended the Governor's ball at the hall of the Mechanics' Institute, held a *levée*, received numerous addresses, entertained the mayor (Mr. John Scott) at a dinner at the Club, and departed on the 16th, arriving at Hobart on the following day.

The weather was exceedingly unpropitious during the visit of Prince Alfred in Tasmania. Day after day the sun was obscured by thick mists. Occasionally the rain descended; but the ardour of the inhabitants in doing honour to the Queen's son was not to be checked by any condition of the elements. His Royal Highness sailed for Sydney on the 18th.

The year 1864 was notable for the successful introduction of the English salmon into Tasmania. As far back as 1858 the Royal Society of Tasmania had appointed a committee to enquire into and report upon the subject. An unsuccessful attempt was subsequently made to bring out ova in the s.s. *Curling*. In 1862 a small vessel, the *Beautiful Star*, was engaged to bring out salmon ova under the care of Mr. W. Ramsbottom. Before the vessel had proceeded far on her voyage the whole shipment had perished. On careful examination it was found that in one small box in the ice-house, which contained ova packed in moss, vitality was preserved for a longer period than in others not so packed. The gentleman in charge was sent back to England with instructions to make further experiments, and ascertain through them the period ova packed in moss would retain life. Mr. J. A. Youl, a Tasmanian colonist then in England, directed the experiments. The Wenham Lake Ice Company generously placed their ice vaults at the service of Mr. Youl. The experiments proved that ova might be kept for at least 140 or 150 days in a state of healthy vitality, and it was resolved to put this fact to a practical test during the season of 1863-4. The difficulty was to get a

suitable ship. The only one bound direct to Hobart Town could not be got ready in time. Mr. Youl then applied to Messrs. Money Wigram and Sons, the owners of the clipper ship *Norfolk*, which was to sail for Melbourne on 20th January. These gentlemen responded nobly, and placed a space measuring at least 50 tons in that fine vessel at Mr. Youl's disposal, and, moreover, declined to accept any remuneration. An unexpected difficulty now arose. When Mr. Ramsbottom proceeded to the Ribble to get ova, every fish captured was found to have shed its spawn. Mr. Youl appealed to the proprietors of salmon fisheries for assistance, and was successful in procuring upwards of 100,000 salmon ova and several thousand trout ova. These were packed with the greatest care, and shipped in the *Norfolk* under the care of Mr. Ramsbottom. The *Norfolk* arrived in Hobson's Bay on 15th April, eighty-four days out. One of the boxes of ova was opened, and they were found to be in a healthy condition. H.M.C.S. *Victoria* was granted for the conveyance of the shipment to Hobart Town, where they arrived on 20th April. The boxes were immediately transferred to the breeding ponds which had been prepared for the reception of the ova. Mr. Ramsbottom estimated that about 30,000 ova were in a promising condition.

On the 4th May the first trout made its appearance, followed on the succeeding day by the first salmon that had ever been seen in Australia, or south of the Equator. The hatching of the salmon was not concluded until the 8th of June, on which day the last little fish was observed making its escape from the shell. They were counted with tolerable accuracy as they made their appearance up to about 1,000, after which it was impossible to keep any reckoning. They amounted to several thousands, the mortality amongst the ova after deposition in the ponds being very moderate. These grew with amazing rapidity, and in due time were liberated. A second shipment by the *Lincolnshire* arrived

at Hobart Town on 4th May, 1866. They were at once taken up the Derwent in the cases in which they were packed in England, and these were carried on poles by men four miles to the ponds. It was 122 days since the ova had been extracted from the parent fish, yet they were in excellent condition, and the hatching commenced as soon as they were deposited in the breeding ponds at the Plenty.

In March, 1867, it was announced that several persons had seen salmon in the Derwent which had returned from their ocean life; and soon after Mr. Ramsbottom was rewarded by a sight of a beautiful fish from 4 lbs. to 6 lbs. weight. He reported that there was no mistake. "The fish rose twice—the second time about two feet from the water, and broadside on." This was very gratifying to the superintendent, who had taken so much interest in acclimatising the salmon.

The cost of this important and successful* experiment was £7,494, of which sum the Government of Victoria contributed £995; the Provincial Government of Canterbury, New Zealand, £300; and the Acclimatisation Society of Otago, £150.

Notwithstanding the depressed condition of affairs throughout the colony during Governor Browne's administration various important works were completed, and some fine public buildings were erected in Hobart Town and Launceston. Among the former may be mentioned the bridges over Prosser's River in the south, and over the rivers Forth and Leven in the north. The year 1866 saw the opening of the handsome Town Hall in Hobart Town, and of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Harrington-street in the same city. In Launceston the Roman Catholic Church of the Apostles was built during the same year, and

* It is questioned by some of the most scientific piscatorial savants whether the true salmon (*salmo salar*) ever returned to the Derwent, the difficulty being very considerable in distinguishing between that species and the trout—*salmo fario* and *salmo trutta*.

the foundations of the fine Wesleyan Church in Patterson-street were laid. The stately residence of the Hon. Robert Quayle Kermode at Mona Vale, near Ross, finished about this time, is worthy of notice as being the finest private house in Tasmania.

From all parts of the colony began to arise a feeling of uneasiness at the drooping prospects of trade and commerce, which created an urgent desire for progressive measures as the only road to the restoration of prosperity. Then commenced the agitation for railways, the result of which will be recorded in another chapter. The resources of the colony were, it is true, in an exceedingly undeveloped state in 1868. No fresh articles of production had been added to the staple exports of former years; and while some of these exports had increased, others had seriously diminished in quantity and value. The produce of the whale fisheries had diminished one-half, being now valued at £52,546 for the year. The export of timber, which in 1853 was £443,000, and in 1854 £307,000, was now under £50,000. Wool maintained the average value it had represented for the previous ten or twenty years. Agricultural produce, however, stood considerably higher than it had done for some time previously, the value of the exports amounting to upwards of £200,000, exclusive of fruits, jams, and vegetables, which latter articles added £111,062 more to the exports for the year. The revenue derived from the sale and rental of Crown lands was £56,311. The population at the close of the year was 100,706; and there was already a public debt of something over a million. By means of taxation, direct and otherwise, the Treasurer had brought up receipts to the reduced expenditure. The colony was, however, in a most critical condition financially; and, had not the mineral products afforded their timely aid, it is difficult to say what would have been the result of that spirit of enterprise which induced the Legislature to sanc-

tion further large expenditure on public works. The progressive policy adopted in the sister colonies acted as a dangerous incentive to less favoured Tasmania, whose public men were anxious to follow the example of their neighbours as far as they could possibly venture, trusting that the money spent would prove reproductive. Small sums were voted for various works throughout the colony, which collectively swelled the public debt to a serious extent. Every improvement thus made was needful and acceptable to the settlers, but in the absence of a fixed system of road making on a comprehensive principle, the benefit was only of a partial character.

At this period the long discussed question of State aid to religion was finally settled. Mr. W. L. Dobson, the Attorney-General, brought in a bill to commute the annual allowance reserved by the Constitution Act for religious worship by endowing the churches with the sum of £100,000 in debentures, at the same time providing for the stipends of all clergymen belonging to the State-paid denominations who had vested interests at the time the Act was passed. The Colonial Treasurer (Mr. Chapman) ably supported his colleague in advocating the adoption of a measure which would put an end to the incessant appeals for ecclesiastical grants and sever the connection between Church and State. After a lengthy debate the bill passed the House of Assembly by a majority of one. In the Legislative Council it was introduced by the Colonial Secretary (Sir Richard Dry), who in his usual lucid manner pointed out the advantages to be derived in a pecuniary point of view. The saving, however, was prospective, as, in addition to the £6,000 required for interest on the debentures, the stipends of the scheduled clergymen would have to be paid until they died out or retired on pensions. The bill passed the Upper House by eight votes against five, the Hon. Mr. Sherwin, a Wesleyan, voting for it. Mr. Gleadow, a mem-

ber of the same Church, voted for the bill in the House of Assembly: had he reversed his vote, it would have been thrown out in that Chamber.

The State Aid Commutation Act received the Royal assent, and debentures were delivered (1st July, 1869) to the governing authorities of the six favoured churches for sums as follow:—

	£	s.	d.
Church of England .	58,466	13	4
Church of Rome	23,106	13	4
Church of Scotland	7,866	13	4
Wesleyan Church	7,333	6	8
Free Church of Scotland	2,806	13	4
Jewish Church .	420	0	0

Strong dissatisfaction at this large increase to the debt of the colony was expressed by the Congregationalists and by other religious bodies, who had not only to maintain their own churches, but to contribute for all time (by means of taxation) to the maintenance of denominations to which they did not belong, and whose members were indeed better able to adopt the voluntary principle than were those who received no State aid, as the former included generally the more wealthy classes of the community. Nor were the recipients themselves unanimously in favour of supporting creeds by statute. The Wesleyans were divided on the subject, many of them believing that their own resources were ample, and that the paltry aid of £440 a year from the State would have a tendency to destroy the vitality and cripple the aggressive energy of an organisation which was rapidly developing in strength. A narrow majority of one, however, in the House of Assembly ordained otherwise: thus, a perpetual debt of £100,000 was added to the million already incurred.

Governor Browne's term of office in the administration of the government of Tasmania closed with the end of the

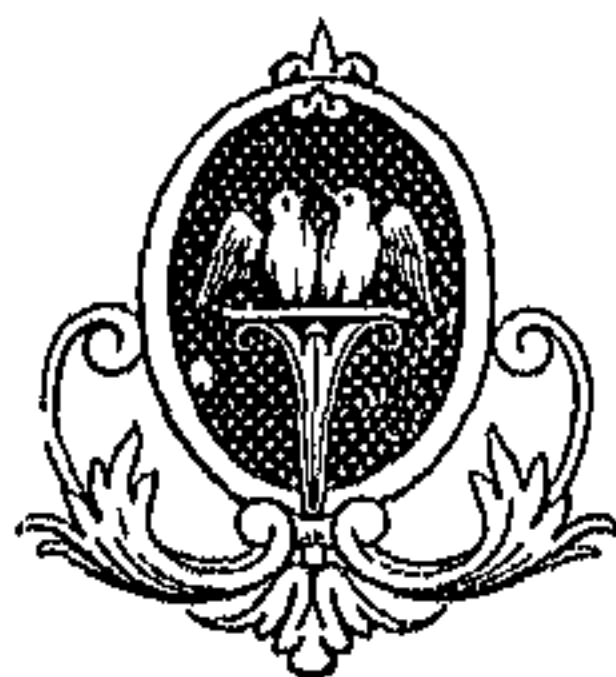
year. During his stay both His Excellency and Mrs. Gore Browne, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, gained the affections of the people. Every token of respect was shown to them on their departure. The ladies with whom Mrs. Gore Browne associated in benevolent work bade her an affectionate farewell at the last interview at Government House. They were parting from a devoted woman, whose sympathies and aid were always active on behalf of Dorcas and Benevolent societies, ragged schools, and all movements tending to ameliorate the condition of the poor and needy. Governor Browne went hand in hand with his wife in countenancing every benevolent object. Perhaps no truer encomium can be recorded than that of the *Sydney Morning Herald*:—"It will be, indeed, most fortunate for the Tasmanians if the new ruler, whoever he may be, shall prove equal to his predecessor. The popularity of Governor Browne throughout a period beset with many difficulties has resulted from one grand cause—the most perfect conviction of his uprightness. No man ever more expressed in his manner, his speech, his whole appearance, the integrity of his mind. In Tasmania, where factions of course exist, he has secured in a degree almost unprecedented, the regard of the people. Frank, accessible, kind, sympathetic in all their interests, moderate in his expectations, pure in his private as well as in his public life, Governor Browne has a place not only in the common approval, but in the affections of the colonists. He will be remembered as the 'good Governor' in a pre-eminent sense."

On December 29th His Excellency, accompanied by Mrs. Gore Browne and family, took his departure for Melbourne by the s.s. *Southern Cross*, and sailed thence in the *Holmsdale* for London. On his arrival in England he was created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael

and St. George.* Sir Thomas Gore Browne was appointed Governor of the Bermudas in July, 1870.

Until the arrival of his successor, the government of Tasmania was administered by Lieutenant-Colonel Trevor, of the 14th Regiment, who came over from Melbourne for that purpose. This gentleman held the appointment for sixteen days.

* When Colonel Gore Browne arrived in England, the colonists of Tasmania presented him with a rich testimonial of plate, with a suitable inscription.





CHAPTER XVII.

GOVERNOR DU CANE ARRIVES—HIS FORMER POSITION—BRIGHT PROSPECTS OF THE COLONY—RAILWAYS—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION—DEATH OF SIR RICHARD DRY—HIS FUNERAL—NEW MINISTRY—MR. JAMES WILSON PREMIER—OFFICIAL CHANGES—THE FLYING SQUADRON—REMOVAL OF TROOPS FROM AUSTRALIA—CENSUS—CONSTITUTION ACT AMENDED—NEW MEMBERS—THE INNES MINISTRY—LAUNCESTON AND WESTERN RAILWAY—MAIN LINE RAILWAY—MERSEY TRAMWAY—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH ENGLAND—MINERAL RESOURCES—GOLD, IRON, SLATE, SILVER—DU CANE'S TERM EXPIRES—HIS DEPARTURE—SIR FRANCIS SMITH ADMINISTRATOR.

CHARLES DU CANE, Esquire, was the ninth Governor of Tasmania. He arrived at Launceston on 12th January, 1869, by the s.s. *Tasmania*, from Melbourne, accompanied by the Honourable Mrs. Du Cane and Mr. Chichester, his private secretary. Sir Richard Dry and other officers of the Government met His Excellency on board, and when he landed at the Wharf the municipal councillors, the volunteers, the various societies, and the citizens generally, manifested their loyalty to the Queen by according a most hearty welcome to her representative. Mr. Du Cane arrived at Hobart Town on the 14th, and on the following day was sworn in by His Honour Sir Valentine Fleming, the Chief Justice, in the presence of the Administrator of

the Government, the Ministry, and the Executive Council. There was a great display on the occasion: a procession was formed which numbered about ten thousand persons, including the volunteer band and corps, members of the City Corporation, marine board, Government officers, and private citizens. After the usual oaths were administered, the Mayor read an address of welcome on behalf of the aldermen and citizens, to which His Excellency made a suitable reply.

Hitherto it had been usual to appoint old and experienced men to the government of the colonies. Mr. Du Cane, the *protégé* of a Conservative Cabinet, was a comparatively young man, having seen only forty-three summers. His father was Captain Charles Du Cane, R.N., of Braxted Park, Witham, Essex; his wife was the Hon. Georgina Susan, daughter of the late Lord Lyndhurst. He was Deputy-Lieutenant, and a magistrate for Essex; sat in the House of Commons for Maldon for a few months in 1852-3, when the election was declared void for bribery and treating; in March, 1857, he was returned for Essex North.

Many incidents occurred during Mr. Du Cane's administration which mark it as the commencement of a brighter era. The transition was most favourable and opportune: it was from a long and anxious period of depression to one of unwonted vitality and successful enterprise. When the new Governor arrived he found in office one of the best Ministries that could be selected in the colony, who by their wisdom and prudence corrected various abuses, augmented the revenue by processes as little oppressive as possible, and introduced measures calculated to impart stability to the public institutions, and to advance the welfare of the inhabitants. During his administration the island colony was linked in permanent telegraphic communication with her continental neighbours; the railway

whistle sounded its first note of progress in the country districts; and the light dawned upon those magnificent mineral discoveries that have raised Tasmania to a distinguished position in the colonial empire.

The submarine cable was deposited across Bass Strait at the end of April, and on the 1st May messages went through to Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, and Queensland. This line has continued to operate successfully to the present time. It was established under a contract of the Tasmanian Government with the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, on the following terms:—The Company to expend £70,000 in establishing telegraphic communication between Tasmania and Victoria, in consideration of the Tasmanian Government paying yearly six per cent. on that sum, or £4,200 per annum, until the net profits of the Company exceeded ten per cent., in which case the Government were to be relieved from the payment of the subsidy so far as the profits were in excess of ten per cent. After a careful survey, it was decided to submerge the cable at the township of Flinders, a point on the west side of Western Port, in Victoria, and emerge on the coast of Tasmania at East Bay, about a mile to the east of Tamar Heads. The cable, which was 200 miles long, and weighed 498 tons, arrived in Victoria from England in the Company's steamship *Investigator*. This vessel was assisted in laying the cable by H.M. surveying steamship *Pharos*, and the Launceston steam tug *Tamar*, with the assistance of whose officers the undertaking proved a complete success.

On the 2nd August the colony was startled by an announcement that Sir Richard Dry, the Premier, was dead. The melancholy event created a profound sensation, for he was known and beloved by all. Sir Richard was, perhaps, the most popular statesman Tasmania ever possessed. He was born at Elphin, near Launceston, on

the 15th June, 1815; received his early education at the hands of the Rev. J. Mackersey, a Presbyterian clergyman and master of a private school at Campbell Town. At the age of twenty he visited the Mauritius and India, but soon returned to his native country. As a young man, he was a favourite on the turf, where he was known as a high-spirited sportsman. His courteous and affable manner won the esteem of his fellow-townsmen, and he was always a welcome guest in social circles. Inheriting a magnificent estate from his father, who was one of the earliest colonists, he possessed ample means wherewith to indulge the generous impulses of his warm-hearted nature. His extreme liberality knew no bounds—indeed, had at one time well nigh crippled his resources. As a public man he has appeared before the reader in various chapters of this history. He died on the evening of the 1st of August, 1869, leaving a widow, but no family.

Sir Richard Dry's funeral was marked by demonstrations befitting a country's love and sorrow. He had requested that his remains might be interred at Hagley Church, near Quamby, a handsome and commodious edifice of bluestone, built by his own liberality, and endowed during his life with a stipend of £300 a year, which was increased by his death to £400. The inhabitants of the capital testified their respect to Sir Richard by closing their places of business on the morning of the funeral, and with the Governor and other high officials, they accompanied the procession till it reached the city boundary. The removal to Hagley occupied four days. At every township along the road the residents of the surrounding country assembled to render their last tribute of esteem. At Launceston the procession was joined by the Governor, the departed Premier's colleagues, and a large concourse of mourners, who followed the remains of their friend to the grave.

The colonists decided to erect a suitable memorial in honour of the memory of Sir Richard Dry. A statue in his native town was proposed, but it was ultimately decided to erect a chancel to the Hagley Church, a work which Sir Richard was anxious to see completed during his lifetime. His Royal Highness Prince Alfred sent a contribution of £10 to the fund, saying in his letter—"I have a wish to subscribe to this memorial as an expression of my personal regard for Sir Richard, and my feeling of the high position he held in the esteem and affection of his fellow-colonists." The chancel is a handsome structure, erected at a cost of about £1,000.*

In consequence of the death of Sir Richard Dry, a new Ministry was formed. The hon. James Milne Wilson was appointed Premier and Colonial Secretary; Dr. Butler and Mr. J. A. Dunn held seats in the Cabinet without office; Messrs. Chapman and Dobson still retained their portfolios. The hand of death was active in 1869. The hon. Isaac Sherwin, a valuable member of the Legislative Council, died on the 27th June, and the hon. W. E. Nairne, President of the Council, in July. Thus, within a

* Above a door on the north side is the following inscription :—

THIS CHANCEL,
BENEATH WHICH REPOSE THE REMAINS
OF
SIR RICHARD DRY, KNIGHT,
FIRST SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
AT THE TIME OF HIS DECEASE
PREMIER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TASMANIA,
AND
THE FOUNDER OF THIS CHURCH,
WAS ERECTED BY HIS FELLOW-COLONISTS
AS A PERMANENT MEMORIAL
OF THEIR AFFECTION AND RESPECT.

period of little more than three months, three of the most useful members of the Legislative Council were removed by death.

In December Sir Valentine Fleming, the Chief Justice, retired on his pension of £1,000 a year; Sir Francis Smith became Chief Justice, and the hon. W. L. Dobson, the Attorney-General, was elevated to the Bench. By the latter appointment the country lost the parliamentary services of a comparatively young barrister, whose brief political career had been marked by much ability, and an unvarying courtesy which gained the respect even of opposition members. On the retirement of Mr. Dobson from the Ministry he was succeeded as Attorney-General by Mr. William Robert Giblin, another native-born barrister, who had only entered Parliament in March, 1869. The hon. F. M. Innes was chosen President of the Legislative Council on the death of Mr. Nairne. On the 27th October, 1869, the Lands and Works Department was placed under the control of a separate Ministerial head, with a seat in the Cabinet, Dr. Butler being appointed to the office.

In January, 1870, the Derwent was enlivened by the presence of a flying squadron, consisting of H.M. ships of war *Liverpool*, *Endymion*, *Scylla*, *Liffey*, *Barrosa*, and *Phæbe*.

While Tasmania was a penal settlement it had the protection of strong military forces. These were afterwards gradually withdrawn; and on August 17th, 1870, the last battalion left, under orders to proceed home with the troops stationed in Australia and New Zealand. The colonies, thus left to their own defence resources, organised volunteer local forces in the chief towns. Tasmania was not behind other colonies in this movement. With the removal of the military, the duties of administering the government during the absence of the Governor were transferred to the Chief Justice of the colony.

A census of the colony was taken in the early part of 1870, when the returns gave a population of 99,328. It was found that the districts of East and West Devon and Wellington, lying on the north coast, west of the Tamar, had greatly increased in population; so much so, that it was deemed necessary to amend the Constitutional Act, giving three representatives to the districts named, instead of one as heretofore, in the House of Assembly, and a separate representative in the Legislative Council, thus increasing the number of members from 30 to 32 in the former, and from 15 to 16 in the latter. At the same time the franchise was lowered. The leasehold qualification of electors of the Assembly was reduced from £10 to £7, and the salary qualification from £100 to £80; while a new class—the occupiers of land purchased from the Crown on credit, who had paid instalments amounting in the whole to £50—were allowed a vote. These reductions had the effect of restoring the franchise to a considerable number of persons who had been deprived of it by the gradual deterioration of property during a period of depression.

These alterations in the Constitutional Act having been assented to by the Queen, a general election of members for the House of Assembly took place in September, 1871, when thirteen new members out of the thirty-two (including Messrs. Jackson, O'Reilly, and Moore, who afterwards became more or less prominent as Ministers of the Crown) were elected. Mr. William Keeler Hawkes was returned for the new district of Mersey in the Legislative Council.

The Parliament thus created lived only for the brief period of twelve months. The dissolution occurred thus: On July 16th, Mr. Chapman, the Treasurer, deeming it necessary to restore a declining revenue by additional imposts, proposed a property and income tax. His pro-

posals were met in the House of Assembly by a motion of want of confidence, which was proposed by Mr. William St. Paul Gellibrand, and carried by a majority of two. Ministers tendered their resignation, and advised the Governor to send for Mr. Charles Meredith, who was the recognised leader of the Opposition. Mr. Meredith failed to form a Ministry. Mr. Gellibrand was then requested to do so. he also failed to procure a Cabinet from the Opposition members. The Governor next sent for Mr. J. R. Scott, and afterwards for the hon. Mr. Kennerley, both of whom declined the task. Under these extraordinary circumstances His Excellency sought the advice of the hon. F. M. Innes, President of the Legislative Council, who declined to take office, and at the same time counselled the Governor to the effect that as a new Ministry could not be formed in the existing Parliament, and as a dissolution should, if possible, be averted, on account of the expense and delay it would involve, an attempt should be made to obtain the rescinding of the vote against Ministers, so as to enable them to proceed with the pressing business of the session. Mr. Innes's suggestions were adopted, and Mr. Chapman and his colleagues consented to resume their portfolios on condition that the House of Assembly should rescind its no-confidence motion. When the question was put, the House confirmed its former verdict. No course was now open but a dissolution, which took place in October, 1872. This was followed by a general election. When the new Parliament met, Mr. Chapman again explained that additional taxation was unavoidable, and announced that it would be necessary to resort to a moderate income tax. Mr. Alexander Clerke, on this occasion, moved a vote of want of confidence, which was carried by 17 votes against 13. Ministers at once resigned. Mr. Clerke was sent for, and on November 1st submitted

the following names to His Excellency as members of the new Ministry :—

Premier and Colonial Treasurer—F. M. Innes.

Colonial Secretary—J. R. Scott.

Attorney-General—J. A. Jackson.

Minister of Lands and Works—C. Meredith.

This combination of men, who had never worked in concert with each other, was a political blunder. Messrs. Innes and Meredith, two of the oldest members of the Legislature, had never before been associated in politics, and their two colleagues were new and untried members. They remained in office exactly nine months, when they were ejected by an adverse vote upon their land policy, but their proposals to raise revenue by means of increased Customs duties had been assented to. Mr. Innes, in thus endeavouring to serve the country at a time of unprecedented difficulty, lost the position he had held as President of the Council, Mr. J. M. Wilson having been elected to the chair of the Upper House when Mr. Innes took office.

It has already been mentioned that proposals had from time to time been put forward for the construction of railways. Many energetic spirits had long been urging that railway communication was essential to the progress of the country; but there were serious obstacles to the realisation of their proposals. The colony was poor; times were bad; the Government, already embarrassed by the difficulty of providing a sufficient revenue, was bending its energies to keep down expenditure, and looked with disfavour and alarm on any project which might compel the necessity of increased taxation. Some people thought a national system of railways to be a wild and impossible scheme, and that the borrowing of any sum adequate for the purpose would entail on the taxpayers too heavy a burden in the depressed condition of the colony. When the railway advocates clamoured, and a pressure was brought

to bear on Ministers from one part of the colony, it was neutralised by the counter-action of another part. Party bias and local jealousies were so predominant that the Government could always find a secure retreat from the necessity of taking active measures when special claims were advanced in favour of any particular line. A majority of the colonists was ever ready to oppose any railway scheme in the benefits of which they did not directly participate.

The inhabitants of Launceston, and of the fine agricultural districts which lie to the south of that town, were the first to ventilate the question of a railway. In this, as in all public movements, they displayed remarkable energy and zeal, having had the good fortune to possess leaders in public affairs who were not to be turned aside from their purpose by any difficulty which could be surmounted by toil and perseverance.

As a preliminary step the promoters obtained reliable statistical returns of the traffic in the several districts through which the railway would pass, from which it appeared that a line running through Perth, Longford, Westbury, and Deloraine, would be a profitable undertaking. Next came the question—How was it to be carried out? Ministers were interviewed with unavailing solicitude—still the northern Press and the people kept on agitating the subject, sanguine of ultimate success. As early as 1856 Mr. Sprent surveyed the proposed line, and reported favourably of the country through which it would pass: no formidable engineering difficulties presented themselves. Six years elapsed, and no impression could be made either on the Government or Parliament. In 1862 Mr. W. T. Doyne was employed to make a careful survey, which he completed on the 22nd March. He estimated the cost of a railway at £317,714. Mr. W. R. Falconer, the Director of Public Works, was also requested to make an estimate, and his calculations of cost amounted to £485,900.

The Launceston committee of promoters met in April, 1862, and a large public meeting was held in June, when resolutions urging the immediate construction of the line were passed. Again the Government were appealed to, but in vain. The Whyte Ministry were not to be moved in the matter of railway construction. The Premier, in his correspondence with the committee, designated that body "an irresponsible and self-constituted association," and twitted the promoters with the remark that their proposals were unstable—constantly varying. This was a fact, but one which could not be fairly urged to their discredit. Impressed with the importance of the undertaking, the promoters made various proposals to the Government; and ultimately—other means failing—agreed to burden themselves and their constituents with heavy liabilities.

At length, in August, 1865, an Act was passed in both Houses of the Legislature for the formation of a Company, with a capital of £400,000—one-fourth to be raised by subscribers, and three-fourths by railway bonds; the interest to be guaranteed by Government, but to be secured by a special rate on the property of the railway districts. It was also required that a majority of two-thirds of the landholders in the railway district should assent to the re-guarantee, and submit to a special rate. In order to ascertain this a poll was taken, with the result that Launceston and the western districts as far as Deloraine declared themselves unmistakably in favour of the proposed line, 2,238 rate-payers voting for the special rate, and only 564 against it.

This gave a majority in favour of local liability of 1,674 votes, or 1,110 more than two-thirds required by the Act. Three commissioners (Messrs Innes, Kemp, and Bartley), were appointed, as provided in the Act, who were required to certify, on behalf of the Government, that the expenditure was properly applied. They also certified to the accuracy of Mr. Doyne's estimates.

The opportune visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Launceston in the early part of 1868 lent a special distinction to the ceremony of inaugurating the commencement of the first railway in Tasmania. The first sod was turned by His Royal Highness on the 15th January, in the presence of a large number of the principal colonists. Mr. Henry Dowling, honorary secretary of the railway directors, presented the Prince with an address, to which he replied.* The new line was named "The Launceston and Western Railway."

This auspicious inauguration of the new undertaking excited great enthusiasm in the north—but there were many troubles yet in store. The Company found they could not raise the £100,000 in cash, as required by the Act; and in February, 1867 (Sir Richard Dry being Premier), they obtained from Parliament a concession whereby the amount to be raised was reduced to £50,000. This amendment to the Railway Act was carried without much dissent, except on the part of Messrs. Whyte, Wedge, and Lowes in the Upper House. The latter gentleman acquitted himself in a manner not calculated to impart dignity to the proceedings. After giving vent to violent expressions of hostility, he grasped the bill in his hand and pronounced it to be a huge fraud, fit only to be spat upon, and trampled under foot—whereupon the honourable member suited the action to the word!

The Company were now at liberty to proceed with the undertaking. They raised £50,000, and elected directors, who called for tenders. Nine tenders were sent in, and that of Messrs. Overend and Robb for £200,671 8s. 8d. was

* The Duke said:—"In returning you my sincere thanks for the address you have presented to me, I wish to assure you that I think myself very fortunate in having the pleasure on this occasion of inaugurating the commencement of the first railway in Tasmania, and I sincerely hope this important work may, with the blessing of Providence, be brought to a successful termination. Every praise is due to the energy and public spirit of those gentlemen who have contributed so largely to obtain funds for the accomplishment of this undertaking, and I heartily trust they may meet with the just reward of their liberality."

accepted. They commenced operations in July, 1868. This contract did not include rails, the Longford bridge, nor the rolling stock and stations.

Matters went on favourably until April, 1869, when the directors disclosed the fact that an additional sum of £110,000 would be required to complete the railway. The excess over Mr. Doyne's estimate was accounted for thus—£23,000 for additional rolling stock; £7,521 for increased weight of rails; £17,111 extra for the iron bridge over the South Esk at Longford; £12,000 for flattening the slopes of all the cuttings; incidental expenses for running more than one train per day, which was all the Act required; and more costly stations than were provided for in the estimate. The *Tasmanian Times* commented freely on this subject, charging Mr. Doyne with something worse than incapacity. That gentleman brought an action for libel against the proprietor of the newspaper, but he did not recover a verdict for damages. The matter was discussed in Parliament; a joint Committee of both Houses was appointed to enquire generally into the proceedings of the Company. This Committee strongly censured Mr. Doyne for furnishing an estimate which proved inadequate; but, under the circumstances, they recommended Parliament to grant the further sum required, in order that the work might be proceeded with.

The Western Railway was officially opened for traffic by Governor Du Cane on 10th February, 1871. Great enthusiasm was manifested on the occasion. In the evening a banquet was given at Launceston, at which the Governor, the Ministers, several members of Parliament, and about sixty colonists, were present. Of the earliest and most active workers in the railway cause, two who deserve special mention for their unwearying efforts were present—Messrs. Henry Dowling and Adye Douglas. Their colleague, Sir Richard Dry, did not live to see the opening of the railway.

The Western line was well constructed, the gauge being 5 feet 3 inches.

The ill-fated Mersey and Deloraine Tramway was projected about the same time that the railway agitation commenced in Launceston. As early as 1862 meetings were held at Latrobe to consider the question of connecting, by means of a wooden rail, the grain-producing district of Deloraine with the Mersey shipping port. A preliminary, and afterwards an accurate survey of the line was made by Mr. J M Dooley, who marked off a route remarkably free from engineering difficulties. No tunnelling, and only one heavy cutting, was required to make it a first-class line for locomotives. Meetings were called by the promoters at various periods; and at length, in April, 1864, the prospectus of a Company was issued, when shares were readily taken up, some large capitalists at Hobart Town being the chief investors.

In this case, as in that of the Western Railway, the want of a sound policy plunged the Government into difficulties. Private companies were encouraged to spend capital in the construction of railways, without any fixed principle being laid down. While the Western Railway Company received no aid without local liability, the Mersey and Deloraine Tramway Company were encouraged by a substantial reward. Where the line passed through Crown lands—that is to say, for about two-thirds of its whole length—half a mile on each side was to be given to the Company as soon as the line was completed and open for traffic. Again, in 1865, a further concession was granted for an iron railway. Two square miles (1,280 acres) were to be granted to the Company for every mile of railway they completed—half a mile on each side of the line, and the balance in any part of the Deloraine district. In the month of April, 1865, tenders were invited for the construction of twelve miles near the centre of the line, and the tender of Mr. A. H.

Swift for £12,500 was accepted. This contractor failed to carry out the work, and it was re-let to Messrs. Cummings and Raymond, who executed it satisfactorily under the supervision of Mr. S. Gray. While this portion was in progress, Parliament resolved that, without waiting for the completion of the whole line, the Company should receive their 15,360 acres for the twelve miles when finished, though it began and ended nowhere! This unfortunate blunder decided the fate of the Mersey Railway: prepayment is proverbially bad policy. The line was afterwards constructed to Kimberley's Ford on the Mersey, and to a station in Gilbert-street, Latrobe—a total distance of eighteen miles. A train ran in February, 1871, vehicles supplying the intervening space to Deloraine. The winter rains, however, soon cut up the bush track on which the latter ran, and the attempt had to be abandoned.

Nothing could be more disastrous to the interests of the north-western districts than the miscarriage of this railway scheme. It would have opened the back country, and been a valuable feeder to the Launceston and Deloraine Railway. The difference of gauges between the two lines (5 ft. 3 in., and 4 ft. 6 in.) would have involved a certain amount of inconvenience in the transfer of goods from the trucks of one Company to those of the other, but its completion would nevertheless have been beneficial to the colony. As it was the Company lost some £50,000, and the only gain to the country for the grant of a large area of land was the facility offered by a portion of the line for conveyance of produce from Kentishbury to Latrobe.

While the spirit of enterprise was thus actively displayed in the north a similar movement was developing in the south. A Main Line Railway was needed by the people of Hobart Town to connect the city with Launceston, and thus improve their means of communication, not only with the northern side of the island, but also, by a more easy

route, with the colonies across the straits. In 1863 Mr. W. R. Allison first introduced the subject to Parliament. He procured a vote of £5,000 for a survey. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1868. It consisted of Messrs. C. S. Cansdell, P. O. Fysh, A. Kennerley, J. M. Wilson, and D. Lewis, all southern members of Parliament. They spent much time, made elaborate calculations, and in September produced their report. They were of opinion that "a railway with a gauge of 4 ft. 8½ in. would not only discharge its own working expenses, and interest on the capital employed in its construction, but would leave a surplus of £8,000 per annum." The engineers who surveyed the line (Messrs. Doyne, Major, and Willett) recommended the same gauge as that of the Western line (5 ft. 3 in.), and estimated the cost at £850,000.

While various propositions were strongly advocated, and opposed with equal vigour, a gentleman from London (Mr. Audley Coote) made an offer, on behalf of an English company, to construct a railway with a 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, upon being guaranteed interest by the Tasmanian Government, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on £650,000 for thirty years, the profits derived from working the line to be deducted from the guarantee up to the amount covered by it. This offer was certainly a most tempting one; yet it was contended by some—and their anticipations afterwards proved to be correct—that the line would fail to produce any return beyond working expenses, and that the colony would be involved in an expenditure of £32,500 a year for interest to the Company. Parliament, however, approved of Captain Coote's proposal. Mr. W. R. Giblin, the Attorney-General, submitted a bill to the Assembly, which was passed by a large majority, but it narrowly escaped rejection in the Upper House. Thus empowered by the Act of 1870, the Main Line Railway Company signed their contract, and proceeded vigorously with the undertaking.

The temporising measures of the Legislature bore bitter fruit. Widespread discontent prevailed at the partiality shown to some districts, and the austerity with which the claims of others were rejected. There was no distinct principle recognised in the execution of public works. The importance of railway communication was acknowledged by the readiness of the Legislature to give ear to the proposals of companies, but negotiations were conducted in such a reluctant spirit, and such hard conditions were extorted by the Government, that great confusion ensued.

The western districts, impatient of delay, had submitted to the most exacting terms. They not only surveyed their line, and subscribed a capital of £50,000 towards its construction, but, before the Legislature would guarantee interest upon a loan, they had to pledge their own property, by means of a special rate, as security for its repayment. The Hobart and midland districts, on the contrary, had their line surveyed by the Government, and guaranteed interest upon the estimated sum required for its construction was made a charge upon the general revenue of the country. The Western Railway district (comprising one-third of the inhabitants of the colony) was thus made exclusively liable in regard to its own line, and also had to bear, in common with the rest of the colony, the liabilities incurred in the construction of the Main line. The natural result followed. Strong feelings of indignation were excited in Launceston and the other sections of the Western Railway district: nor were the midland and outlying districts by any means satisfied. Many in the former protested against the liability of £32,500 per annum for a railway running through a pastoral country, where there was already a splendid macadamised road; and all in the outlying districts deemed it unjust to be made sharers in such a burden, while no provision whatever was made for their own means of communication.

The Western Railway, though it conferred great benefit upon the districts through which it passed, was, in a pecuniary sense, a failure: the receipts fell short of its working expenses. In June, 1872, an extensive landslip occurred upon one of the embankments, and much damage was done elsewhere by the storm waters. The Company had no funds; and, failing to obtain aid from Government, they were compelled to suspend operations. The Government had also obtained a judgment against the Company for £36,000, being the amount of unpaid interest due upon their bonds. Thus the Company were in the hands of the Government, who were empowered to take the railway and works in execution of the judgment. With the view of arranging matters, however, certain proposals were made. The Government would take over the line, repair the damages, and resume traffic on its own account as early as it was practicable to do so. A meeting of shareholders of the Company was held, and it was resolved that the offer be accepted, on condition that the Government refund the £50,000 expended in the undertaking, and relieve the shareholders and the district from all past and prospective liabilities. These conditions were not accepted by the Government. In July the matter was debated in Parliament, when it was resolved, in consideration of the Company surrendering the railway, to forego the £36,000 then in arrear, and the half-year's interest (£12,000) falling due in August, which sums were to be made chargeable on the general revenue, to hold the district liable for £15,000 per annum towards paying part of the interest, instead of £27,000, and to hand over to the Company all profits in excess of the interest which might at any time arise. The Company agreed to accept these conditions, and the line was transferred to the Government on 3rd August, 1872.

Complications in regard to the Western Railway did not end here. The Company, tied hand and foot as they were,

had no option but to submit to any proposals the Legislature thought proper to make; but the landholders of the railway district, especially those who were not shareholders in the Company, felt themselves morally exonerated from the principle of local taxation which they had endorsed when the district was polled in 1865. Since that period an entirely new principle had been adopted in the case of the Main Line Railway, and when they hesitated to pay their special rate, they acted on the conviction that it was the Government, and not they, who had broken faith. Mr. F. M. Innes, a former Minister of the Crown, confirmed their view of the case in a subsequent address to his constituents. He said—"I was Colonial Treasurer when the principles were settled upon which the Launceston and Western Railway should be recommended to the consideration of Parliament, and in that capacity was entrusted with the correspondence, on the part of the Government, with the promoters. . . . What then was the scope given to the principle of local liability when it was ratified by Parliament? The unambiguous language of the Governor's speech in opening the session of 1860, with the equally distinct terms in which the House of Assembly expressed itself in its answer, shows this. The principle was affirmed, not as one to be applied only to the case of the projected Western Railway, but to be extended to any and every railway."

Under these circumstances the landholders of the Western Railway district had strong grounds for dissatisfaction at the unstable action of the Legislature; but these did not justify the events which followed. The landholders had agreed to certain conditions, which were subsequently fixed by statute. Parliament, on the other hand, only affirmed a temporary principle: it could not, if it would, lay down a rule which should be incapable of future modification. Mr. R. C. Gunn was appointed to collect the railway rate

for the first half-year: he succeeded in collecting about £7,000 out of £7,500, and then resigned his office, but not before the excitement and agitation warned him that further effort would fail. The unpleasant task of collecting the second instalment of the rate revealed a steady determination on the part of nearly all the owners and occupiers to resist payment. Sixty-five northern magistrates appealed to the Governor, requesting him to suspend legal proceedings until the matter came before the next meeting of Parliament. This His Excellency declined to do, whereupon twenty-six of the magistrates resigned.*

Such an expressive demonstration on the part of gentlemen holding the commission of the peace incited the people to stronger resistance; for it appeared to them that a law which could not be conscientiously administered by the retiring justices was unworthy of obedience. In every division of the railway district there was a determination to resist payment of the rate. Distress warrants were issued against 1,200 defaulters. The Police Magistrate of Launceston (Mr. Thomas Mason) and the whole police establishment had to work day and night in the performance of their unpleasant duties. Large quantities of goods were seized, and lodged in the Commissariat Store, Launceston. Householders padlocked their gateways, and mastiffs were chained at the approaches. So alarming did the excitement become that the rural police were withdrawn from the country districts to protect the town. Lawless mobs paraded the streets, tore down fences, and, arming themselves with rails and batons, smashed windows and doors. The aldermen of the town, corporation employes, and some of the burgesses, were sworn in as special con-

* Messrs. T. B. Bartley, W. Archer, J. D. Toosey, R. M'K. Ayre, H. B. Nickolls, E. A. Wigan, J. Gibson, W. R. Stewart, W. H. D. Archer, A. Mackinnon, R. DeLittle, R. C. D. Home, A. M. Milligan, T. C. Archer, R. H. Munce, A. F. Rooke, J. Cox, J. L. Smith, G. Ritchie, H. R. Dumaresq, A. Webster, and Messrs. W. Tyson, J. Drysdale, H. Laird, and J. Griffin, municipal justices.

stables. Still the rioters succeeded in perpetrating acts of violence. The fence round the Commissariat Store was torn down, the property of law abiding citizens destroyed, and their families were terrified by yells and threatenings. Such was the result of a movement in the north, called "Passive Resistance."

In the year following the landholders of the railway district were unconditionally relieved from local liability, while, at the same time, they enjoyed an easy, cheap, and expeditious mode of travelling, and improved means for transporting their produce to market. This adjustment of the difficulty was of course pleasing to those who were beneficially affected; but it incensed the inhabitants of the outlying districts, who had now to bear the burden of increased taxation for railways to which they had no access, their roadways being still in a state of nature.

The condition of affairs in regard to the Main Line Railway was as bad, but in a different way. The battle was between the Government and the English Company. While the latter were proceeding vigorously with their undertaking, they were continually being interrupted by contentions arising out of questions connected with their contract. * The Colonial Government saw from the first that the bargain they had made was a good one for the colony, whatever it might be for the English shareholders who had invested their capital. Considerable latitude was therefore given in the contract—even the route was not definitely laid down. The Act (34 Vict., No. 13) required the undertakers of the work to construct the railway "by a route which shall keep as near as practicable to existing centres of population." This became a sore question, which at length broke out into an open wound. When the contractors were well advanced with their work the House of Assembly appointed a Committee to enquire and report upon the manner in which the contract was being carried out, and, strangely

enough, the question of route formed the most prominent point in the enquiry at that late period (1873). It would take a volume to reproduce a mere outline of the disputes and complications connected with this unfortunate line, as reported in an immense pile of Parliamentary papers, extending over a series of years. A perusal of these documents leads to the conclusion that the Tasmanian Government exercised undue severity towards a Company who had embarked in a losing speculation. Engineers were employed to inspect and report upon the works while they were in various stages of progress; but in the absence of distinct specifications their reports were necessarily founded upon the mere opinion of each inspector. These disputes led to many subsequent troubles, and more than once decided the fate of Ministries.

Other important events occurred during the period of Mr. Du Cane's administration. Direct telegraphic communication with England was established on 20th October, 1872, and has continued, with very little interruption, to the present time. The mineral resources of the colony were developed on an extensive scale; the impetus thus given to trade and industry, together with the result of a splendid harvest in 1873, greatly improved the revenue of the country.

The auriferous quartz reefs of Fingal and Waterhouse came into prominent notice as early as 1869. At the former place alluvial workings had already indicated the existence of reefs: a 7 oz. nugget had been found at Major's Gully, and several parties had been working for years in that locality with remunerative results. One party washed 16 oz. of gold in a week.

Mr. T. G. Williams discovered a reef at Waterhouse; and, in June, 1869, took over to Melbourne one ton of stone for treatment. It yielded 29 oz. of gold, for which he received £87—equal to £2 19s. 6d. per ounce, the low price being

in consequence of the large amount of silver alloy. Another sample of unpicked stone from Waterhouse ($3\frac{1}{2}$ cwt) yielded at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of gold and 12 oz. of silver per ton. Gold was discovered in the early part of 1870 at the Nine-Mile Springs (now Lefroy), and at the Cabbage-tree Hill (now Beaconsfield).

These discoveries led to the appointment of two Gold Commissioners. Townships were proclaimed on the north-east coast—"Du Cane" at Waterhouse, and "Lyndhurst" at the mouth of the Tomahawk river. In May, 1870, there were about ninety gold mining companies established to work the various goldfields of the colony, but the result of their operations was hardly encouraging. At Waterhouse the United Victorian and Tasmanian Company procured an average of 14 dwt. 17 grs. per ton from 262 tons of stone. A crushing from the Southern Cross Company's claim yielded 11 dwt. 18 grs. to the ton. Further crushings yielded diminished results, and the Waterhouse reefs soon failed to produce an adequate return for the outlay of capital: they were abandoned with considerable loss.

At the Springs several companies were successful for a few years, while others lost their capital. In 1874 the Golden Point Company in this locality were extremely fortunate: they procured 528 oz. of gold from 50 tons of stone—equal to $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz. to the ton: and another crushing of 72 tons yielded 700 oz. of retorted gold. Richards and Bain's claim, and others, yielded more than an ounce to the ton. A crushing from the Native Youth yielded 110 oz. of gold from 60 tons of stone. Many places in the vicinity of the Springs gave large returns from alluvial washings, and it was confidently expected that the locality would turn out to be a permanent goldfield. In the district of Fingal, likewise, the reefs seemed to be rich. The City of Hobart Company had some fine returns: one crushing of 133 tons of stone yielded 235 oz. of retorted gold. At the Tower

Hill mine an average of 1 oz. 5 dwt. 12 grs to the ton was procured from 270 tons of stone. Many similar returns were obtained at the Springs and Mangana (near Fingal); but the reefs did not prove equally productive at a depth from the surface; in a couple of years operations were almost entirely suspended, and the gold mining enterprise experienced a collapse. Some were ruined by their wild speculations in scrip; others were shorn of part of their capital; while a few made small fortunes by judiciously selling out at the right time.

Tasmania possesses some exceedingly rich iron deposits. They exist in various parts of the County of Devon, on the west side of the Tamar, and elsewhere. It was reasonably supposed that the production of iron would turn out a profitable industry; and accordingly companies were easily floated to work the extensive beds of ironstone that exist at Ilfracombe and other parts. Victorian and English capitalists engaged in the enterprise. Three companies started operations: they expended a large amount of capital in constructing tramroads, erecting houses, stores, and smelting works. Thousands of tons of pig iron were exported, and specimens (both of the ore and of the metal) obtained prizes at the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition in 1872. Mr. Peter, of the Launceston Foundry, tested the iron in various castings, and pronounced favourably on its adaptation to such purposes. In Victoria, too, it was considered very superior at the outset. indeed several samples of the ore had been assayed by some of the most noted assayers, who failed to detect the existence of a mineral which has proved fatal to the success of the iron workings in Tasmania for the present. It appears that the metal is impregnated with *chromium* to the extent of from two to six per cent., which renders the cast iron hard and brittle, and consequently unsaleable, except for mixing purposes. Thus the companies had to suspend work. One Company (the

British and Tasmanian) had extensive works at Port Lempriere, on the west side of the Tamar, and spent £80,000 in their operations. It is to be hoped that at some future day science will discover a process by means of which the immense deposits of iron ore in Tasmania can be profitably utilised.*

Another industry seemed likely to arise from working the fine beds of slate at Piper's river—east of the Tamar. Messrs. Tyson and Whitton were the first to take a claim, and open a quarry. The place has many natural advantages for working, being well situated for drainage, and only ten miles from deep water at Egg Island in the Tamar. The slate produced, too, was pronounced to be of excellent quality for roofing—fully equal to Welsh; and Mr. Alcock, the billiard table maker of Melbourne, pronounced it to be superior for his purposes. This industry soon languished: capital was required to lay down a tramway: and the gold mining disasters deterred investors from venturing upon any speculative enterprise at that time.

The Penguin silver mine also promised at this time to benefit the colony and enrich its shareholders. Mr. James Smith discovered rich silver ore on the beach eastward of the Penguin river. The assay of Mr. J. Cosmo Newbery proved the ore to contain gold, silver, copper, lead, nickel, cobalt, manganese, and iron. A company was formed in 1870 to work the mine. They erected a six-head battery, engine, boiler, pump, and one of Carpenter's patent ore dressers. The ceremony of starting the machinery took place on 7th June, 1871, in the presence of a large number of shareholders and inhabitants of the district. Beyond the opening demonstration there was little done: the ore was thinly distributed through a large quantity of worthless

* Mr. James Smith is of opinion that chromium only exists in the iron deposits which are in proximity to serpentine rock, such as those of West Tamar and River Forth; and not at the Penguin, where there are immense deposits of rich iron ore without the presence of serpentine. Preliminary operations are being made to open a mine and test the Penguin ore.

stone, and could not be treated with profit at the works. The result of a shipment to England was equally unsatisfactory. The mine was closed, and the machinery sold.

A "Mineral Exploration Company" had been formed in 1868, for the purpose of searching for minerals. The capital of the Company was about £2,000, and an arrangement was made with the Government that four acres of land in the unsettled, or one acre in the settled, districts should be granted to the Company for every pound sterling spent in the search. This was sanctioned by resolutions of Parliament. The Company engaged the co-operation of Mr. Charles Gould at a stipend, and having spent much time, and the sum of £2,558, in unsuccessful explorations in various parts of the colony, received a grant of 2,558 acres of fine agricultural land in the Ringarooma district. The colony derived no practical benefit from the Company's researches.

Governor Du Cane's administration of the government of Tasmania came to a close in 1874. In colonies with constitutions such as the Australias now possess the Vice-regal head has ordinarily few duties beyond those which are of a social character. These duties Mr. Du Cane performed with a dignity suited to his position, and with the general approval of the colonists. He had gained a reputation in the House of Commons as a finished speaker. In Tasmania the speeches which he made on public occasions were anticipated with interest, listened to with delight, and remembered with pleasure. Both in matter and manner they were models of what a Colonial Governor's public utterances should be, and added very considerably to Mr. Du Cane's influence and usefulness during the term of his administration. He was the patron and ardent supporter of pastoral and agricultural associations, and took a hearty and sincere interest in the educational advancement of the colony. He was an expert cricketer, and mixed with the

people in countenancing that noble game. His Excellency visited Melbourne, South Australia, Sydney, and New Zealand, and also entertained the Governors of South Australia and New South Wales at Hobart Town.

As a constitutional Governor it may be truly stated that Mr. Du Cane stood aloof from the influences of sect and party, although during his stay the colony was violently disturbed by the railway agitation, and by other vexed questions.

Mr. Du Cane and his family took their final leave of Tasmania on Saturday, 28th November, 1874, for Melbourne, from which place they sailed for England in the s.s. *Northumberland*. Soon after his return to England he received the distinction of Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George for his colonial services.

Chief Justice Sir Francis Smith administered the government of Tasmania until the arrival of Mr. Weld, the new Governor. *





CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNOR WELD ARRIVES—PARLIAMENT—EVEN BALANCE OF PARTIES—
LEGISLATION IMPEDED—THE HUNT CASE—GOVERNOR'S CONTROVERSY
WITH THE JUDGES—PUBLIC WORKS—COALITION GOVERNMENT—THE LAST
OF THE NATIVES.

FREDERICK ALOYSIUS WELD, ESQUIRE, was the tenth Governor of Tasmania. He is a member of the ancient family of the Welds of Lulworth Castle; was born in 1823; and was educated at the Roman Catholic College founded by his grandfather at Stonyhurst. At the age of twenty Mr. F. A. Weld became a New Zealand colonist. He took an active part in public affairs; was appointed member of the Executive Council in 1854; Minister of Native Affairs in 1860; and, in 1864, became Premier of New Zealand. In 1869 he was appointed Governor of Western Australia, which office he retained until his accession to the Government of Tasmania.

Governor Weld arrived at Launceston on the 11th of January, 1875. It was another new phase in Vice-regal appointments to possess a Governor whose life had been exclusively colonial. The experience he had gained in New Zealand proved valuable to him in Tasmania, where he found, during the whole period of his government, a

chain of difficulties surrounding the administration of the affairs of the colony. Parliament was so evenly divided into two parties, whose personal antagonisms seriously impeded such progressive measures as were from time to time proposed by the Government of the day as necessary for the welfare of the country, that it was extremely difficult for a Governor to preserve a neutral attitude.

We have already stated that the Ministry, of which Mr. F. M. Innes was Premier, went out of office in August, 1873, after a brief existence of nine months. This Ministry was succeeded by

Alfred Kennerley, *Premier, without office.*

Thos. Daniel Chapman, *Colonial Secretary.*

Philip Oakley Fysh, *Colonial Treasurer.*

William Robert Giblin, *Attorney-General.*

William Moore, *Minister of Lands and Works.*

These gentlemen were in office on the arrival of Mr. Weld. They devoted much time and consideration to the affairs of the colony—travelled over the length and breadth of the land, and arrived at the conclusion that a public works policy was necessary, in order to keep pace with the progressive tendencies of private enterprise. They brought forward bills in 1874 for the construction of main and branch roads, and for the purchase and completion of the Mersey and Deloraine Tramway. These bills were favourably received in the House of Assembly, but were thrown out by the Legislative Council. In the following year (1875) the bills again passed the Assembly, but the Council rejected the Main Roads Bill by a majority of eight to six, whereupon Mr. Chapman withdrew the others, and the session was forthwith brought to a close. The Ministry announced their intention of again calling Parliament together at an early date, trusting that the country would in the meantime speak out on the public works question,

and that honourable members might be induced to reverse their decision.

When Parliament again met (October 26) the Public Works Bills were introduced and were once more passed in the Assembly. When the first of these bills came on to be read a second time in the Council it was rejected by eight to seven. Thus the Ministerial scheme was finally shelved by the preponderance of one vote in the Upper House.

At this time a Ministerial change had taken place—Mr. P. O. Fysh had retired from the Cabinet, and the Premier of the former Ministry, Mr. F. M. Innes, became Colonial Treasurer (March 13th, 1875). Also, Mr. T. D. Chapman retired in April, 1876, when Captain George Gilmore was appointed Colonial Secretary. This gentleman was member for Central Launceston; but, when he sought re-election upon taking office, he was rejected by his constituents, who had lost confidence in him, it was said, because he went over from the Opposition. His opponent, Mr. C. H. Bromby, a barrister, and son of the Anglican Bishop, was returned by a large majority. Again Mr. Gilmore was defeated in a contest with the Hon. James Aikenhead for a seat in the Legislative Council. Thus, with one of their colleagues out in the cold, Ministers were so perplexed and discouraged that they sent in their resignations before Parliament re-assembled.

Mr. Reibey, leader of the Opposition, was sent for; and in July, 1876, the political offices were filled by

Thomas Reibey, *Colonial Secretary*.

Charles Meredith, *Colonial Treasurer*.

Charles H. Bromby, *Attorney-General*.

Christopher O'Reilly, *Minister of Lands and Works*.

William L. Crowther, *without portfolio*.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to narrate the political events of this period. The strife of party factions absorbed the thoughts and time of the Legislature to an

extent which almost entirely excluded the business of the country. The Main Line Railway question was magnified to suit the particular bias of honourable members. In other matters, the very measures proposed by one party when in power were fiercely opposed by them when brought forward by their rivals. There was, indeed, very little difference in the policy of the two contending political parties. Both regarded progressive measures as essential—both felt the need of resuscitating the revenue by a property or income tax, which would provide for the interest upon the outlay on railways and public works, whereby property was largely enhanced in value; but when these measures were introduced by the Ministerial party, the Opposition always found some matter of detail whereon to found an adverse vote. If a public works bill were submitted without a taxing bill to provide interest for the expenditure, it was opposed. If a taxing bill accompanied the public works bill, the former was objectionable. Thus the influence of faction dominated to such an extent that it was impossible for any Ministry to stand. Mr. O'Reilly submitted a scheme of public works, which included the Mersey and Deloraine Railway, amounting in all to £400,000; and Mr. Meredith at the same time proposed an income and property tax. Both measures were defeated in the House of Assembly. The Governor granted a dissolution. When the new Parliament assembled, Ministers were again defeated, and accordingly resigned (August 9th, 1877), having retained office only twelve months and a few days.

When Mr. Reibey's Ministry were in power a case of considerable importance occurred, which at one time seemed likely to cause a rupture between the Governor and the Judges of the Supreme Court. A woman named Louisa Hunt was tried, found guilty, and sentenced by Judge Dobson to seven years' imprisonment for setting fire to her dwelling-house in order to defraud the company in whose

office her furniture was insured to an amount beyond its value. The evidence produced at the trial exposed more than ordinary guilt, as the woman had induced her youthful son to become an accomplice in the crime. At the end of about seventeen months the criminal was released by virtue of a free pardon from the Governor-in-Council, without any recommendation from the jury who had convicted the prisoner, or any reference to the Judge who had passed the sentence. Much political capital was made out of the fact that the Attorney-General, a member of the Executive, at whose instance this pardon was granted, had been the counsel for the prisoner at her trial. It was represented to the Governor that the woman was innocent of the crime for which she was incarcerated; that the police were stimulated by the promise of a large reward from the Insurance Company; that the principal witness against her had since been convicted of felony, and her evidence was therefore worthless. Thus the Executive Council was apparently converted into a Court of Appeal, wherein the merits of a case might be reviewed, and the decision of the Supreme Court reversed. The Judges, admitting the power of the Governor to exercise his prerogative of mercy, denied the right of the Executive to assume the functions of an Appeal Court. "It would indeed be anomalous" (wrote their Honors to the Governor) "if a few gentlemen, not necessarily possessing any legal knowledge or training—proceeding by no fixed rules—bound by no precedents—powerless to compel the attendance of a single witness—unable to administer an oath to any witness who might voluntarily attend—under no obligation to give any reasons for their conclusions—and sitting in secret with closed doors, should be entrusted with the high and responsible function of reversing the judgment of the Queen's Court." This constitutional question was set at rest by the Governor's assurance that "Ministers did not advise him that the Executive Council is a Judicial

Court of Appeal." (Letter to the Judges, January 30th, 1877.) Ministers however adhered to the opinion expressed by Mr. Attorney-General Bromby—that "the Governor-in-Council acted *in some measure* as a Court of Appeal"—rather an indefinite definition. The primary question was a grave constitutional one:—Has the Governor-in-Council power to review the character of the evidence upon which verdicts are obtained in the Supreme Court, and to reverse the decision of the jury, and the sentence of the Judge? The position assumed by Ministers greatly complicated the matter; but the Governor prudently disclaimed any such power on the part of the Executive. The Hunt case did not end here; on the contrary, when the only vital point had been disposed of, the controversy assumed a more bitter tone. Letters of an exceedingly acrimonious character passed between His Excellency and His Honor the Chief Justice, each of which contained some remark that called forth further reply. The dispute became so serious that the Governor reported the circumstances in voluminous despatches to Lord Carnarvon, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to his lordship's successor, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. The Judges also appealed to Downing-street. The case was, of course, brought forward in the Colonial Parliament, where it provoked much warm debate. Even private individuals rushed into the fray—old piques and prejudices were revived—social scandals exhumed—and Parliamentary papers were swollen to such enormous proportions that the subject seemed interminable. At length, however, the struggle died out, after a bitter controversy of three years' duration; and, as is mostly the case when small matters are imprudently magnified, each party retained the same opinion still.

Sir Robert Officer, who had filled the office of Speaker for fifteen years with much ability and general approval, resigned in April, 1877, in consequence of advancing

age. He was succeeded by Dr. Henry Butler, the present Speaker.

The Reibey Ministry having retired on the 9th August, 1877, the following Cabinet was formed:—

Philip Oakley Fysh, *Premier*.

Wm. Robert Giblin, *Colonial Treasurer*.

William Moore, *Colonial Secretary*.

Alfred Dobson, *Attorney-General*.

Nicholas J. Brown, *Minister of Lands and Works*.

James W. Agnew, *without office*.

This Ministry announced exactly the same policy as their predecessors, not only as to the necessity of a public works scheme, but also in regard to the incidence of taxation. In his financial statement the Treasurer said—"There was no difference between the Government and the Opposition as to the direction new taxation must take; a large majority of the people maintain that landed property must bear its fair share; no question that realised wealth must do the same. . . . I should like to know which Ministry during the last ten years has not advocated that policy." Mr. Giblin's statement was founded upon fact. There was no need for so hastily ousting existing Governments, had measures, and not men, been the *sine quâ non* with the Legislature.

Mr. Fysh's Cabinet was more successful in the matter of public works than their predecessors. In December, 1877, the sum of £140,000 was voted for the construction of roads, bridges, jetties, and telegraph lines, in the outlying districts. The Local Public Works Act was repealed, and the local liability upon certain public works, amounting to £31,350, was removed, and transferred to the general revenue.

An issue so favourable to the country districts, whose inhabitants had long suffered severe privation from the want of passable roads, was regarded by them with great satisfaction. The Public Works Bill had, however, a narrow

escape from being rejected in the Legislative Council, seven members having voted for, and seven against, the second reading. The President, Sir James Wilson, gave his casting vote in its favour, and supported it in Committee.

The Premier (Mr. Fysh) resigned in March, 1878, when the Colonial Treasurer (Mr. W. R. Giblin) became Premier, with no other change in the Cabinet. It was not long, however, before Ministers had to succumb to an adverse vote. The revenue was increasing, and no further taxation would have been needful at this time but for the large annual liability incurred for interest on the railway loans. Mr. Giblin made his financial statement on September 25th: he proposed a tax of 1s. in the pound upon property, dividends, and mortgages. He was defeated by a majority of two, and resigned with his colleagues. Mr. Crowther was called upon to form a Cabinet.

The new Ministry, appointed December 20th, 1878, consisted of

William L. Crowther, *Premier, without portfolio.*

Thomas Reibey, *Colonial Secretary.*

David Lewis, *Treasurer.*

John Stokell Dodds, *Attorney-General.*

Christopher O'Reilly, *Minister of Lands and Works.*

Their policy was to purchase the Main Line and the Mersey and Deloraine Railways—to spend a further sum of money in the construction of public thoroughfares—and to provide an adequate revenue by a property and income tax of eightpence in the pound. Parliament rejected their proposals, the now proverbial “majority of one” preponderating, and Mr. Crowther and his colleagues resigned office (29th October, 1879).

It was by this time apparent that no Ministry could stand in the existing attitude of parties. The government of the country was almost suspended by contentions that were based on no public principle whatever, but rather owed

their origin to personal animosities of long standing. The balance of power was so evenly poised that the support of some fickle-minded member ruled the whole proceedings of Parliament. It was impossible for the Crowther Administration to do anything for the good of the country : all the official members were in the House of Assembly, and, when any important measures were sent up to the Legislative Council, the Premier generally stood alone on a division.

At this juncture of affairs Mr. W. R. Giblin was called upon to form a Ministry to take the place of the Crowther Administration. He had thus an opportunity in his hands to break the backbone of that wretched system of obstruction which had made the Legislature of Tasmania a byword and object of ridicule, and he used the opportunity wisely. Mr. Giblin sought by a proposal of mutual compromise to allay the fierce contentions that disturbed the political atmosphere. He held a consultation with members of both parties, and the result of his negotiations was the formation of a Coalition Ministry.

Theoretically, objections might be raised against coalitions, at least in cases where parties holding adverse views are brought over to the opposite side by the reward of office. But in Tasmania at this juncture there was no such political division. None of the members of Mr. Giblin's Coalition were called upon to recant a creed, to renounce principles for which they had fought, or to violate any deep-rooted convictions. They had all seen alike, thought alike, and felt alike, upon the vital questions of State policy. It was, indeed, high time to strike a death-blow at the anomalous state of affairs, which owed its origin to the dominance of hereditary family feuds, rather than to any principle in which the public were interested.

Still there was what may be called a third, and distinct party in the Legislative Council. That branch of the Legislature was divided in opinion as to the propriety of exe-

cutting public works by means of borrowed capital, thus augmenting the liabilities of the country. The majority still held that the outlying districts should make their own roads and bridges on the principle first adopted in the case of the Launceston and Western Railway; but they seemed to ignore the fact that that principle had been abandoned, and that the inhabitants of the outlying districts were heavily taxed to maintain the railways, from which they derived but little benefit, being without roads to communicate with them. This party often successfully obstructed the progressive policy of the Government.

The members of Mr. Giblin's Administration were as follow:—

Wm. Robert Giblin, *Colonial Treasurer and Premier.*

William Moore, *Colonial Secretary.*

J. Stokell Dodds, *Attorney-General.*

Christopher O'Reilly, *Minister of Lands and Works.*

James Wilson Agnew, *without office.**

This combination was generally approved by the people. The accession to Mr. Giblin's party of such men as Messrs. Dodds and O'Reilly was calculated to impart a feeling of confidence on both sides of the House: they had never been factiously allied to any party: their policy was in harmony with that of their new colleagues, Messrs. Giblin and Moore, their sole aim being to advance the colony by means of progressive legislation.

Mr. Giblin's first care was the thorough reorganisation of the finances, which had fallen into a deplorable state of confusion during the fruitless contentions of the past few years. The revenue had been for some time quite inadequate to meet the increasing expenditure, swelled by new liabilities for interest on railway and public works loans; and while every one admitted the necessity of increased

* Dr. Agnew resigned his seat prior to his departure for England in 1881 (February 5th).

taxation, years had been wasted in ineffectual efforts to induce the contending factions in Parliament to sanction any proposal designed for that end.

After a brief recess Mr. Giblin submitted to Parliament, on its re-assembling, an ably devised financial scheme, whereby the revenue was once more brought up to the expenditure, while the incidence of the additional taxation was so dextrously adjusted that no class of the community felt unfairly burdened. The new taxes comprised a real and personal estate duty of 9d. in the pound, levied upon the annual value of landed property, and upon dividends in companies; an excise duty of 3d. per gallon on beer; and a revision of the Customs tariff. Mr. Giblin's proposals were received with approbation by both Houses of Parliament and by the country, and were passed into law.

The House of Assembly was now relieved from that incubus which made the efforts of successive Governments futile. An elaborate scheme of public works, proposed by the Minister of Lands and Works, Mr. C. O Reilly, was assented to without any but the most feeble opposition. In the Legislative Council, however, the anti-progressive party were still in the ascendant. There the public works bills were shorn of their fair proportions, and the construction and maintenance of main lines of road only were allowed. The byways of the outlying districts were referred to the inhabitants, who indeed had no money (if they were willing) to make roads into the wilderness, and thus enhance the value of the Crown estate.

The Sydney International Exhibition was opened on the 17th September, 1879. Governor Weld was present, with all the Australian Governors, to take part in the opening ceremony. At this Exhibition, and the one which followed it in Melbourne (October, 1880), the Tasmanian exhibits received more than a proportionate share of prizes.

The Main Line Railway had been opened for traffic

between Hobart Town and Evandale in March, 1876; and shortly afterwards trains ran through to the Launceston terminus in Cimitiere-street, a third rail having been laid for that purpose on the Launceston and Western line.

The country through which the line passes on the southern side of the island is much broken, heavy gradients and sharp curves being necessary in some places; and a tunnel of forty-seven chains is cut through solid sandstone at the summit of the main range. The length of the line from Hobart Town to Launceston is 133 miles, and the cost of its construction and equipment was represented by the Company to have been £1,067,000, or £417,000 more than the sum upon which interest had been guaranteed by the Tasmanian Government. The loss incurred by the Company for the first three years in working expenses and cost of maintenance exceeded £10,000 a year.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Tasmania, whose decline we traced until the miserable remnant, numbering 203, had been removed to Flinders Island in 1835, may now be finally alluded to. Mr. Robinson and other philanthropic individuals had hoped that Flinders Island would afford to the unfortunate exiles a safe and sanatory retreat where, their wants being all supplied, they would increase in number, and ultimately prove useful to the colonists. It soon became evident, however, that at no distant date the whole race must become extinct. Various causes operated to bring about this unfortunate result. The enforced association of mixed tribes, whom bitter feuds had separated when they were at large in their own country, was a great cause of discomfort to them. The change in their habits, and, it is said, the unhealthy position of the settlement, partly caused by a scarcity of pure water, contributed to reduce their number.

Whatever may have been the cause, it was soon apparent that disease and death had marked them for a prey. Many

perished (West says) by that strange disease *nostalgia*, so often fatal to the soldiers and peasants of Switzerland, who die in foreign lands from regret of their native country. They were in sight of Tasmania, and as they beheld its not distant but forbidden shore, they were often deeply melancholy. Surgeon Barnes, who gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee of the House of Commons, stated that more than half died, not from any positive disease, but from "home sickness"—a disease of the stomach, which came on entirely from a desire to return to their own country. Mr. Robinson observed the same symptoms. "They suffered much from mental irritation. when taken with disease they refused sustenance, and died in delirium. The wife or the husband, when bereaved, would immediately sicken, and rapidly pine away." Mr. R. H. Davies, who often visited the island in command of a Government sloop, bore similar testimony. "They were treated with uniform kindness: nevertheless the births have been few, and the deaths numerous. This may have been in a great measure owing to their change of living and food, but more so to their banishment from the mainland, which is visible from Flinders Island; and the natives have often pointed it out to me with expressions of the deepest sorrow depicted on their countenances."

Every effort was made at the new settlement of Wybalenna (Black Man's Village) that could possibly contribute to the comfort and happiness of the exiles. Their cottages were placed about a quarter of a mile from the white settlement: these were first constructed of wattle and clay-plastered walls, well whitewashed, with thatched roofs--afterwards they were built of stone. Nearly all the adults were united as married couples. They were taught in spiritual matters by the Rev. Thos. Dove, a Presbyterian minister, and by Mr. Robert Clark, a faithful and persevering instructor, who left the island with them in 1847, and died soon after.

All the natives were voluntary attendants at church, and their decorum, it is said, would be a pattern to many congregations of civilised Europeans. There were three day schools and a Sunday school. Some of the youths showed considerable proficiency in Scripture history, arithmetic, geography, reading, writing, etc. Bruné, an aboriginal youth, displayed a certain amount of literary talent. In 1838 he edited a periodical for the instruction of his countrymen.*

Notwithstanding all efforts to prevent the total extinction of the race, they continued rapidly to decline. Removal from alcoholic drinks, and from contact with other European vices, failed to accomplish the desired result—still they pined away. At one time an idea was entertained of removing them to Port Phillip under the protection of Mr. Robinson, who was already engaged there in his native mission. The proposal was not favoured by the Sydney Government. Mr. Robinson was, however, permitted to take with him two men and three females from Flinders Island, whose civilisation, he believed, would be useful to him in conciliating the Port Phillip blacks. One of these women was the intrepid heroine of Bruné Island, Truganini, whose name appears so often in native history. They came to disgrace at Port Phillip—left Mr. Robinson—went down to Western Port in November, 1841, where they formed acquaintance with some runaway sailors. A quarrel took place, which ended in the murder of two of the sailors. The two aboriginals, Tom and Jackey, who had been companions of Mr. Robinson for eleven and thirteen years in his Tasmanian mission, were tried for the murder, found

* The following is taken from a long paper written by Bruné on the subject of prayer—"And now, my friends, pray with sincerity and in truth. Pray well—it is time. My friends, we must pray always, for it is appointed that men ought to pray, and our blessed Lord came upon the earth to teach us about the doctrines of God and Himself. He came upon earth to do the will of Him that sent Him. My friends, don't you believe that He died for poor guilty sinners? Yes, we must believe that Jesus Christ came to save sinners."



Jack, Native of Cape Grim

J Walch & Sons Hobart

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guilty, and executed. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Redmond Barry pleaded their cause feelingly. The women were sent back to Flinders Island.

In 1847 the number of natives at Flinders Island was reduced to forty-four, comprising twelve men, twenty-two women, and only ten young people of both sexes. In November of that year these were removed to Oyster Cove, on the mainland. Oyster Cove is a little harbour on the western side of D'Entrecasteaux Channel at the entrance to the Derwent. They were pleased at the thought of coming back to their native land; but alas, changed was the home of their fathers. Melancholy indeed are the last records of the wild, happy race whom Cook and Peron described. Mr. Calder observes—"Those who saw the aborigines after their removal (from Flinders), could never believe them to be part of the same people, who, ten years before, had given such goodly proof of rapid emergence from barbarity. . . . The apathy into which they had been permitted to sink from neglect of cultivation prevented any recurrence to their old predatory habits, for they had now hardly life and spirit left for action beyond excursions to the public-house whenever they could raise the means, either by the sale of necklaces (or worse practices) or the good nature of visitors, to obtain drink, or as they called it, *gibblee*." And who can reproach these unfortunate creatures? They were placed under no restraint. Splitters, sawyers, and sailors, had access to the settlement. The order and surveillance maintained at Flinders had been withdrawn—they were in fact brought home to die. The last page of their history is not the best.

Bonwick visited the natives at Oyster Cove in 1859, when he found the wretched remnant occupying the ruins of an old penal establishment, damp and dirty. "The apology for bedsteads and beds was the most deplorable of all. I turned to the Superintendent, and expressed my concern

at the frightfully filthy state of the bed-clothes. In some places I noticed but one blanket as the only article on the shelf, and remarked the insufficiency of bed-clothing for old people, and at that cold season of the year. Mr. Dandridge appeared as surprised as chagrined, and, calling the women, commanded them to tell him where all the blankets had gone to. One of them quite coolly answered—'Bad white fellow—him steal 'em all.' The Superintendent's explanation was that they were so given up to drink as to sell for liquor the Government blankets, and even their very clothing, to the low population about." Mr. Clark, their religious instructor, died at Oyster Cove some time before they had sunk so low.

There was one native man, with his wife (a half-caste)—Walter George Arthur, and Mary Ann—whose cottage and farm presented a marked contrast. Walter was brought up at the Orphan School, at New Town, and received a fair education. Mary Ann's mother had been stolen from her forest home by one Cochrane, a sealer, who had to part with both her and his child when Robinson went among the Straitsmen to collect such native women as were detained on the islands by compulsion. Mary Ann and her mother were removed to Flinders, where the former married Walter. From thence they moved to Oyster Cove, at which place a farm was provided for them. Mr. Bonwick says—"Walter's face presented no aggravation of the native features, though sufficiently betraying the black man. If standing on the steps of the Piazza di Spagna at Rome, he would have been often selected as a model for his magnificent head. His nose was depressed—a characteristic of his tribe; but his eye was of unusual expressiveness. His general aspect was one of seriousness and melancholy." His wife, Mary Ann, "had the appearance of her mixed race. Her delicate hand, her dark eyes, her nose and mouth, declared the native mother; but her broad and lofty forehead indicated

the European descent of her father. She was unquestionably a woman of weight in the country, bringing down on the floor as she walked a pressure of some seventeen or eighteen stone. There was not only vigour of intellect, but a strength and independence of will, stamped upon her expansive features. The base of her brain represented the portentous character of animal appetites, while the loftiness and breadth elsewhere exhibited the force of moral sentiments." The home of this interesting pair is thus described:—"The room into which I was brought had many tokens of civilisation and gentility wanting in most of the country cottages in England. The furniture, though homely, was suitable and comfortable. A carpet covered the floor. Not a particle of dust could be seen. A few prints adorned the walls, and books lay on a side-table. The Bible occupied a conspicuous position. The daily newspaper was there. . . . It was about the last evidence of civilisation to be witnessed in connection with the interesting race of Tasmanians. . . . The moral condition of the station was the subject of indignant complaint from Mary Ann. 'We had souls at Flinders,' she said, 'but we have none here. There we were looked after, and the bad whites were kept from annoying us. Here we are thrown upon the scum of society. They have brought us among the offscouring of the earth (alluding to the convict population). Here are bad of all sorts. We should be a great deal better if some one would read and pray to us. We are tempted to drink, and all bad practices, but there is neither reading nor prayer. While they give us food for the body, they might give us food for the soul. Nobody cares for us.' "

Walter was an intelligent young native, was quite domesticated, and warmly attached to his wife Mary Ann. He wrote to Dr. Milligan, expressing his desire to purchase eight acres of land at Oyster Cove, and requesting him to

ascertain what the Government would charge for it. He said he would prefer buying it for a homestead. What a pitiful contemplation—an original inheritor of the soil seeking to purchase eight acres from the British Government! Poor Walter and his wife died soon after—the former was drowned when returning intoxicated in his boat from Hobart Town.

The history of Mathinna is melancholy in the extreme. She is described as a beautiful girl, who had been brought up by Lady Franklin, educated, petted, and trained in all the polite accomplishments of society as one of Sir John Franklin's family. She grew to be a tall, graceful girl—five feet eight inches high, erect, intelligent, her ebony hair falling in black curly ringlets, her features well chiselled, and singularly regular, her voice light, quick, but plaintive. When Sir John was returning to England, the doctors pronounced it unsafe for the tender Mathinna to risk the climate of the north. She was accordingly left behind. But the friends she possessed at Government House were gone, and those whom she had met in the ball-room neglected her. She went to her countrywomen at Oyster Cove. The sequel is thus told.—“Too soon, alas! she fell into the habits of the rest; and, as they were permitted to wander about the bush, amongst sawyers, splitters, and characters of the deepest depravity, the reader may guess for himself what my pen refuses to write. One night, however, Mathinna was missing; and although *cooey* after *cooey* resounded from mountain to mountain, and from gully to gully, no tidings were heard of the lost girl. In the morning the search was continued, till at length the wanderer was found. The little wild girl with the shell necklace, and the pet opossum—the scarlet-coated, bareheaded beauty in the carriage—the *protégée* of Lady Franklin—the reclaimed daughter of the native chief—had died, abandoned by every virtue, and—*drunk*—in the river.”*

* Bonwick.

The last male of the race, William Lanné, died on the 3rd day of March, 1869, at the early age of 34 years. He was the youngest child of the family who remained in their native wilds of the west long after Mr. Robinson's visits. The family consisted of a father, mother, and five children, two of whom were a son and daughter, fourteen and eighteen years of age. They were taken on the west coast, between Woolnorth and the Arthur river, in the year 1842; were brought up to Launceston, and then sent to Flinders Island. The word "Lanné," in the language of the tribe, signifies to *fight*, or *strike*, but the family exhibited no such propensity—they were, on the contrary, exceedingly docile—a circumstance which probably led the parents to seclude themselves from observation when the war of extermination was going on. Little "Billy Lanné" grew up at Flinders Island, until, at the age of thirteen, he was removed, with the remnant of his countrymen, to Oyster Cove. Ultimately he became a sailor, and for several years went whaling in vessels belonging to the port of Hobart Town. He was pleasing in habits and appearance, and was always a favourite with the crew. The citizens of Hobart Town took an especial interest in him. The aborigines were rapidly becoming extinct, and he was at length the last male survivor of the race. In January, 1868, King Billy, as he was then called, was introduced, at Hobart Town, to His Royal Highness Prince Alfred. Clad in a blue suit, with a gold lace band round his cap, he walked with the Prince on the Hobart Town regatta ground, conscious (says Bonwick) that they alone were in possession of royal blood. He went on another whaling voyage, and returned in February, 1869, when he received his pay—£12 13s. 5d. He was seldom sober when he had money, and on this occasion he fell a victim to his intemperate propensities. He was seized with an attack of choleraic diarrhœa on March 2nd, and in attempting to dress

himself on the following morning, intending to proceed to the hospital for treatment, he fell dead on the bed in a public-house. From thence the body was removed to the hospital. The circumstances which followed present a mournful sequel to the history of British intrusion and violence.

The extinction of a whole race of the human family is an event of rare occurrence. The death of the last male descendant of the Tasmanian aborigines, happening in the chief city of a people who had been the cause of their extirpation, was a circumstance invested with more than common interest. The feeling therefore became all the more intense when it was made known that the dead body of William Lanné had not been allowed to be decently and quietly interred. A member of the Medical Board was at night admitted into the hospital by the man in charge, when the officers of the establishment were absent. On the following morning it was found that the skull of the dead man had been removed. No proof existed, but suspicion rested on the surgeon. Again—the remains (which were followed by a large concourse of colonists) having been interred, the sanctity of the grave was violated on the night following, and the body removed. Diligent enquiry was made by the authorities, but without any result.

The people were shocked at these occurrences, and the Press was loud in its denunciation of such disgraceful acts. Few, if any, ventured the plea that the cause of science justified the outrage. Even if no osteological record of the race had been preserved,* such lawless doings would have been indecent, unwarrantable, and repugnant to every feeling of propriety.

The female natives who still survived passed away one by one, until at length, on 8th May, 1876, the last of the

* Many skeletons and skulls of the aborigines are preserved in museums and elsewhere in Tasmania, in England, and on the Continent.

race—Truganini—died. She was a woman of more than ordinary physical endurance. Amid heart-rending vicissitudes she had taken a prominent part in native affairs for half a century, neither the wear of a strangely active and erratic life, nor the insidious habits induced when she beheld her people falling around her, seemed to affect her vitality.

Truganini's chequered life was full of touching incident and wild romance. She was daughter of Mangana,* chief of the once powerful Bruné Island tribe. Her sister, Moorina,* was taken captive in her early days by a party of sealers. Truganini's first remembrances of the English accord with those of nearly all the natives, and make us wonder that, instead of proving friendly, she did not become a bitter foe. Her uncle was shot by a soldier; her mother was murdered by the whites. The following statement from her own lips is preserved by Mr. Calder:—
 "We were camped close to Partridge Island (in D'Entrecasteaux's Channel), when I was a little girl, when a vessel came to anchor without our knowledge of it; a boat came on shore, and some of the men attacked our camp. We all ran away, but one of them caught my mother, and stabbed her with a knife, and killed her. My father grieved much about her death, and used to make a fire at night by himself, when my mother would come to him. I used to go to Birch's Bay; there was a party of men cutting timber for the Government there; the overseer was Mr. Munro. While I was there, two young men of my tribe came for me; one of them, named Parawcená, was to have been my husband. Well, two of the sawyers said they would take us in a boat to Bruné Island, which we agreed to. When we got about half-way across the Channel, they threw my companions overboard, but one of them held me." The poor fellows, when thrown overboard, being good swim-

* These names have been given to townships in the colony.

mers, followed the boat and overtook it; they laid hold of the gunwales, and tried to get into the boat, but were prevented by one of the boatmen seizing a hatchet and chopping off their hands near the wrist. Thus disabled, they sank, and their murderers went off with the girl.

In January, 1830, Truganini, her husband, and two of his boys by a former wife, with two other women, gave themselves up to Robinson and M'Kay. They were all that remained of the once formidable Bruné tribe. Truganini was supposed to be about eighteen at that time.*

We have already seen how she followed Mr. Robinson in all his dangerous excursions through the wildest forests of the island; how she acquired a knowledge of the various native dialects, so as to be enabled to communicate more freely with the tribes; how she always went in advance of the party, risking her life among the hostile blacks; how she saved Robinson's life at the Arthur river, and remained faithful until the last great enterprise over the western mountains was accomplished. It is difficult to suppose that any incentive animated the mind of this Tasmanian woman but a philanthropic desire to rescue her race from utter extermination. Without the aid of friendly natives, and chiefly that of Truganini, Robinson could hardly have been successful in his mission. Often, at Flinders, was the poor woman upbraided by her countrymen for enticing them into captivity; nevertheless, they would have suffered death by violence if left at large.

Truganini died at the age of about sixty-five. With her remains the grave closed over the last aboriginal inhabitant of Tasmania, and in her death a nation became extinct.†

* M'Kay's account.

† Since the above was written a controversy has arisen out of a remark made by the late Mr. H. M. Hull in a posthumous paper published in the *Mercury*, to the effect that Mrs. Fanny (Cochrane) Smith, who is in receipt of a Government pension, is the last of the aboriginal race. In order if possible to ascertain facts, the writer sought information through the Honourable W. Moore, Chief Secretary. His request was courteously responded

to, and the Under-Secretary, B. Travers Solly, Esq., obtained evidence which may be deemed conclusive that Mrs. Smith is a half-caste. Mr. E. A. Walpole, police magistrate at Franklin says—"I have known Fanny Smith, *née* Cochrane, for some 27 years. She is a half-caste, born of an aboriginal woman, by a white man (whose name is unknown), at Flinders Island, in or about the year 1835. Her father is supposed to have been one of the Straits sealers, Mr. Robinson having previously recovered from the sealers a number of aboriginal women, and placed them on Flinders Island with the rest of the tribe. . . . Fanny's cross of white blood is unmistakable, nor is her hair characteristic of the pure Tasmanian aboriginal—the latter partaking always of woolled African type, and further to prove her one remove from the pure black, her eldest son is not darker than a Spaniard or a light quadroon, and others of her children are as fair as octoroons." In addition to Mr. Walpole's testimony, Mr. Lambert, of Franklin, furnishes similar information, which he obtained from Mrs. Smith herself. Her mother's native name was Tagnarootoora: she was named Sarah by the sealers. A correspondent in the *Mercury* (Sept. 14, 1882), says Mrs. Fanny Smith's sister was Mary Ann, the wife of Walter George Arthur; and this is corroborated by Bonwick, who says that Mary Ann's mother had been taken to the islands by a sealer named Cochrane. A writer in the *Lancaster Examiner* (November 6, 1882), says he had an interview recently with Mr. H. Robinson, son of the Protector, who stated that he remembered Fanny Cochrane well, and that she was a half-caste. The question of Mrs. Smith's lineal descent may fairly be dismissed, and the fact admitted that Truganini was the last of her race.





CHAPTER XIX.

DISCOVERY OF TIN AT MOUNT BISCHOFF—PREVIOUS DEPRESSION—MR. JAMES SMITH—EARLY DIFFICULTIES IN WORKING THE BISCHOFF MINE—V. D. L. CO.'S TRAMWAY—MR. SMITH REWARDED BY TESTIMONIAL AND PENSION—SMELTING WORKS—TIN DISCOVERED IN NORTH-EASTERN DISTRICT—AT MOUNT HEEMSKIRK—ALLUVIAL GOLD AT PIEMAN RIVER—THE ARTHUR EXPLORED—GOLD AT LEFROY, BEACONSFIELD, SALISBURY—REWARD OF £3,000 PAID TO SAMUEL RICHARDS—HON. JAMES WHYTE ERADICATES THE SCAB DISEASE IN SHEEP—PRACTICAL RESULTS—THE RABBIT PLAGUE—STUD SHEEP—EXHIBITIONS—GOVERNOR WELD'S DEPARTURE.

THE discovery of tin at Mount Bischoff, in the year 1871, marks a new era in the history of Tasmania. This event occurred at a period of extraordinary depression. The agricultural interests had been checked by a variety of circumstances: blight and rust had attacked the wheat fields; Warrnambool and New Zealand were deluging the colonial markets with potatoes ~~and oats~~; while the large surplus of grain produced in South Australia, and the imposition of a protective tariff in Victoria, all contributed to cripple the production of root crops and cereals in Tasmania. In like manner the mining industries, which at intervals had dazzled the community with the prospect of a brilliant future, when they came to be practically tested, proved false and delusive as the

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JAMES SMITH,
DISCOVERER OF THE MOUNT BISCHOFF TIN MINE,
4TH DECEMBER, 1871.

mirage of the desert. Out of ninety gold mining companies which existed in 1870, only two remained in 1875—the City of Hobart mine at Fingal, and the New Native Youth at Nine-Mile Springs. Thousands of pounds had been spent in fruitless efforts to obtain remunerative returns from the mineral deposits. The Seymour coal mine in the east, and the Mersey mines in the north, resulted in great pecuniary loss. Efforts to develop the Penguin silver mine had proved a failure. The gold-fields were all but abandoned, and the office of Commissioner in the north-eastern district had been abolished. At this particular juncture was made the discovery of one of the richest tin mines in the world.

Mr. James Smith, the discoverer of tin at Mount Bischoff, is a native of the colony. He was born at George Town on 1st July, 1827; received his education in Launceston; at an early age was under the guardianship of Mr. John Guilan, an engineer and miller in that town. He found the milling business an uncongenial occupation; and in 1851, when under an engagement with Mr. John Thompson, of Launceston, he resigned his situation with the intention of leaving the colony. Just at that time the discovery of gold in Victoria attracted attention. Mr. Smith went to Mount Alexander, and for some time worked there as a miner. Returning to Tasmania in 1853 he took up his abode at the Forth river, on the north coast, where he purchased a section of land from the Crown. This place was his head-quarters; but his life was chiefly spent prospecting amid the rocks and streams in unfrequented parts of the wild mountainous country to the south of his home. Few at the present time can understand the difficulties which Mr. Smith had to encounter. The country selected for exploration was remote from settlement, difficult of access, cold, barren, and inhospitable. Here, with enduring patience, steady toil, and unflagging energy, he laboured for years, journeying over the snow-clad mountains, crossing

flooded rivers, and risking his life in the solitary recesses of the forest.

Mr. Smith made several mineral discoveries prior to that of tin at Mount Bischoff. He found gold up the Forth river, copper on the west side of the Leven, silver and very pure iron ore at the Penguin, and iron ore at the Forth. These discoveries may lead to wealth at a future period, but they are at present lying undeveloped—totally eclipsed by his discovery of tin.

BISCHOFF—now known as the great "Mountain of Tin"—lies forty-five miles from Emu Bay at the north and about the same distance from the mouth of the Pieman river on the west. The Mount received its name in honour of Mr. James Bischoff, Chairman of the Van Diemen's Land Company in 1828. Its summit had perhaps never been visited except by the trigonometrical survey party of Mr. James Sprent, about the year 1843; and seldom, if ever, did a forest ranger venture through the dense horizontal and bauera scrub that surrounded its base. Into that dismal region Mr. Smith forced his way. It possessed no visible prospect to encourage the explorer; the solitary thickets afforded no sustenance such as was to be procured in the more open country—for even the products of the animal kingdom, which in other places yielded food for man, were wanting here; but the undaunted explorer steadily continued his researches, retreating only at intervals when exhausted by fatigue and hunger, then again renewing his search after a few days' rest.

At length his efforts were rewarded by the grand discovery which has led to a series of extraordinary practical results. On Monday, 4th December, 1871, Mr. Smith found the first tin. He carried some specimens to the establishment of Messrs. Moore and Quiggin at Table Cape, where he smelted a small portion, and obtained the first little lump of metallic tin produced in Tasmania. He

took it home to the Forth, and exhibited it to his friends, who did not then realise the importance of the discovery, or foresee its effect upon the fortunes of the colony.

Mr. Smith was permitted by the Government to secure two sections of 80 acres each for mining purposes: these he selected with singular tact: they embrace the summit of the mount, where lies the great bulk of the tin ore, so far as it has yet been revealed.

The manner of developing the mine was Mr. Smith's next difficulty. In August, 1872, he proceeded to the Mount with Mr. W. M. Crosby and a small party. A cart track was opened from Knole Plain to the south section: the ground was prospected, and its richness was rendered obvious when tested by dressing the ore, an operation which commenced on 14th December, 1872. During the summer of 1873, several tons of ore were sent over to Melbourne. Mr. Smith entered into communication with some parties at the latter place on the subject of forming a company, but negotiations failed, and he then turned to Launceston.

Launceston had had some severe trials in mining enterprises. People had grown sceptical of the existence of mineral wealth, and there seemed to be much difficulty in the way of forming a company to work the alleged new discovery. Mr. William Ritchie, a solicitor of considerable mining experience, was, however, induced to visit Mount Bischoff with Mr. Smith. Mr. Ritchie was amazed at the prospects of the mine: he returned to Launceston, entered with energy into the preliminary work of floating a company, and at length, in 1873, "The Mount Bischoff Tin Mining Company" was formed, with a nominal capital of £60,000, in 12,000 shares of £5 each, of which 4,400 shares, counted as paid up in full, were reserved for Mr. Smith, who was also to receive £1,500 in cash. The remaining 7,600 shares were open to the public upon payment

of a deposit of £1 per share. By the deed of association Mr. Smith was to hold a permanent seat in the Board of Directors, with power to nominate another member. Mr. William Ritchie was elected Chairman of the Board; Mr. Henry Ritchie was appointed legal manager, and Mr. W. M. Crosby received the important appointment of mining manager.

In September, 1873, operations commenced upon the ground. Professor Ulrich inspected the mine, and sent in a highly favourable report of its prospects. Mr. W. L. Jenkin also visited Mount Bischoff, and wrote—"To repeat that the mines of the above Company are the richest known tin mines in the world would be in my opinion to convey but an imperfect idea of their importance, so far do they exceed all other mines in this respect." Mr. Crosby, whose health failed, retired from the management of the mine in 1875, when Mr. H. W. F. Kayser, a gentleman of great practical experience in the working and machinery of mines, was appointed to the management.

Numerous were the difficulties which stood in the way of developing the mine. During the time of Mr. Crosby's management the appliances for treating the ore were crude, the supply of water was limited, and the bush track to the coast was hardly passable. When the two former obstacles to the progress of the mine were in some measure removed by the expenditure of a considerable amount of capital in machinery and in making reservoirs for water, the means of communication with the coast became worse, in consequence of the increased traffic upon the unformed road, which passed over rich basaltic and vegetable soil to the shipping port at Emu Bay, the natural outlet of Mount Bischoff. For a few years the bush track was a scene of indescribable confusion. For nine months of the year it was a sea of mud. Bullock drays laden with tin ore passed along it in large numbers, some getting hope-

lessly bogged, while during the winter months traffic was altogether suspended.*

The roadway, running nearly the whole distance through the Van Diemen's Land Company's lands, was neglected by the Government, but the difficulties which had attended the carriage of ore to the coast were obviated by the construction of a tramway by the Van Diemen's Land Company, who, on the advice of their local agent, Mr. J. W. Norton-Smith, executed the work at a heavy cost. This spirited undertaking (performed by the English Company without any concessions from the Colonial Government) proved very beneficial to all who were interested in the progress of the great tin-mining centre, and at the same time gave large profits to the Company. The tramway is a substantial work, well laid out, and capable of carrying a locomotive with a few alterations on the line.† It was not completed till the early part of 1878, when it was opened from Emu Bay to Rouse's Camp, a distance of forty-four miles, which brought it within about two miles of the mine. The Mount Bischoff Company subsequently constructed a tramway from their dressing sheds to the Van Diemen's Land Company's terminus.

Numerous claims having been taken up in the vicinity of Mount Bischoff, and the importance of the place established as a stanniferous region, the Government lost no time in marking off and proclaiming the township of Waratah. It is situated at the base of the mount, and is washed by the Waratah river (a tributary of the Arthur). It soon became a busy centre of commerce. Town allotments realised high prices, and good buildings were

* At that time another mine at Bischoff, the Stanhope, belonging to Messrs. Beecroft and Walker, was in active operation, sending for shipment large quantities of tin ore. This mine was sold in 1876 to a Melbourne Company, who erected a smelting furnace at the works. It has not yielded largely since that time.

† These alterations are now in progress (1884). Iron rails are being substituted for wood, and the line will shortly be worked by steam power instead of horses.

quickly erected. The Van Diemen's Land Company's tramway has since been extended to the township.

Mr. James Smith was not only rewarded by his direct pecuniary interest in the mine: he received a well-merited tribute from the inhabitants of the colony in the shape of an address* and a testimonial consisting of a silver salver and 250 sovereigns, which were presented to him by Governor Weld, on behalf of the subscribers, on 8th February, 1878, at Launceston. His Excellency warmly complimented Mr. Smith on the occasion.†

In addition to the well-merited honours Mr. Smith received from the inhabitants, Parliament also conferred upon him a life pension of £200 a year. Never did the possession of wealth fall into more worthy hands. No one knows the extent of his quiet, unostentatious liberality in

* Dear Sir,—For many years you have given yourself up to the work of exploring the mineral resources of Tasmania; struggling with hunger, cold, and weariness; facing with a manful courage all kinds of difficulties and disappointments, until, to use your own words, "death or victory should settle the question."

Such quiet heroism, apart from all questions of success, would have merited and won our approval; but we are glad to be able to congratulate you as the first discoverer, on Monday, the 4th day of December, 1871, of a payable tin mine in Tasmania, thus preparing the way for other discoveries of great value.

It is not saying too much when we declare our firm conviction that to you, more than to any living man, our colony owes its present state of prosperity. As the fair result of your discoveries property has increased in value, commerce has developed, the tide of immigration has turned to our shores, and all classes of the population have been benefited.

As a community we owe you much honour, because we know that in your long search you were more anxious to benefit the colony than yourself; and as a small proof of our sincere gratitude to you as a public benefactor, and our high appreciation of your character as a man, we respectfully beg your acceptance of the accompanying purse of 250 sovereigns.

Wishing for Mrs. Smith, yourself, and children long life and much happiness,—We are, dear Sir, on behalf of subscribers,

WILLIAM LAW, *Chairman.*

WILLIAM RITCHIE, *Hon. Secretary.*

E. D. HARROP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

† Mr. Smith, in making this presentation I wish to add a few words of my own. I accepted the invitation of the Committee with great pleasure, because I felt that the tribute to be paid to you was thoroughly well deserved; and it is one of the highest privileges pertaining to the office of a Governor to assist in rewarding merit. Your past services have been remarkable, not only for the inflexible determination with which they have been carried out, and the privations that attended them, but also for the great success by

cases of suffering and distress, while the Christian and benevolent institutions of the country have been largely aided from the same source.

The Mount Bischoff Company, seeing the steady and large output of ore from their mine, soon resolved to erect smelting furnaces. Four of these were built on a site chosen in Launceston, in proximity to the wharf. Under the superintendence of Mr. W. L. Jenkin, to whose efficient management much is due, the works have continued in steady operation. The quality of the ore sent to the smelting works maintained a steady average. Mr. Woodgate, the assayer, reported that during the six months ending December, 1882, he had assayed 25,616 bags of fine ore, which averaged 73·3 per cent.; and 5,138 bags of coarse ore, which averaged 64·2 per cent. This return gives a fair average of the general quality of the ore which has been produced since the ground was first worked.

In March, 1884, seventy-five dividends had been declared. The amount distributed amongst the shareholders up to that period was £462,000—equal to £38 10s. per share—£1 only per share having been called up from the contributing shareholders. From the formation of the Company to the same period about 20,000 tons of tin ore had been obtained from the mine.

These splendid returns were, however, only a small portion of the benefit resulting to the colony from Mr. Smith's discovery. It, of course, led others to explore the country for tin.

which they have been crowned. But no success can be deemed quite complete unless it has with it some touch of self-sacrifice. In my early days I was often engaged in exploring in New Zealand, and I know something of the hardships that have to be encountered in such an occupation. I am well aware that your privations and exertions have been far greater than mine; but you will be able to look back upon them with greater pleasure, and to feel the satisfaction that, as the result of your labours, happiness has been bestowed upon others, and numbers of families have been comfortably brought up and educated. As Governor of the colony I rejoice at its prosperity, and I shall always feel that in great part it is owing to *your* exertions.

Mr. G. R. Bell was the discoverer* of stanniferous deposits in the north-eastern district. He had visited Mount Bischoff, and observed the similarity of the granite formation at Hampshire Hills to that in the Ringarooma district; returning to the latter place, he discovered remunerative deposits, and at once commenced practical operations.

In the latter part of 1875 several companies were engaged working the stream tin which was now found to extend over a large extent of country in the north-east part of the island. Rich deposits were discovered at George's Bay, Thomas Plains, Mount Cameron, the upper branches of the Ringarooma river, and other places. A brisk trade was soon established between the eastern ports and Hobart and Launceston; but in consequence of the want of roads, great difficulty was experienced in conveying the ore to market. These deposits, with others more recently discovered in their vicinity, are now producing more tin in the aggregate than the mines at Bischoff. Latterly, deeper sinkings have revealed the fact that ancient and richer beds of the mineral exist below.

There are about fifty registered tin mining companies in the county of Dorset, besides numerous private parties actively and, in most cases, profitably engaged in the tin mining industry. Most of the ore finds its way to Launceston, where it is smelted at the Bischoff Company's works and at those of Messrs. Gardner and M'Kenzie, who, in 1878, erected two furnaces for a Sydney firm.

Tin ore was found in 1876 near Mount Heemskirk, in the vicinity of the western coast. The discovery led to the formation of numerous companies, and a considerable amount of capital has been expended in mining operations. Shortly after this discovery tin smelting works were erected

* Prior to Mr. Bell's discovery, Mr. Charles Gould, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Wintle found, during their explorations, several specimens of ruby tin on the east coast, and in the neighbourhood of Fingal; but these discoveries did not issue in any practical result.

in Hobart Town. Deposits of the mineral were also found at Mount Ramsay, twelve miles south-east of Mount Bischoff.

Gold of superior quality had also been found in alluvial deposits over a large extent of country on the Pieman river and its tributary streams, near the west coast. The persons who embarked in this industry were generally well repaid for their toil and privation; but the difficulty of access to the west coast greatly impeded operations at first. Until the discovery of minerals, very little was known of the country in that direction.

Messrs. W. R. Bell and Thomas Raymond were the first to trace the course of the Arthur river from a point south of Table Cape to the ocean. They constructed a flat-bottomed boat, and on 27th February, 1878, started down the stream from Kay's camp, which Mr. Bell computed to be 150 miles from the sea, following the windings of the river. They accomplished their perilous voyage, often delayed by falls and rapids, reaching at length the estuary of the Arthur river.*

Simultaneously with the tin discoveries a revival took place in gold mining. Fresh discoveries, and more encouraging yields in the known auriferous fields, imparted vitality

* On several occasions, where the fall of the water was too sudden, or where too many obstacles were projecting through the rushing waters, it was requisite to carry the boat and cargo past the danger. The great waterfall supposed to exist somewhere on the lower part of the river proved to be a myth. Before quitting the flat country and entering the last long narrows, the rumbling of the surf was distinctly heard, although the banks of the river maintain their bold character right down to the coast line. The river is influenced by the tide to a distance of fifteen miles from the sea, and at twelve miles from the sea a large tributary stream flows in from the south. From this junction down to the sea beach the deep water ranges from 100 to 200 yards in width, free from shoals or snags, and to all appearance deep enough to float a 2,000-ton ship. This fine sheet of water suddenly shoals and contracts to a few yards in width on the sea beach. At ebb tide, away from the influence of the surf, we proved the water to be only three feet in depth, the rise and fall of the tide being only two feet; thus, at high tide there is only five feet of water. . . . The navigation of the mouth of the Arthur appears impracticable even for boats, as a heavy surf breaks right across the entrance, the broken water extending more than half a mile out seaward.—*From Mr. W. R. Bell's Report.*

to an industry which had lain dormant for a time. The New Native Youth mine at Nine-Mile Springs crushed 1,790 tons of stone during the first six months of 1876, which yielded an average of 1 oz. 15 dwts. to the ton. The City of Hobart mine, at Black Boy, was also still crushing. In June, 1876, it had treated 8,026 tons of quartz since the battery started, which yielded 7,585 oz. of retorted gold—nearly an ounce to the ton.

Encouraged by the success of these two mines, which had withstood the general collapse, new claims were registered on old ground, and further discoveries were made in various directions. By the end of the year the Springs had resumed its former animated appearance. The New Native Youth maintained the premier position, giving splendid yields from large bodies of stone—2 oz. 6 dwts. 18 grs to the ton, from 1,017 tons; 1 oz. 9 dwts. 3½ grs. being the average of its operations at that period.

In June, 1877, the famous quartz reef at Brandy Creek (now Beaconsfield*) was discovered by Mr. William Dally, who, with his brothers, secured the claim now known as the Tasmania. Near the surface of this magnificent mine the stone was a sort of friable rubble, which the Messrs. Dally treated by breaking, then passing it through sieves, and washing off the finer portion in a sluice-box, by this rude process from 5 oz. to 10 oz. to the ton were procured. The mine was shortly afterwards sold to, and worked by, a Company, who laid out a large sum in the erection of first-class machinery and in tunnelling, so as to work the mine on a large scale.

The Tasmania gold mine has since proved a source of extraordinary wealth. The first crushing was cleaned up on the 14th August, 1878, when 450 tons of stone yielded 979 oz of retorted gold. The second crushing (September 20th) gave a return of 840 oz. from 480 tons. These results

* So named by Governor Weld in March, 1879.

were soon eclipsed by subsequent crushings. In the month of November, 440 tons yielded 1,471 oz. of pure gold, or an average of 3 oz. 6 dwts to the ton. During the first six months of 1879, 510 tons stone yielded 2,065 oz. = 4 oz. 1 dwt. per ton, 270 tons yielded 1,160 oz = 4 oz 6 dwts ; 420 tons, 1,300 oz., being an average of nearly 4 oz. to the ton. Two large crushings in May and June averaged 3 oz. Since that time the Tasmania has continued steadily to yield large profits. Up to the end of March, 1884, the sum of £279,000 had been paid in sixty-six dividends ; and the total quantity of gold produced was valued at £460,422 13s. 8d.

At the Blue Tier, six miles south of Beaconsfield (and now named Salisbury), similar surface results led to the formation of mining companies, who have not yet been successful in discovering payable reefs.

Beaconsfield is situated about twenty-seven miles from Launceston, on the west side of the Tamar, and about two miles from a jetty on the bank of that river. The names of the Dally brothers are identified with its early history. It is said that as early as the year 1857 Mr. William Dally found prospects of gold at Middle Arm Creek, about one mile east of the famous Tasmania reef. Nothing, however, of a thoroughly practical nature was done until the close of 1877.

Lefroy* (still known as the Nine-Mile Springs) was until quite recently considered the chief gold-field of Tasmania. There is no mine, it is true, equal in richness to the Tasmania, but the gold-bearing reefs at Lefroy are more widely distributed, and the aggregate yield has been very considerable. The New Chum Company's mine (half a mile from the New Native Youth) was only second to the Tasmania gold mine at Beaconsfield. The Company commenced

* This town was so named (at the request of the inhabitants) by Lieutenant-General Lefroy, the Administrator of the government, in 1881.

operations in September, 1879: at the end of December, 1882, gold had been obtained of the net value of £228,833, out of which amount £58,250 had been paid in dividends. The West New Chum paid about £20,000 in dividends during a shorter period. Since 1882 the mines at Lefroy failed to yield good returns from the levels which had been worked; but mining experts are of opinion that deep sinking only is required to reveal further treasure. Upon this subject Mr. Thureau, Inspector of Mines, remarks:—* “At Lefroy and vicinity these most important tertiaries (*pliocene*) comprise the auriferous drifts so extensively developed in Australia and on the Pacific slopes of America. Hitherto my investigations in Tasmania have resulted in the discovery at the West Coast of our quartz drifts at Long’s Plain and vicinity, assimilating to the White Hills of Bendigo; and likewise the strong indications for sub-basaltic gold drifts at the Back Creek goldfield † In the first instance the drifts were largely and extensively developed; in the second case the formation overlaid by the basalts resembled the Ballarat, Daylesford, and Taradale ‘deep leads’ of Victoria, and those of the ‘alta lead’ Grass Valley City, California.” The presence of gold in some slate rock from the Springs was detected as far back as 1847 by the late Mr. Riva, a Launceston jeweler, but no effort was then made towards further development. It remained for Mr. Samuel Richards, in 1869, to make the discovery which led to practical results. In 1863 a reward of £3,000 was offered by the Government to the first person who would discover a payable gold-field. Numerous claims for the reward were sent in from time to time, but it was not until the year 1881 that a decision was arrived at. In that year a Commission‡ was

* House of Assembly Paper, No. 118 (1882).

† Legislative Council Paper, No. 60 (1882).

‡ The Commissioners were Messrs. John Whitefoord, Recorder of Launceston, Bernard Shaw, Commissioner of Mines; and H. T. A. Murray, Police Magistrate of Launceston.

appointed to enquire into the merits of the several claimants, when, after a strict investigation, it was decided "that Samuel Richards was the discoverer of the first payable gold-field in Tasmania, and was entitled to the reward of £3,000."

Next in importance to the mineral discoveries, as tending to enrich Tasmania, was the eradication of the infectious disease in sheep known as the scab. The pastoral proprietors were always regarded as the most prosperous class of colonists, but they had many troubles unknown to others. They had losses arising from the presence of fluke, foot-rot, and scab; and latterly immense numbers of rabbits took possession of the runs. Of all these evils scab was certainly the most ruinous.

To the Hon. James Whyte belongs the merit of introducing measures for its eradication which have been crowned with entire success. Many difficulties had to be overcome at the outset. Compulsory legislative measures had already been passed for the extinction of the disease, but they had not been stringent enough to effect the object.

Mr. Whyte called attention to the matter through the Press, urging upon sheep-owners the importance of a united effort to exterminate a disease that was destroying their wool and materially affecting the increase of their flocks. At first they were not friendly to his proposals; and when, in 1870, he introduced a bill into Parliament, it was opposed with the most obstinate prejudice. He succeeded, however, in getting it passed, though in a somewhat crippled form, both as regarded the date at which it was to come into operation, the penal provisions it contained, and the means to be employed for carrying it out. The Act required all sheep-owners to dip their sheep in some reputed scab-destroying preparation twice after shearing, at an interval of not less than ten nor more than fourteen days. It also prohibited visibly diseased sheep from being driven

on the highways or exposed for sale in public yards. Licenses to cleanse were at first issued without fee, but in cases where flocks remained uncleansed for a protracted period a fee of one farthing per head in the first instance was charged, and afterwards the owner was liable to a penalty of £50 and a license fee of 3d. per head as a fine on his negligence. The Chief Inspector had also power in such cases to destroy the flock.

Mr. Whyte, who had been for several years a Minister of the Crown, and still held a seat in the Legislative Council, accepted the appointment of Chief Inspector, thus relinquishing his Parliamentary prospects in his zeal to carry out what he believed would prove a great benefit to the pastoral industry. He was aided by a competent and energetic staff of district inspectors, who, as a rule, were strict without being arbitrary, and watchful without being unduly officious.

When Mr. Whyte introduced the "Scab Act, 1870," he estimated the annual loss caused by the disease at £120,749. A year later he predicted that a still greater saving would be effected by eradicating it. Neither of his estimates, however, came up to actual results. In March, 1881, he had the pleasure of announcing that the sheep of Tasmania were *free from the scab disease*. He then produced the following calculation:—

Increased quantity of wool (say 2½ million pounds, at 1s. 3d. per lb.)	£ 145,833
Increased value of quantity produced prior to 1870—5 million pounds (at, say, 3d. per lb.)	62,500
Cost of dressing annually under old system...	13,500
Saving of labour—1,200 men at £50 each ...	60,000
Increased number and value of fat sheep ...	20,000
Increased export of stud sheep	12,000
	£313,833

These calculations accorded fairly with the Government statistical returns, which show a steady rise in the weight and value of wool, although the number of sheep does not show a corresponding increase.*

Such a material addition to the income of sheepowners was naturally productive of benefit to the whole colony; for, while in the first instance it largely increased the resources of those engaged in pastoral pursuits, and enhanced the value of their properties, the capital thus acquired found its way, through a variety of channels, into the pockets of the merchant, the shopkeeper, and the artisan.

The whole colony has recently been proclaimed free from the scab disease in sheep. To the energy and perseverance of the Hon. James Whyte flockmasters are indebted for this important result.

The "rabbit plague" (as it is termed) has of late years become a formidable evil on the pasture lands of the island. The midland districts are overrun by this little pest in countless thousands. The sheep and cattle bearing capa-

* The following is an abstract of wool exports for eleven years during the operation of Mr. Whyte's Scab Act:—

Year.	Lbs.	Value.	No of Sheep.
1869-70	5,193,594	298,564	1,531,186
1870-71 . . .	4,946,381	260,351	1,349,775
1871-72 . . .	4,908,990	353,746	1,305,489
1872-73	4,677,150	356,088	1,405,862
1873-74	5,530,791	388,933	1,531,242
1874-75	6,069,299	428,883	1,700,454
1875-76 . . .	6,607,214	437,798	1,783,072
1876-77	6,853,530	436,268	1,804,486
1877-78	7,436,453	479,342	1,845,810
1878-79	8,022,926	484,863	1,845,086
1879-80	8,146,660	453,642	1,800,639
1880-81	7,710,846	486,398	1,739,088

It may also be mentioned that two woollen manufactories have been in active operation during part of this period, causing a considerable local consumption of wool, which does not appear in the above return.

city of the runs has consequently been greatly reduced. Mr. Whyte gave it as his opinion that little short of £100,000 per annum is lost in wool from this cause alone. Local Boards have been established by legal enactment in various places, with power to raise funds for the destruction of rabbits; but although large numbers have been destroyed, they seem still to increase. In the year 1880 no less than 1,618,284 skins, valued at £12,579; and in 1881, 1,927,620 skins, valued at £14,511, were exported. The export is largely on the increase—172 bales, containing about half a million skins, valued at £3,870, were exported from the port of Hobart in two days of July, 1882. An English Company has recently established a factory near Hobart to tin rabbits for export to Great Britain.

The climate of the midland districts of Tasmania is more favourable than that of any part of the Australian continent for the production of the finest quality of Merino fleece. With these natural advantages, by the exercise of patient care and skill on the part of the breeders, Tasmanian sheep have been brought to remarkable perfection, and have been eagerly sought after by Australian graziers for the improvement of their flocks. They have consequently commanded extraordinarily high prices. 1,171 stud sheep, valued at £23,000, were exported to Sydney in July, 1882, where they were sold by auction at high rates. A four-tooth Merino, bred by Messrs. W. Gibson and Son, realised 400 guineas, another 155 guineas, and 44 two-tooth stud rams averaged 52 guineas. Sheep from the flocks of Messrs. David Taylor, T. Gibson, Viney, Parramore, J. Gibson, Ker-mode, Keach, Gatenby, and others, averaged large prices. This was only one of many shipments that have been made to Sydney and Melbourne during the last few years. Mr. James Gibson was the breeder of "Sir Thomas," a sheep which realised 860 guineas at auction in Melbourne.

Tasmania has always taken a creditable part at the Inter-

national Exhibitions which have been held in various parts of the world, wool being one of her chief displays. At the first Great Exhibition in London, out of 394 exhibits, 12 received silver medals, and 20 received prize certificates. At Paris, in 1855, 14 silver medals and 9 certificates were awarded. At London, in 1862, the colony obtained 26 silver medals and 26 certificates. At Philadelphia, in 1876, 29 each of medals and certificates. And in the Exhibitions at Sydney and Melbourne, in 1879-80, 6 gold, 32 silver, 97 bronze medals, and 287 certificates were awarded to exhibitors in the Tasmanian court.

Governor Weld retired from the administration of the Government of Tasmania on 6th May, 1880. He proceeded at once, by way of Melbourne, to Singapore, to fill his new appointment as Governor of the Straits Settlements. He received the honour of Knighthood for his past services.

Sir Francis Smith acted as Administrator of the Government from Mr. Weld's departure until the arrival of Lieutenant-General Sir John H. Lefroy—a period of nearly seven months.





CHAPTER XX.

SIR G. C. STRAHAN APPOINTED GOVERNOR—HIS FORMER SERVICES—GENERAL LEFROY ADMINISTRATOR OF GOVERNMENT—HIS POPULARITY—PARLIAMENT—POSTAGE RATS—CHINESE IMMIGRATION—GOVERNOR STRAHAN ARRIVES—CENSUS OF POPULATION—PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED—DEATHS—EIGHTH PARLIAMENT OPENS—REMISSION OF TAXATION—COLLISION BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES—MERSEY RAILWAY—IMMIGRATION—SETTLEMENT OF MAIN LINE RAILWAY CLAIM.

SIR GEORGE CUMINE STRAHAN, K.C.M.G., was appointed Governor of Tasmania in succession to Mr Weld. He was born in 1838; entered the Royal Artillery in 1857; and, two years later, became *aide-de-camp* to Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who was at that time High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles. In 1865 he accompanied Sir Henry Storks to Jamaica, Sir Henry having been appointed President of the Commission to enquire into the administration of Governor Eyre in that island. Sir George Strahan now received various appointments in rapid succession. He returned to the Mediterranean as Chief Secretary of the Government of Malta; again went to the Western Hemisphere about 1869 as Colonial Secretary for the Bahamas, of which islands he was acting-Governor from 1871 to 1873. In May, 1873, he was appointed Administrator of the Government of Lagos; about a year later he became Governor of the Gold Coast Settlement, where, during his administration, the great question of slavery was settled, and nearly a million of slaves were liberated. Sir George was appointed Governor of the Windward Islands in 1876, and of Tasmania in 1880. He did not, however, reach the colony until December 7th,

1881, his services having been employed in the interim as Administrator of the Government of the Cape Colony, between the time of Sir Bartle Frere's departure and the arrival of Sir Hercules Robinson at the Cape.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN HENRY LEFROY was appointed to administer the Government of Tasmania until the arrival of Sir G. Strahan: he sailed from England in the steamer *Orient* for Melbourne, and arrived at Hobart Town in the s.s. *Ringarooma*, with Lady and Miss Lefroy, on October 21st, 1880, Sir Francis Smith having administered the Government for about six months and a half. In the afternoon General Lefroy made his public entry into the city, where he was received with marked enthusiasm.

To say that Sir J. H. Lefroy was popular during his brief sojourn of thirteen months in Tasmania would but inadequately express the verdict of the people. His Excellency was more than popular—he was admired and beloved for his many virtues, for his large-hearted benevolence, his unbounded sympathy with the poor and the distressed, his deep concern in the welfare of the unfortunate inmates of charitable institutions, his devotion to every great and good cause, for the interest he manifested in the promotion of religion, science, and learning, and in the general advancement of the colony. His Excellency visited various parts of Tasmania during the short term of his administration, exhibiting an energy in acquainting himself with the country which would have been remarkable in a younger man.

The fifth session of the seventh Parliament was opened on 10th August, 1880, by the then Administrator, Sir F. Smith. The Giblin Ministry submitted proposals for the completion of main roads, the construction of branch roads and bridges, the continuation of the Deloraine railway to the Mersey at Formby, and for certain public buildings, the total cost amounting to £275,000. The Mersey Railway Bill, so often passed in the House of Assembly on previous

occasions, was now thrown out in that House, much to the surprise of its advocates. The branch roads, which were to cost £73,600, did not find favour in the eyes of the Legislative Council, who threw out the bill for their construction. The other two bills—for main roads and public buildings—were passed with amendments. The Hon. W. Moore, Colonial Secretary, urgently pressed the importance of providing means to open branch roads, but a majority of the Council rejected his appeal.

Sir J. H. Lefroy opened the sixth session of Parliament on July 19th, 1881. Ministers again brought forward bills for the construction of public works, embracing an expenditure of £15,600 for main roads; £89,300 for branch roads; for bridges, £11,800, buildings, £33,500, and £10,500 for telegraphs, surveys, &c. With the exception of a few items these were carried through the Assembly and Legislative Council. The long-deferred bill for railway extension to the Mersey was again introduced by Mr. O'Reilly, the Minister of Lands, who succeeded in passing it through the House of Assembly, but it was once more rejected in the Council.

On January 1st, 1881, the intercolonial postage rate was reduced from 3d. to 2d. on single letters. This alteration was made by the Governor-in-Council, who acted on the advice of the Crown law officers that they had power to deal with regulations affecting the post office. A Post Office Bill had been before Parliament, and was rejected in a hasty manner by the Council; it was therefore deemed desirable by the Executive to carry into effect a reduction which had been already adopted in the other Australian colonies and New Zealand. An amendment of the Post Office Act, however, was passed in November, which authorised the reduction of the intercolonial postage rate, the issue of penny postal cards, and the establishment of Post Office Savings Banks.

The immigration of Chinese artisans and labourers is a question which has at different times aroused the attention of the colonists. In some of the other colonies stringent laws had been passed to restrain their influx; and in Tasmania a measure was now introduced for the same purpose, but was not assented to by Parliament. Much difference of opinion still prevails as to the wisdom of permitting the inhabitants of China to land on the thinly peopled shores of Australia, although it is difficult to justify their exclusion from the colonies on any of the recognised principles of international comity. There is, perhaps, a valid objection to such immigrants in the fact that they do not bring with them their wives and families; nevertheless they are a sober and industrious people, and are a decided benefit to a community where labour is scarce. Still there is a strong feeling of dislike to their presence, which arises partly from the objectionable nature of many of their habits, but chiefly from the fact that the reduced rate of wages at which they are content to work excites the jealousy of the industrial and labouring classes.

Lieutenant-General Lefroy retired from the Government, and sailed from Launceston with his family in the s.s. *Flinders*, on 25th November, 1881. The departure of such an excellent man was deeply regretted by all classes of the community. Before he left Hobart Town the members of both Houses of Parliament presented him with loyal and warm-hearted addresses, to which he replied in touching language. "Be assured (he said to the Assembly) that in a residence of nearly twenty-three years in various colonies, I have never left any with regret so warm as I shall feel when this island fades in the distance, or carried away memories so pleasant as those which will be hereafter associated with the name of Tasmania." The same tone pervaded his replies to the numerous farewell addresses that were presented to him at Hobart Town and Launceston.

The last place His Excellency visited in the colony was the male Invalid Depôt at Launceston, where, accompanied by the Premier, he indulged his feelings of benevolence just before he embarked: he left a record in the Visitors' Book which is worthy of quotation:—"I carry away, at my parting visit to this Invalid Depôt, the impression I have always had, that the law has fully done its part in providing for the aged paupers of the colony. However, far more depends on the personal kindness and humanity of those in authority over them than on any provision which the law can make to secure to them that measure of comfort which their helpless condition, and often their misfortune, demands. In Mr. Jones, the Superintendent, and in his present assistant, the Government has every security possible for their well being; and I must express the uniform satisfaction I have felt in seeing their kindness and solicitude for the aged people here. It does honour to themselves, and credit to the colony."

The new Governor, Sir George Cumine Strahan, arrived in the s.s. *Southern Cross* at Hobart Town on 7th December. The people looked with confidence upon a Governor whom Mr. Gladstone, from personal observation and knowledge, delighted to honour. On his public entry into the capital he was received with marks of respect. On the 14th His Excellency visited Launceston, and the western districts on the 16th.

Governor Strahan arrived in the colony at a season of unprecedented prosperity. Each monthly return showed an increase to the revenue, from all its various sources, in a degree far exceeding the most sanguine expectations of the Treasurer, although he was prepared for very satisfactory results. The farmers were cheered with the prospect of a bountiful harvest; the cereals were free from those destructive agencies, rust and blight; and the grub and aphids were disappearing from the root crops. Mining was

in a highly prosperous condition: there were 155 gold-mining companies registered, nearly all of which were in active operation. There were also 62 registered tin-mining companies; two copper; one iron; one slate; and three silver-lead companies.

A census of the population was taken on the 3rd April, 1881. The following table shows the number of persons in each electoral district (House of Assembly) at the last three census periods:—

Electoral District.	Number of Persons at Census of—		
	1861.	1870	1881.
*Hobart, Central	19,449	19,092	4,719
„ North			4,226
„ South			2,929
„ East			3,250
„ West			5,577
Launceston, Central	10,359	10,668	4,877
„ North			3,433
„ South			4,376
Brighton	2,808	3,097	2,954
Clarence	1,552	1,602	1,485
Cumberland	2,794	2,915	3,033
Franklin... ..	2,579	2,910	3,352
Glamorgan	1,168	1,061	1,016
Glenorchy	3,345	3,521	3,917
Kingborough	3,454	3,668	4,164
New Norfolk	2,690	2,952	3,641
Oatlands	2,333	3,058	3,473
Queenborough	1,979	2,391	2,213
Richmond	1,608	1,629	1,729
Sorell	4,111	4,055	3,293
Campbell Town	2,549	2,464	2,710
Deloraine	3,114	3,670	4,126
Devon, East	5,416	5,956	4,977
„ West		2,870	4,123
Wellington		—	4,733
Fingal	1,956	2,261	3,960
George Town	1,350	1,613	4,399
Morven	2,638	2,870	2,473
Norfolk Plains	3,385	3,638	3,166
Ringwood	1,974	2,060	2,016
Selby	2,781	3,468	5,796
Westbury	4,585	5,839	4,872
The whole Colony	89,977	99,328	115,008†

* On 1st January, 1881, the name of the city was changed from Hobart Town to Hobart.

† Exclusive of 697 persons returned as being on board ships in port.

Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on 12th May, and a general election followed. During the recess some prominent officers connected with the Parliament had been removed by death.

Mr. James Erskine Calder, Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Assembly, died suddenly on 20th February, at the age of 74. He came to the colony in 1829; entered the Survey Office as a Government surveyor, in which capacity he assisted to carry out some of the trigonometrical surveys of the island, and was afterwards appointed head of the department as Surveyor-General. Mr. Calder was a man of strong practical energy and considerable talent. He published a small volume on the *Native Tribes of Tasmania*, and by other publications rescued many old colonial incidents from oblivion.

Mr. Hugh Munro Hull, clerk of the House of Assembly, and Parliamentary librarian, died a few weeks later. This gentleman was also a very old colonist, having arrived in Tasmania with his father and other members of his family when a child, in the year 1819. Like Mr. Calder, he was fond of recording past events; he published *Forty Years in Tasmania*, and a *Lecture on the Aborigines*.

The Hon. Frederick Maitland Innes, President of the Legislative Council, was suddenly stricken down on May 11th, while on a visit to Launceston. He was a colonist of 49 years, having arrived in 1833; subsequently he spent a few years in England, where he was engaged in literary pursuits. On his return he established and edited the *Observer* newspaper at Hobart Town, and was at a later period connected with the northern press. Mr. Innes always took an active part in the leading questions of the day; he was a ready writer and a fluent speaker, though sometimes ambiguous in debate. His Parliamentary career dated from the establishment of representative government

under the new Constitution, from which time he served the country either as Minister of the Crown, private member, Chairman of Committees, or President of the Upper House. On the death of Sir J. M. Wilson, in 1880, Mr. Innes was elected for the second time President of the Legislative Council (a position which he resigned in 1872 in order to form a Ministry); and while still holding this, the highest Parliamentary honour, his life ended. The loss of a man so gifted was felt in the educational and other kindred institutions, in which he took an active part, and last, but not least, by a large circle of private friends.

A change in the Cabinet had also taken place. Mr. Giblin, Treasurer, and Mr. Dodds, Attorney-General, exchanged portfolios, on which occasion they resigned their seats, and went to their constituents for re-election—a step which was not necessary in law, but was deemed expedient in principle. They were returned without opposition.

The eighth Parliament of Tasmania met on 11th May. There were nine new members in the House of Assembly, and two in the Council. The Hon. Thomas Daniel Chapman was chosen President of the Legislative Council. The selection was not one of accident, nor of political intrigue. There was, perhaps, no man in the colony more thoroughly acquainted with rules, practices, and precedents; more clear-headed in judgment, or more fitted by experience to preside over the deliberations of a legislative body. His length of service in the political institutions of the colony further qualified and entitled Mr. Chapman to receive the honour accorded to him by unanimous assent. He had been one of the first elected members of the old Council, when the colony was under Imperial control; was the first Minister of Finance when constitutional government was established; and (with the exception of a brief interval) had been ever since a member of Parliament—bold, practical, and independent, whether in or out of office.

The Hon. H. Butler was elected Speaker of the House of Assembly for the second time. He, too, had special claims upon the confidence of the House from his long Parliamentary career, his sound knowledge, and undoubted judgment.

The Coalition Ministry had now retained office for nearly three years; nor was there any likelihood of a change taking place. Parliament and people seemed to be lulled into a delicious political repose—and indeed it was a condition most desirable in a community which had been for many years subject to the violent passions of partisan warfare. General prosperity on the one hand, and the judicious policy of a liberal administration on the other, subdued the elements of discord: political agitators either became indifferent, or used their talents in furtherance of the common cause.

The session of 1882 was, therefore, one of the most practical the colony had witnessed under representative government. Still the ruling passion developed symptoms of vitality towards the middle of the session. Mr. Alfred Dobson, a former Attorney-General in the Fysh-Giblin Cabinet of 1877-8, announced himself as the leader of an "organised opposition." A watchful opposition was acceptable both to the people and to Parliament, and under the leadership of Mr. Dobson it was not likely to degenerate into an obstructive faction.

Mr. Dodds, the new Treasurer, had taken office at a time of prosperity that knew no precedent. He made his first financial statement on 19th July. At the commencement of the year he had a surplus of £44,552 carried over from 1881. In anticipation of a further surplus at the close of 1882 Mr. Dodds proposed certain remissions of duties, amounting in all to some £45,000, which comprised reductions in Customs duties to the extent of £35,535, the chief items being reductions upon tea from 6d. to 4d. per lb., and

upon sugar from £6 to £4 per ton. Exemptions were also proposed upon thirty-five minor articles, the Customs duties upon which were small, but were attended with trouble and annoyance to importers. It was further proposed to abolish the duty upon carriages, which only realised £1,200 a year on account of the difficulty experienced in collecting it; to reduce the real estates duty by exempting all properties under £10 in value, and to abolish certain stamp duties which had been yielding nearly £5,000 a year.

The Treasurer's proposals did not meet with that general approval which might have been expected in the popular branch of the Legislature—the influence of property seemed to predominate. Two days were occupied in debating the question of reducing the tariff, the prevailing opinion being that the people were not over-taxed, that the surplus revenue might more appropriately be applied to the reduction of liabilities, or to the construction of public works.

In deference to the feeling of the House Mr. Dodds and his colleagues decided that, in order to secure the more important concessions to the poorer classes, they would alter some of their proposals, and endeavour to conciliate the country members by abandoning the abolition of the meat tax, and by reducing the property tax from 9d. to 6d., holders under £10 in value being still exempt. The policy of the Government, thus revised, was assented to by the House of Assembly, and bills dealing with the stamp duties, carriage tax, and real estates duty, were passed, and forwarded to the Legislative Council.

The bills giving substantial relief to property were favourably received by the Council, but the clause which exempted the small holders from payment of the property tax was struck out. They were thus passed, and became law. Not so, however, the bill which provided relief to the poor by means of a reduced Customs tariff on tea and sugar. When that measure came to be dealt with by the

Council the remissions were struck out. What remained of the bill was of little value, and the House of Assembly refused to agree to the amendments. When the bill was returned to the Council with an intimation from the Assembly to that effect, the former House, as it had frequently done upon former occasions, exhibited a strong acerbity of feeling. Instead of the Assembly's message being discussed at an early date, in accordance with Parliamentary usage, a resolution was passed by the Council postponing its consideration to 3rd October, a date which was beyond the time fixed for the prorogation of Parliament. Ministers had therefore no course open but to adjourn the Assembly until that date. When the Houses again met on the last day of October the Council resumed the consideration of the Assembly's message, and a motion was passed by eight votes to four, "that the message of the Assembly be considered that day six months."

This proceeding, so inimical to the friendly relations which should exist between the two branches of the Legislature, met with the well-merited disapprobation of the people, and brought together members of all shades of politics in the House of Assembly, who rallied round the Government in defence of the principles of the constitution, which they considered had been violated by the Council, and they now regarded that body as an enemy to the progress of legislation, and to the best interests of the country. The Government was not willing to allow an important financial measure to be shelved by the Council in such an unconstitutional manner. The Assembly passed a resolution that the records of the Council be searched in order to ascertain what had become of the missing bill. The Council ultimately sent back the bill, and agreed to a Conference of members of both Houses. The managers of the Conference on the part of the Assembly were rudely treated, the managers on the part of the Council declining

to argue the points at issue, or to give any explanation of the course adopted, at the same time firmly adhering to the decision of the Council in regard to the remission of duties upon tea and sugar. Under these circumstances the Customs Duties Amendment Bill was laid aside.

These matters caused much discussion throughout the colony, and strong feelings of indignation were expressed at the high-handed conduct of the Upper House. The Council had indeed for some time been declining in public estimation. It had not of late years been fulfilling the functions for which the framers of the Constitution had designed it. They had intended that the second Chamber should embody the best intelligence and gravest judgment of the enlightened and thoughtful part of the community, and had thought that its wise deliberations would make it a balance-wheel in the State machine, steadying the caprices and passing impulses of the more democratic Assembly. But the Council had not realised this expectation. It could not be said to represent the conservative intelligence of the country, for age and wealth had been found surer passports to its benches than intellectual vigour or calm prudence. Its weakness in debating power had been only equalled by its want of moderation. In dealing with important public questions it had often exhibited a petulant impatience and a selfish care for narrow personal interests, which had seriously lowered its prestige: indeed, in everything that gives weight and dignity to a deliberative body, the Council had shown itself distinctly inferior to the Assembly. Those who appreciated the value of a second Chamber as a check on hasty legislation felt that, in order to restore it to its proper place in the State, the Council must be made both more representative and less irresponsible.

Notwithstanding the collisions between the two Houses, which occurred towards the close of the session of 1882,

many important and useful measures were passed. The policy of opening out and improving the colony by means of public works—a policy so long and so fruitlessly advocated by successive Governments—met with a more generous support than was usual in the Legislative Council. The sum of £120,000 was granted for the construction of the long-deferred railway from Deloraine to Latrobe and Formby; and £260,000 was voted for roads, bridges, buildings, and other public works in various parts of the colony. Ministers had submitted proposals for a total expenditure of £665,000, but those for the construction of a railway to Fingal and St. Mary's, at a cost of £200,000, and for the execution of some minor works, were rejected. The proposal for a railway to St. Mary's was negatived by sixteen votes to seven in the House of Assembly, the reason generally assigned being that fuller information was needful to justify so large an expenditure; but the policy of initiating a general railway system was affirmed.

The great scarcity of labour, consequent on the development of the mines and the general progress of the colony, induced Parliament to turn its attention to immigration. A select committee was appointed to consider the matter, and, in accordance with their report, the sum of £30,000 was authorised to be expended within three years in introducing immigrants from the United Kingdom. A new Board was appointed for carrying out the necessary arrangements, and an agent was sent to England to select suitable persons to emigrate to Tasmania under the bounty system.

The disputes (to which we have already referred) between the Tasmanian Government and the Main Line Railway Company were brought to an amicable close during the session of 1882. The claims of the Company, directly and indirectly, involved a sum of £65,000, besides interest. These claims were waived in consideration of the payment

by the Government of £14,654, which sum the Treasurer was enabled to pay to the Company out of the current revenue.

At the end of the year 1882 the revenue of the colony showed a larger increase than had been anticipated by the most sanguine. In two years the revenue, without any additional taxation, had increased to the extent of £110,782, a sum considerably more than one-fourth part of the revenue of 1880.





CHAPTER XXI.

CONTINUED PROSPERITY—IMPRUDENT SPECULATION—GOLD AND TIN—
OFFICIAL CHANGES—PARLIAMENT—ROYAL COMMISSIONS—RAILWAYS—
FEDERATION—DEFENCE WORKS—VOLUNTEER FORCES—STATISTICAL SUM-
MARY—DEATH OF PUBLIC MEN.

DURING the year 1883 the colony had continued to advance steadily in all the various branches of industry. The revenue had still further increased beyond that of the previous year by some £13,000. The following is an abstract of the revenue for five years, ending 31st December, 1883:—

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.
	£	£	£	£	£
Customs ...	204,310	222,484	259,535	294,118	303,223
Inland	77,830	82,854	82,975	89,188	98,369
Territorial ...	55,468	65,817	79,147	91,554	78,631
L. & W. Railway	21,690	23,449	23,768	27,513	29,559
Excise ...	—	10,814	13,164	14,445	15,066
Property tax ...	—	31,816	35,972	28,678	33,966
Totals... £	359,298	437,234	494,561	545,496	558,814

This large and steady increase in the general revenue, during a period in which the taxes had been considerably

reduced, spoke eloquently of the prosperity and advancement of the colony at the close of 1883.

Prosperity, however, is not without dangers of its own. It has a tendency to create an unwholesome greed for speculation. Tasmania, with all her experience in the past, still indulged largely in this ruinous practice. The success of gold and tin mining led many astray, who ventured not only their capital, but in many instances their narrow incomes, in profitless undertakings. Thus a very large amount of money was spent in visionary enterprises; worthless claims were taken up; companies were formed; shares ran up to a fictitious value; hundreds of persons, without any knowledge of the property in which they had invested, were drawn into the vortex of wild speculation, and the delusion only vanished when the so-called mines failed to produce any return.

In one sense the colony did not suffer loss by these unprofitable enterprises. The money which had been spent so recklessly gave employment to labour: it was therefore not altogether lost, but simply passed from the pocket of one into that of another, so that the suffering caused by the collapse of a number of mining companies in 1883 was of an individual rather than of a national character. The merchant, the shopkeeper, the sharebroker, the artisan, the working classes, and even the owner of landed property, derived a temporary advantage from the impulse, unstable though its foundations were; and although a certain amount of depression followed the suspension of operations in these fictitious ventures, the general progress of the colony was not affected to any material extent, the reaction being only sufficient to bring back the sounder condition of affairs which had existed when mining operations were conducted upon a more reliable basis.

The value of gold and tin exported during the year 1883 exceeded that of the previous year by £21,450. The fol-

lowing table shows the value of these minerals exported during the five years ending 31st December, 1883:—

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.
	£	£	£	£	£
Gold . . .	145,723	199,613	210,476	160,338	173,000
Tin . . .	299,121	361,678	382,573	357,557	366,345
Totals .. £	444,844	561,291	593,049	517,895	539,345

It is hardly probable, however, that the above figures express accurately the value of gold which left the colony by private hands, when it is considered that the alluvial auriferous deposits are worked by men who are continually on the move, and who sometimes take with them to the other colonies the produce of their washings, without leaving behind them any record of the amount or value of the gold thus removed. In the early part of the year small but rich finds of gold at the Whyte River (a tributary of the Pieman) again attracted attention to the West Coast. A party of three found several lumps of gold within a short period—one nugget weighing 243 oz. 1 dwt.; another, 39 oz. 10 dwt.; and a third, 9 oz. 10 dwt.; beside a number of others, varying from two to three ounces, and aggregating about 60 oz. In the same district two men obtained nuggets weighing altogether 144 oz., and also 50 oz. of alluvial gold. Since that time prospectors have been generally successful, some of them obtaining quantities of coarse nuggets. The reefs of the district, which it is expected will turn out very rich, have not yet been prospected, chiefly on account of the density of the surface scrub, and the absence of intersectional tracks for the transport of provisions. Owing to the energy displayed by the Government the obstacles which have hitherto stood in the way of thoroughly opening the Pieman gold deposits are being removed. At the King River, lying in proximity to Macquarie Harbour, very pro-

mining indications have been found, but the difficulty of getting regular supplies to this remote district has greatly impeded operations. Nearly all who worked the alluvial deposit obtained good returns, while some were extremely successful: two men obtained more than 100 oz. of gold in three weeks, and in one instance three men carried away 600 oz. between them. On this gold-field a very rich quartz reef was discovered by a prospecting association. Some of the stone, weighing $143\frac{1}{2}$ lb, was sent to Melbourne for trial, and when crushed yielded 221 oz. 5 dwt of retorted gold, valued at £836.

In other parts of the colony, but more particularly at Mount Victoria, lying back from George's Bay on the East Coast, new gold deposits were coming into notice, and the prospects of old ones were improving; but at Lefroy it is doubtful whether much more could be done except by means of deep sinking. Mr. G. Thureau, F.G.S., the Government geologist, who has bestowed great labour on the work of inspecting the mines and the mineral districts generally, expresses his belief that mining in Tasmania is only in its infancy, and that there is a great future before the colony in this branch of industry.

In consequence of the great increase of business in the offices of Lands and Mines it was found necessary to form them into separate departments, each under a permanent head responsible only to the Minister. Mr. Charles P. Sprent was placed at the head of the Lands Office; Mr. Bernard Shaw was appointed Secretary of Mines; and Mr. James Fincham, as Engineer-in-Chief, had charge of the Public Works.

There were two Parliamentary sessions held in 1883, the latter of which, however, was convened for the consideration of one question only. The first session of the year, being the second of the eighth Parliament of Tasmania, was opened by the Governor on July 24th, and lasted until

October 20th. The second was opened on December 14th, and lasted only four days. These two sessions were productive of important practical results. The public works and railway policy of the Government was assented to by both Houses—not, however, without considerable resistance at first on the part of the Legislative Council.

The Treasurer (Mr. Dodds) made an able financial statement, in which he clearly proved by facts and figures that the progress and prosperity of the colony was not spasmodic, but steady, continuous, and derived from sound inherent sources. In consequence of the flourishing condition of the general revenue Mr. Dodds felt himself at liberty to propose large reductions of taxation, some of which were not agreed to in the Legislative Council; but remissions were passed by both Houses on about 80 articles, reducing the Customs duties by £17,000, of which the remission of 3d per lb. on tea represented £10,250. Though the reductions agreed to were less than half the amount asked for by the Treasurer, yet, with the remissions of the previous year (£13,200), the relief was such as could be sensibly felt by the people.

Following upon the Treasurer's statement Mr. Brown, Minister of Lands and Works, proposed an expenditure on railways of £719,000, and on roads, bridges, public buildings, and other works, £173,880. Parliament agreed to the expenditure of the latter sum with certain modifications, but not to the amount set down for railways. Other public works were passed, including a vote of £8,000 for a railway between Parattah and Oatlands, which swelled the actual amount voted for public works to £235,285. Of this sum £8,000 for the Oatlands railway was to be paid out of the current revenue.

Many important matters were introduced during the first session of 1883; but beyond the public works proposals little was done in the way of definite legislation. Acts

were passed for the appointment of district justices of the peace, whose judicial functions are to be exercised only in the district in which they reside; for the establishment of fire brigades in the chief towns; for simplifying conveyancing and the law of real property, and for enabling the municipal councils of Hobart and Launceston to raise certain loans. An Act raising the Governor's salary and allowances to £5,000 was also passed. Mr. Bird (a private member) submitted a Local Option bill, but it was thrown out in the Assembly by a narrow majority. Another bill dealing with the drink traffic was introduced by the Government, and thrown out in the Council. A new Crown Lands Act, containing several useful provisions, met with the same fate.

The reports of three Royal Commissions were laid before Parliament. These reports were upon the system of education in the State schools; upon penal discipline; and upon the condition of the asylums for the insane at New Norfolk and the Cascades. The Education Commissioners recommended that public education in Tasmania be compulsory, free, and secular; that a School of Mines be established at Launceston; that the central control of the schools be vested in a Minister of the Crown, aided by a paid Director and a Board of Patronage and Advice; that district School Boards be elected by the ratepayers of proclaimed school districts; and other matters. Parliament did not entertain these proposals during the session. The report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the state of penal discipline led to the vote of a sum of money for the erection of a gaol for the colony. The Royal Commission appointed to make enquiry into the condition of the lunatic asylums took a large amount of evidence and sent in an elaborate report, which was laid before Parliament when it met in July. The report pointed out some defects in the management of the asylum at New Norfolk, recommended the

erection of new buildings, and an extension of the recreation ground. The Legislative Council, however, appointed a Select Committee of the House to make similar enquiries, and to send in a report. This committee made grave charges against the management of the institution, and disturbed whatever action the Government might have been disposed to take. At a later period three experts from the other colonies, Doctors F. N. Manning, T. T. Dick, and A. S. Paterson, were appointed to report on the condition of the asylum. They exonerated the officers of the establishment from charges of neglect and mismanagement, and advised the erection of buildings on a new site nearer to Hobart.

The railways proposed by the Government were three in number—one to extend from the Main Line Railway at South Bridgewater to New Norfolk and Hamilton-on-Clyde, with a branch to Macquarie Plains, to be called the Derwent Valley line, a second to extend from the Corners station of the Main Line to Fingal and St. Mary's (near the East Coast); and a third to run from Launceston to Scottsdale; the sums required for the construction of the lines being £250,000, £150,000, and £300,000 respectively.

The Opposition in the House of Assembly objected to the extension of a railway to the Clyde, and the Government consented that the terminus of the Derwent Valley line should be at Glenora. The Fingal Railway Bill passed in the Assembly by a majority of seven votes, and the Scottsdale line was consented to without a division.

Owing to the favourable manner in which the Legislative Council had dealt with the other public works bills, it was generally expected that the railway measures would also receive the sanction of the House. In this surmise the people were mistaken.

The three railway bills having been sent up to the Council and read a first time, the Chief Secretary (Mr. Moore) proposed the second reading of the Derwent Valley line

(5th October); whereupon Mr. Grubb (member for Meander) moved an amendment, to the effect that "in the absence of fuller information in reference to the construction of railways now before the Council, this Council is of opinion that the consideration of these measures should be deferred until next session, in order to afford the Government the opportunity of placing fuller information before the Council; and that for these reasons this bill be read the second time this day six months." Instead of calmly and exhaustively debating this important question honourable members allowed it to be decided by almost a silent vote. No arguments were advanced against the policy of railway extension, no reasons were given for delay, except such as were expressed in Mr. Grubb's amendment, and these were hardly *tenable in fact*; for the Government had really supplied as much information as they were justified in incurring the expense to procure prior to a Parliamentary vote. In a full House Mr. Grubb carried his amendment by eight votes to seven.

As soon as this decision became known great excitement prevailed over all parts of the colony. The House of Assembly, which was sitting at the time, at once suspended its proceedings. The Premier briefly but emphatically adverted to the unexpected position of affairs, and, after an expression of indignation from members on both sides, the House adjourned, in order to allow the Government time to consider the situation, and decide what further action to take.

Public feeling, it was now evident, had been strongly in favour of the railway policy, although this had not hitherto been expressed in a demonstrative manner. Meetings were at once held in the districts represented by the opposing members, and their action was censured in almost every instance. At Launceston the riotous behaviour of an excited mob went beyond the bounds of discretion. On

returning home from Parliament two members of the Council, who had been prominent in opposition, were met at the railway station by a large concourse of people, some of whom went so far as to personally assault one of them. To say that the electors of Launceston were parties to such cowardly conduct would be doing them an injustice, although many of them were prepared to hoot the members, and show their disapproval by legitimate means. The electors, as well as the inhabitants generally, were, by a very large majority, indignant at the proceedings of the Legislative Council, who had rejected a measure which had long been considered of importance for the development of the resources of the colony.

In the meantime the Government, unwilling to allow the session to close without making another attempt to carry the railway bills, decided to again introduce the question in the Council. The Chief Secretary moved (October 12)—“That the resolution of the Council of the 5th instant, having reference to the Railway Construction Bills then before the Council, be read and rescinded.” This motion was debated with considerable force of argument, the prevailing opinion being that it would be a deviation from the constitutional practices of Parliament to rescind the resolution. The Chief Secretary's motion was therefore lost by a majority of ten votes against three. The only course now open was one which had been suggested by both the friends of the Government and the Opposition—to proceed with the business of the session, prorogue, and assemble again at an early date for the purpose of reconsidering the railway bills.

This course having been adopted, the Governor summoned Parliament to meet on 14th December, for the purpose of holding what has been termed the “Railway Session.” On that day Mr. Brown (Minister of Public Works) moved in the Assembly that the House would

proceed in committee to consider the expenditure of £590,000 for the construction of the railways.* Instead of three railway bills, as in the former session, these were now included in one. The Minister's proposals were assented to by the Assembly without a division; the bill was read twice on the day Parliament assembled, and a third time at its next sitting.

On the 18th the Railway Bill was in the Legislative Council. Great anxiety prevailed in all parts of the colony for its fate in that Chamber, as none of the members who had opposed the measure in October had distinctly promised to reverse their votes, and only two of them had pledged themselves to remain silent. It was therefore both a surprise and a relief to the country when it became known that upon the same day the bill was introduced in the Council it was finally passed. The only members who opposed the construction of railways on this occasion were Messrs. Cameron and Grubb; Mr. Gellibrand also voting against the Fingal line. A 4 per cent. Debenture Bill, redeemable in the year 1914, for raising the sum of £800,000, had passed both Houses on the following day. Thus the vexed question of a railway policy, which had been agitated for years, was set at rest by Parliament in four sittings.

The necessity for a federation of the British colonies of Australasia had long been considered by thoughtful persons, who could see that many questions affecting the common weal would arise in the not distant future, which could only be dealt with by co-operative action. The exclusive policy of the colony of Victoria, with her selfish protection laws, tended greatly to retard the accomplishment of this grand object. While that colony, lying in the centre of the group, held to her protective principle, there was no possi-

* Bridgewater to Glenora (north side of Derwent), 23 miles 16 chains, £140,000; Fingal line, Corners to St. Mary's, 47 miles 7 chains, £150,000; Launceston to Scottsdale, *via* Upper Piper, 59 miles 33 chains, £300,000.

bility of agreeing upon a uniform Customs tariff, and that operated against the adoption of reciprocal measures in other ways. At this period, however (1883), a movement was made by the colony of Queensland which gave a fresh impulse to the matter, and which promises to lead to a successful issue in the establishment of a Federal Union at an early date.

Unfortunately for Australia the mother country, when an opportunity offered, declined to take possession of the island of New Caledonia, which lies midway between the British colonies of Queensland and New South Wales on the west, and Fiji on the east. In 1872 France occupied the island as a penal settlement; and the frequent escape of French convicts to the Australian continent then became a source of anxiety and annoyance to the colonies. These feelings were intensified by the more recent proceedings of the Republic in regard to the proposed deportation of criminals to islands of the New Hebrides group. Queensland, fearing that France would annex a portion of New Guinea for similar purposes, took possession of that island in the name of Great Britain; but having acted without Imperial authority her action was repudiated by the British Government. It had the effect, however, of rousing the other colonies to the importance of the question, and to the necessity of making a united effort to prevent the establishment of other penal settlements on the islands of the Western Pacific. Mr. Service, the Premier of Victoria, took an active interest in the matter, and responded to a suggestion of Lord Derby, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the effect that the Colonial Governments should appoint representatives to meet in conference and decide what they were prepared to do in the matter of federation, in order that a legally constituted Federal Council might be established, with power to act in concert with the Imperial Government upon the question of annex-

ing, or establishing a protectorate over, the islands. Mr. Service lost no time in attending to this matter. A Convention of Delegates appointed by the Governments of each colony (including West Australia and Fiji), and consisting of several of the most able colonial statesmen, met at Sydney in the latter part of November. The deliberations of this body were conducted with closed doors, but an official report of its proceedings was published shortly after its sittings were concluded. A Federal Council Bill was drawn up and agreed to by the Convention. This bill was to be submitted to the Imperial and Colonial Parliaments for their adoption. It provided that the Council should consist of two members appointed for each colony except Crown colonies, in which case only one member each should be appointed. The proposed measure would empower the Federal Council to legislate upon the following matters:—(1) The relations of Australasia with the islands of the Pacific; (2) the prevention of the influx of criminals; (3) fisheries in Australasian waters beyond territorial limits; (4) the service of civil process of the courts of any colony within Her Majesty's possessions of Australasia out of the jurisdiction of the colony in which it is issued, (5) the enforcement of judgments of courts of law of any colony beyond the limits of the colony; (6) the enforcement of criminal process beyond the limits of the colony in which it is issued, and the extradition of offenders (including deserters of wives and children, and of deserters from the Imperial or Colonial naval or military forces); (7) the custody of offenders on board of ships belonging to Her Majesty's Colonial Governments beyond the territorial limits. Other matters, if proposed by two or more of the Colonial Legislatures, might be dealt with by the Federal Council, such as general defences, quarantine, patents, copyright, bills of exchange, weights and measures, marriage, divorce, naturalisation, etc.; but legislation upon these matters was only to affect

the colonies whose Legislatures had referred them to the Federal Council. It is yet uncertain whether the several Legislatures will agree to the proposed measure.

Tasmania has not been behind the other colonies in the matter of fortifications for defence purposes. In 1880 the Queen, by Order in Council, surrendered to the Colonial Government certain works and land reserves at Hobart, Launceston, and Richmond, which had been held in trust by the British Government. These included the Commissariat store, military pay office, barrack site, ordnance stores, semaphore, magazine, and the telegraph office at Hobart, the barrack site at Richmond; and two Commissariat stores, two battery sites, and the powder magazine at Launceston. Prior to this date (in 1879) the Colonial Parliament had voted the sum of £25,000 for the defences of the colony. Reports were obtained from Sir J. W. Jervois and from Colonel (now Major-General) Scratchley, who was afterwards appointed consulting engineer for the colony. The latter officer prepared plans of the various batteries to be constructed, and the works are in progress. Lieutenant-General Sir F. P. Haines, late Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India, inspected the fortifications of the Hobart harbour in June, 1883, and expressed his approval of the sites, works, and equipment.

The Volunteer Forces of Tasmania, numbering about 600 of all ranks, are formed into two divisions—one quartered at Hobart, consisting of an Engineer Corps, three batteries of Garrison and one division of Field Artillery, and one Infantry Corps; another division quartered at Launceston, consisting of one troop Light Horse, one battery of Artillery, and one Infantry Corps. A Cadet Corps has also been organised at the latter place. Ministers and Parliament have bestowed much attention upon this service in order to secure efficiency, and the requisite expenditure has been provided by liberal annual grants.

At the end of 1883 the population of the colony was 126,220, of whom 66,972 were males and 59,248 were females. The increase during the year was 2,137 by excess of births over deaths, and 1,604 by excess of immigration over emigration—total, 3,741. At the close of the previous year there were 181 public schools, with 13,775 scholars on the rolls. There were also 441 children at the Ragged and Industrial Schools. The charitable establishments of the colony are maintained at a heavy cost, owing in a great measure to the necessity of providing for the old and infirm paupers who are now the sole remnant of a system under which the colony groaned prior to the year 1853. When the last statistics were compiled (31st December, 1882) the daily average of persons maintained during the year at the hospitals and asylums for the insane was 487, at a cost of £16,130 to the Colonial, and of £2,270 to the Imperial Government; 827 persons were maintained at the pauper establishments, at a cost of £9,111 to the Colonial, and of £1,275 to the Imperial Government; about £5,000 was also expended during the year in out-door relief; and the gaols involved a net expenditure of £6,344. From the above figures it will be seen that the Tasmanian Government has made liberal provision for the young, and those who are mentally or physically afflicted.

Tasmania contains an area of 16,778,000 acres, including islands and lakes. There are 146 islands of various sizes belonging to the colony, some of which are of considerable size and value. All the islands in Bass Strait, extending to within a short distance of the mainland of Australia, belong to the Tasmanian Government. The aggregate area of the islands is estimated at 1,206,500 acres, and of the fresh-water lakes at 82,550 acres. When the census was last taken there were only 627 inhabitants on the islands, of whom about half reside at King Island and the Furneaux Group.*

* There are several families of "half-castes" residing on the Furneaux

Up to the end of 1882, 4,293,635 acres of land had been granted or sold; 77,215 were held under mineral leases at that date; and 1,951,507 acres were held under depasturing licences, of which 834,881 acres were on the islands. From the above figures it will be seen that out of the total area of the colony and its dependencies more than one-fourth has been alienated, and more than one-third of the total area occupied either by purchase or rental.

The early part of 1884 gave every indication of continued prosperity. An abundant harvest crowned the efforts of the agriculturist; the mining industries maintained their vigour; wool-growers and meat-producers were cheered by returns which were more than remunerative; the orchards and gardens yielded an abundant crop of fruit; superior buildings continued to go up in the chief towns; immigration began to counteract the dearth of labour; direct steam communication was about to be established monthly with London; the Van Diemen's Land Company had nearly completed forty-eight miles of railway from Emu Bay to the still prolific tin mines at Mount Bischoff; the construction of the Mersey Railway was in an advanced stage: the main and branch roads were being rapidly improved in every direction: and the Public Works Department were making vigorous efforts for the speedy construction of the Derwent Valley, Fingal, and Scottsdale Railways. Some business men, it is true, complained of dullness in commercial circles, as com-

Group. When Sir J. H. Lefroy was administering the government of the colony he obtained some interesting particulars concerning them, which were published by Mr. Nowell in the census papers. There were nineteen adult descendants of Tasmanian aborigines, only one of whom was unmarried. Three male and five female descendants of Australian aborigines had intermarried with descendants of the Tasmanian race; and these unions were fruitful in every instance but one, several having large families. Four white men had married wives of Tasmanian aboriginal descent, who all had children, but none more than four, two having two each, and one only one child.

pared with former activity, when over-speculation created a fictitious demand for merchandise and town property; but others could only observe a transition from an unsound and overcharged condition to one of steady and solid progress.

Death was still busy in the early part of 1884. Among the public men who had been removed by that inexorable agency were the Honourable James Maclanachan, who had been a member of the Legislative Council for fifteen years, and who died on 22nd January, at the advanced age of 84 years; and Mr. James Simpson, who had been editor of the *Mercury* (a Hobart newspaper) for sixteen years, until, shortly before his decease, failing health necessitated his retirement from a chair which he had filled with credit to the Press of Tasmania. Mr. Simpson, through the columns of the *Mercury*, had been largely instrumental in moulding public opinion; his views were generally broad, liberal, and independent. Mr. Simpson died on the 9th February, 1884.

The last page of this history records the sudden death of the Hon. Thomas Daniel Chapman, President of the Legislative Council, at his residence, Sunnyside, on 16th February, 1884, in the 69th year of his age, from an attack of acute bronchitis. Mr. Chapman was one of the ablest politicians the colony ever possessed: he lived at a period of its history when changes in the administration of affairs, and many social and financial difficulties, required the presence of an able and practical mind to assist in laying the foundation and moulding the constitution of the future State. Mr. Chapman was essentially a public man. Regardless of personal considerations the public interests of the community engrossed his undivided attention. His name is

identified with the history of Tasmania as a prominent colonist for nearly forty years, during which time he rendered valuable assistance in all public questions. His talents were spent in the service of the country, and his devotion to its interests only ceased when his useful life ended.

THE END.

APPENDICES.

(A.)

*From "Vocabulary of Dialects of Aboriginal Tribes of Tasmania,"
by Joseph Milligan, F.L.S.*

<i>English.</i>	<i>Tribes from Oyster Bay to Pittwater.</i>	<i>Tribes about Mount Royal, Bruny Island, and the south of Tasmania.</i>	<i>North-west and Western.</i>
Adult man . .	Puggana minyenna	Pallawah	Pahlea
" woman	Lowalla minyenna	Nienaté, and Lowanna	Noallea
Arm... ..	Wu'hanna	Wu'hanna	
Ashes ...	Tontaiyenna	Toiberry	Roughtuly né
Asleep ...	Tugganick	Longhana	Nenarongabea
Yes	Nariamoona	Narrawarah	Narrobarro
No	Parra garah	Timeh or Pothyack	Mallya leah
Babe ...	Cottruluttyé	Puggata riola	Rikenté
Bandicoot ...	Tiennah	Tenghanah	Lugoileah mun- gomah leah
Bark of a tree	Poora, poora-nah	Warra	Poora leah
Bird... ..	Puggunyenna	Punna	
<i>Blandfordia</i>			
<i>N</i> ...		Reminé	
Black ...	Maback, mabanna	Loaparte	
Boy (small) ..	Malangyenna	Puggattah paw-awé	
" (large)...	Cotty-mellityé	Poilahmaneenah	
Bread ..	Pannaboo	Pannaboo na	
Give me some	Tienna miappé panna-	Tiengana má panna-	Tunghmbibé
bread ...	boona	boo	tungaringalea
Canoe (cata- maran) ...	Mallanna	Nunganah	Nunghuna
Creek ...	Manenya keetanna	Liapota	
Dance ...	Rianna riacunha	Rialangana	
Daughter ...	Neantyména	Loggatalé meena	
Dead ...	Mientung bourrack	Moyó	[lylé
Demon ...	Mienginya	Ria warrawah roilé	Pawtening - ee-

<i>English.</i>	<i>Tribes from Oyster Bay to Pittwater.</i>	<i>Tribes about Mount Royal, Bruny Island, and the south of Tasmania.</i>	<i>North-west and Western.</i>
Dog ..	... Kaeeta	Panoiné	
Eat (to) ..	... Tughlee	Tughrāh	
Egg...	... Liena punna	Pateenah	
Emu...	... Punnamoonta	'Ngunannah	
Encampment	Lena wughta rota- leebana	Line rotali	
Father ..	... Noonalmeeena	Nanghabee	
Fern ..	... Lawitta-brutea	Tughanah	
Fern tree ..	... Nowarracomminea	Lapoinya	
Fire...	... Tonna	'Ngune	Winnaleah
Fire in bush	Kawurrinna	Lienah	
Fish...	... Mungunna	Peeggana	
Cray-fish ..	... Nunnya	Nubé	Nubyna
Flounder ..	... Lerunna	'Ngupota-metee	
Fresh water...	... Lienaeleebana	Liéniré	Lié nongható
Girl ...	... Lowana keetanna	Longatylé	Noamoloibee
Grandmother	Lowan kareimena	Ooaimena	Neenambee
Gum tree ..	... Lottah	Moonah	Loyké
Wattle tree gum ..	... Munganna	Reeatta	Reeattawee
House ..	... Lenna	Line	Lebrinā
Husband ..	... Puggan neena	Pah-neena	
Kangaroo ..	... Lyenna	Lena	Kuleah
Lake ..	... Miena, mena	Lia mena	
Laugh (to) ..	... Poenyeggana	Poenghana	Peninna
Man (black)	Pugganna	Pallawah	Pah-leah
" (white)	Rianna	Ludowinnó	Namma
Me ...	... Mina	Meenah	
Moon ..	... Wiggetena	Weetah	Weena-leah
Mother ..	... Neingmenna	Neeminah	Neena moygh
Place (a) ..	... Lenna	Linéh	
River (little)..	... Menae keetannah	Lia-pootah	
Rock (large) ..	... Lonah [aleetea]	Loynee broyee	
Sea ...	... Lienna wuttya, and li-	Panamuna	Leah ló
She-oak tree ..	... Luggana-brenna	Luh-be	
Sister ..	... Nowantareena		
Song ..	... Riaccunah	Luna-riabe	Riacannah
Son ...	... Malangena	Puggatah	
Timber, large	Wielangta	Wee a proinah	
" small	Wiena	Weepawé	
Vale or valley	Mara comynea	Mara-way-lee	
Wallaby ..	... Lukangana	Taranna	Noguoyeah
Wattle tree ..	... 'Nghearetta	Manna	
(seaside) ..	... Boobyallah	Boobyallah	
What?	... Telinga? Tebya?	Pallawaleh?	Tarraginna?
You...	... Neena	Neena or Nee	

One, Marrawah. Two, Piawah. Three, Luwah. Four, Pagunta, or Wullyawa. Five, Pugganna, or Marah.

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF TASMANIA.

(From the "*Tasmanian Journal*," Vol. 1, 1842.)

The major part of the following list of native words was extracted from documents in the Colonial Secretary's Office by the late Jorgen Jorgenson; those marked with an asterisk were furnished by the Rev. Thomas Dove, lately resident at Flinders Island; those in italics are from D'Entrecasteaux's list, taken in 1792. The spelling in the various documents has not been altered, since it would be difficult to select any one system as more appropriate than the rest, and almost impossible to restore with certainty the sounds intended to be expressed. . . . It would appear that there are four dialects—one used in the eastern districts, a second spoken among the western tiers, a third used in the neighbourhood of Port Davey, and a fourth, by the tribe inhabiting the Circular Head district. The distinctions of these several dialects are not well established, and in one of the best vocabularies in the Colonial Secretary's Office are neglected. The words contained in that vocabulary are here placed in a fifth list, together with a set of words collected by Mr. Dove from the tribe which formerly inhabited the Ouse or Big River. It is difficult to imagine the rapid and ever-changing corruptions to which an oral language is subject in the mouths of a savage tribe; and in the present case many words, borrowed from the English, have added to the confusion produced by the irregular and careless pronunciation of the aborigines. Thus, *picanini*, a child; *buckalow*, or *bacala*, bullocks; *tabletee* (corrupted from travel), to go, which, again, was contracted into *tablee*; are all from the English. *Lubra* is a word introduced by the English from the Sydney natives (who do not at all understand the language of our aborigines), and it appears to have been substituted for *lurga*, or *lolna*, a woman.

[NOTE—The following list has been reduced to three columns for convenience, the eastern and southern dialects, and the northern and western, being classed together. The words which appear in Dr. Milligan's vocabulary are omitted here.]

<i>English.</i>	<i>Eastern and Southern.</i>	<i>Northern and Western.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>
Albatross ...		Tarrina	
Bad ...	Carty. *Feindriga		
Badger ...	Publedina		Probaluthina. Pro- bylathany
Beach ...	*Minna		*Quenitigna
Beard ...			<i>Canguiné</i>
Belly ...	Miulean	<i>Lomongui. Cawe- reeny. Tamon- gui. Morangui</i>	Mackalenna
Belonging to ...			<i>Patourana</i>
Bird ...			<i>Mouta-mouta</i>
Black man ...	Palewaredia		
Blacken ...			<i>Langnoiri</i>
Bleed ...	*Kenna-teewa		
Blush ...	Wadebeweanna		
Boat ...	Luirapeuy	Lallaby	Luiropay
" (native) ...	*Pokak		Luiropuy picanini
Bone ...	*Teewandrick		

<i>English.</i>	<i>Eastern and Southern.</i>	<i>Northern and Western.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>
Boy	Plerenny		
" (little) ..	Cuckana Ludawinna		
Breast	Wagley		Workalenna. <i>Lere- laidené</i>
Brother	Pieregenana		
Bullocks		Buckalow	Bacala
Burn	*Maranneck		
Bush, <i>or</i> grass..			Womy
Cat	Largana	Noperena	
Cave	*Pootark		
Cheek	*Nobittaka		
Chief	Bungana		
Child	Badany. Leewoon		<i>Pagarai</i>
Children		Looweinna. Pick- [aninny]	<i>Anaba. Haouba</i>
Chin	Camena		
Cloud (white)...	*Pona		
" (black)	*Roona		
Coal			<i>Conara</i>
Coal dust			<i>Lora</i>
Cockatoo		Eribba	
Cold			*Tenna. <i>Ranana</i>
Come	Tepera. *Tarabilyie	Ganemerara	*Togannera
Corobbory		*Terragomna	
Country round		Wallantanalinany	
Covering	Legunia		
Cow	Cateena		
Crackle			<i>Tanina</i>
Crooked	Powena		
Crow		Lina. Nanapatta	
Cry		Targa	
Crystal	*Keeka	Heka	
Day	Lanena. *Loina	Loyowibba	
" (a)... ..	Magra		Moogara
" (to-)	Waldea-powt		
" (fine)	Lutregala		
Devil	Comtena. Rargerop- per. Namneberick	Patanela. Talba	
Die			<i>Mata</i>
Dive			Buguró
Dog (native) ...	*Lowdina	Loputallow	
" (English)... ..	*Mooboa		
Door	*Temminoop		
Drake	Lamilbena		
" (wild)	Malbena		
Dress	Legunia		
Drink	Lugana		<i>Laina. Laima</i>
Drops of rain ...		Rinadena	
Dry	Catrebuteany		
Ear	Pelverata. *Towrick	Cowanrigga. Lew- lina	Blatheraway. <i>Cueg- nilia. Vagui. Ouagui</i>
Earth	Gunta		Coantana

<i>English.</i>	<i>Eastern and Southern.</i>	<i>Northern and Western.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>
Eat ...	*Meenawa	Newinna. Giblee	*Tuwie. <i>Dodani.</i> <i>Malguera. Topani</i>
Elbow ...	Rowella		
Evacuate ...	Legana		<i>Laedaé</i>
Evening ...		[toola]	*Crowdo
Eye ...	Lepena.*Leemanrick	Namericca, Polla-	<i>Nuberé. Nubamibére</i>
Eyelash ...	*Leelberrick		
Eyebrow ...	*Bringden		
Face ...		Manrable	
Family ...			<i>Tagari lia</i>
Fare ..	Niparana		
Feathers ...	Munwaddia		
Fetch ...			Ringeny
Fight ...		Memana	
Finger ...			<i>Lorildri. Beguia</i>
" (fore) ...	*Motook		<i>Logui</i>
Fire' ...	Patarola. Unee. *Lopa	Lopa. Leipa	<i>Wighana. Poper.</i> <i>Nubé [gana</i>
Fish ...			<i>Penunina. Penun-</i>
Fist ...	Trew	Reannemana	
Flame ..	*Lopatin		
Flower...		Paraka	
Fly ...			*Weealeena. <i>Oelle</i>
" (blow) ...	*Mounga	Mounga	
Flying ...	Pinega		
Fœtus ...	Leward		
Fog ...	Muna		
Foot ...	Langana. *Labittaka	Labrica. Lula	*Lugna. <i>Pere</i>
Frog ...	Pulbena		
Frost ...	Uita		
Give me ...	*Mulu-manginie		<i>Tringena. *Teannie.</i> <i>Mava. Maredoungui</i>
Go on ...	Tabelty		<i>Jackay (P). Tangara</i>
Go home ...	Tackany [ga]	*Haku-tettiga	
Good ...	Narracoopa. Pandor-		
Goose ...	Robenganna		
Grass ...	Rodidana. *Neena	Myria, or Megra	<i>Wome. Roonina.</i> <i>Poene. Niméné</i>
Grass tree ..	Comthenana		
Great ...			<i>Lackrana</i>
Ground ...	Gunta	Longa, Nala	
Gull ...	Rowenanna		
Gun ...	Lila	Lola	
Hair ...	Cethana	Parba. Palenina, or Pareata	<i>Keelana. Pelilogue-</i> <i>ni. Peliogirigoni</i>
Hand ...	Anamana	Rabalga	<i>Henimenna. Rilia.</i> *Reegna
Hawk ...	Pueta [eena		
" (eagle)...	Eugenana. *Cow-	Cockinna [ny	
Head ...	Pathenanaddi. [*Awittaka]	Ewucka. Pulbea-	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Eastern and Southern.</i>	<i>Northern and Western.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>
Here ...			<i>Lomi</i>
High ..			<i>Weeticita</i>
Hill ...	*Neika		
Horse ...	Baricutana		<i>Parwothana</i>
Hunt ...	*Poopu		<i>Mulaga</i>
Hut ...	Leprena. *Temma. *Popotook	Tama. Lebirinna	
I ...	Mena. *Manga		<i>Meena. Mana</i>
Island ...	Leurewagera		<i>Leareaway</i>
„ (large) ...	Laibrenala		
Kangaroo(male)	*Lemmook	Lalliga	<i>Lathakar. Leigh.</i> [*Lenna]
„ (female)	*Lurgu		
„ (pouch)	Kigranana		
„ (rat) ...	Reprenana		
„ (skin) ..			<i>Boira. Tara</i>
Kill ...	*Wanga		*Manglie
King ...	Bungana		
Knee ...	Nannabenana		<i>Ragualia. Rouga-</i> <i>Rouga</i>
Know ...	Tunapee. *Manga- namraga		<i>Tunapry. *Labberie</i>
Lad ...	Plerenny		
Large ..	*Marrinook		
Laugh ...		Tenalga	
Leg ..	Lathanama	Leea	<i>Lagana. Lerdî</i>
Lie (verb)	*Kateena		<i>Towlangang</i>
Light ..			<i>Tretetea</i>
Lightning	*Nammorgun		
Lips ...			<i>Mogudelia</i>
Little ...	Canara, or Curena		
Lobster			<i>Nuele</i>
Long way, or time...	Mannia		<i>Relbia</i>
Love ...			<i>Loyetea</i>
Low ...			<i>Lewter</i>
Magpie	Canara		
Make ...			<i>Pomale</i>
Man ...	Ludowing. *Penna	Penna (Wybra)	
„ (old) ...	Lowlobengang, or Pebleganana		
Many ...	*Nanwoon		*Tagalinga
Many spears ..			*Prenna Tagalinga
Mosquito ..	*Redpa		
Mountain ..	Truwalla		
Mouth ..	Youtantalabana	Canca	*Weenina. Mougui
Mussels (shell fish) ...			<i>Mire. Mine-mine</i>
Mutton bird ..	Youla. *Laninyua		
Nails ...			<i>Pereloki</i>
Navel ...			<i>Luo</i>
Neck ...	Lepera	Denia ,	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Eastern and Southern.</i>	<i>Northern and Western.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>
Night ...	Leware. *Rorook	Crowrowa	Leewarry
Nose ...	*Rowick	Mena. Rawarriga	Mongui-mongui
Nurse ...	*Makrie-meenamru		
Oak ...	Lemana		
Oar ...	*Panna		
Old ...	Petibela		
Opossum ...	Milabena		Paunera
Other ...	Naba		
Oysters ...	Taralangana		Louba. Toba
Parrot ...	*Murrock	Caracca	Mola
Pelican ...	Trewdina	Lanaba	
Pillow ...			Roere
Pipe ...	Mena		Terre
Plant ...			Cardia
Plenty ...	Nanwoon		
Porcupine ...	Trewmena. *Menna	Milma	
Porpoise ...		Parappa	*Parragoa
Put away ...			
Rain ...	*Taddiwa	Talawa	
Rivulet ...	Montumana		
Rocks ...			Magog
Rope ...			Pathana
Round (turn) ...	Mabea	[Mella	
Run (verb) ...	Moltema	Tagowawinna.	
Sand ...		Emita	
Say ...			Carne
Scold ...	*Kenwelka		
Scorches (it) ...			*Peun-mena
Scrape (wood) ...			Rina. Rinigri. Rou- [igri
Sea weed ...	*Roorga [namraga		
See ...	Lapree. *Manga-	Lamunika	Lapey
Seal ...		Cartela	
Sharpen ...	*Keckawa		
Sheep ...	Nemiwaddinana	Rulemena	
Shew ...			Rina
Ship ...	Luiropony		Bagny. Baguy
Shoulders ...			
Shout ...	Carney	Cawalla	
Sick ...	Meena		*Meenattie. Maubia
Sit ...	Crackenicka. Crack-	Meevenany	Megri Mere
Sit you down ...	[ena		Medi
Sky ...		Loila	
Sleep ...	*Roroowu		Malougna. Logouan
Small ...	*Teeboack		
Snake ...		Powranna	
Snow ...	Oldina		
Soon ...	Pairanapry		
Spear ...	*Rugga	Raccah (s.)	*Prenna (v. & s.)
Stars ...	Palana. Moorden	Murdunna. Ma-	
" (little) ...	Lenigugana	[rama	
Stone ...	Lenicarpeny. *Longa	Nannee	*Lonna. Loine

<i>English.</i>	<i>Eastern and Southern.</i>	<i>Northern and Western.</i>	<i>Uncertain.</i>
Stop	Neckaproiny. Crack-		
Strike	[ena]		<i>Rogueri. Toidi</i>
Strong... ..	Ralipianna		
Sulky	Ratairareny		
Sun	Petreanna. *Loina	Loina. Nabag- eena	Workalenna. *Paga- nooboya. <i>Panu-</i>
Swan	Robigana. Wybia	Cocha. Publee	Catagunya [bere
Swiftly			*Woorangie. Penu-
Tattoo... ..			<i>Palere</i> [tita
Teeth	Yanna	Cawna. Yanna-	<i>Pegui. Canan</i>
Tell		[lople	Carne
They (he, her, them, or that)	Nara		<i>Avere</i>
Thigh		Tula	
This	Nicka		
Throw away ..			<i>Paraway. Pegara.</i> <i>Paguera</i>
Thumb	*Wan		
Thunder	*Nawaun		
Tiger		Lowerinna	
Tongue	Mena	Mamana. Tullana	<i>Meno</i>
Tree	*Toronna		<i>Peragui</i>
Two			Calabawa. <i>Boula</i>
Waddy	*Lerga	Rocah	*Runna
Wake	*Lowenruppa		
Walk	(Tabelty)		*Tawie. <i>Mogoro.</i> <i>Tolo-Magara</i>
Walking		Teiriga. (Tablee)	
Was		Tanah	Taia. Locougane
Warm			Crackne
Water (fresh) ..	Legana. Lerui	Moka Mogo	Lini. Mocha. <i>Roti</i>
" (salt) ..	*Nitipa		
Water-bag ..			Mocha Carty
White man ...	Numeraredia		<i>Regna</i>
Wind	*Leewan	Loyoranna	
Wing	*Lappa		<i>Inan</i>
Woman	(Lubra) *Lurga	(Lubra) Lolna	
" (old) ..	Lowlapewanna		
Wombat		[Walliga	<i>Quani. Patarana</i>
Wood	Moomara. *Watka	Weela. Quoiba.	
Yonder			Narapa
You	Nena. *Ninga		*Neenie. <i>Nina</i>

(B.) ABORIGINAL NAMES OF PLACES IN TASMANIA.

Cape Portland District	Tembrakunna
Country back from Ringarooma	Warrentinna
Douglas River	Leeberryak, or Leeaberra
Nicholas's Cap	Mita winnya, Kurunna poima-
Doctor's Creek, East Coast	Wuggatena menennya [langta
Long Point	Wuggatena poenta
George's River District	Kunarra-kunnah
Maria Island	Toarra-marra-monah
Country between Mt. Royal & Port Cygnet	Talunó
Oyster Bay	Poyanannupyaek
High land behind ditto	Pothy munatia
St. Valentine's Peak	Natonó
Piper River District	Orramakunna
Port Davey	Poynduc
East Bay Neck	Lucena langhta Muracomyiack
Eagle Hawk Neck	Teeralinnack, or Tera-linna
Hampshire Hills District	Pateena
Barren Joey Island	Roobala mangana
Glamorgan District	Tebranuykunna
Port Arthur	Prémaydena
Macquarie Harbour	Parralaongatek
Recherche Bay	Leillateah
Port Esperance	Raminea
Southport	Lamabbéle
Bruny Island	Lunawanna-alonnah
South Arm	Reemeró
Huon Island	Prahree
Betsy Island	Temeteletta
Three-hut Point	Taonawenna
Tinder-box Bay	Renna kannapughoola
Brown's River	Promenalinah
Tamar River	Ponrabbel
Piper River	Wattra karoola
Swan Island	Terelbessé
Arthur River	Tunganrick
Schouten Island	Tiggana marraboona
Cape Grim	Kennacook
Mount Cameron (West Coast)	Preminghana
Mount Heemskirk	Rocinrim, or Romanraik
Frenchman's Cap	Mebbelek
Albatross Island	Tangatema
Hunter's Island	Reeneka
Pieman River	Corinna
District north of Macquarie Harbour	Timgarick
Lake St. Clair	Leeawulena
Huon River	Tahuné-linah
Derwent River	Teemtoomeló menennye
Mount Wellington	Unghanyahletta, or Pooranetteró
Clarence Plains	Nannyeleebata
Jordan River	Kuta linah
Lovely Banks	Tughera wughata
Ben Lomond	Toorbunna
South Esk River	Mangana lienta
Lake on summit of Ben Lomond	Meenamata
St. Patrick's Head	Lumera genena wuggelena
Circular Head	Martula
Mersey River	Paranaple
Port Sorell	Panatana

(C.) *Referred to in Page 303.*

RETURN OF LANDS GRANTED TO THE CHURCHES.

(Compiled by J. E. Calder, Surveyor-General, 31st August, 1868.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Church of England</i>	<i>Church of Rome</i>	<i>Church of Scotland</i>	<i>Wes- leyan</i>	<i>Baptist</i>
	A. R. P.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.
Auburn	9 3 32				
Avoca	17 2 0				
Bicheno	10 0 0				
Bothwell	17 2 10	2 3 39	12 3 23		0 1 13
Brighton	5 0 0				
Bridgenorth	4 0 0				
Buckland	13 0 0	1 0 0			
Bellerive	3 0 0	1 2 8			
Bracknell	10 0 0				
Campbell Town	75 2 21	14 1 30	11 0 28	2 1 32	1 0 0
Clarence	400 0 0				
Cambridge	10 0 0				
Carrick	3 1 25			0 1 24	
Chudleigh	3 2 37		5 0 0	1 0 0	
Colebrook Dale	3 2 17	3 3 9			
Deddington	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0		
Deloraine... ..	17 2 10	3 0 0	4 0 0	1 3 2	
Elderslie	13 1 17½				
Ellesmere... ..			2 0 1		
Ebrington... ..	2 3 23				
Enfield		10 0 0			
Evandale	10 0 0		10 0 0		
Franklin	16 3 10	14 0 0			
Fingal	21 1 26	5 0 38		2 0 17½	
Forcett	14 0 7½				
Falmouth... ..	2 0 0	2 2 28			
Formby		4 0 0	5 2 16		
George Town	11 2 36	4 0 0			
Glenorchy			10 0 0		
Hadspen	3 0 0			1 0 0	
Hamilton-on-Clyde ..	17 2 5				0 3 24
Hamilton-on-Forth ...	3 0 0	4 0 0			
Hartington	10 0 0	10 0 0			
Hythe		2 3 8			
Hobart	26 0 37½	25 2 26	12 1 36		1 1 27
Kempton	10 0 0				1 2 7
Kingston	2 3 10				
Kingborough	18 2 21				
Lincoln			0 1 19		
Longford	414 0 0	3 1 16		4 0 35	
Lovett	16 0 0	5 2 34			
Llandaff	3 0 0				

Place	Church of England			Church of Rome			Church of Scotland			Wes- leyan			Baptist		
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
Llewellyn ... ^a	...	...	...	3	2	39									
Launceston	...	...	...	219	0	8	22	0	37	18	3	13	0	1	0
Latrobe	...	...	...	5	0	27	5	0	0				{ 1 R. 30 1-10 P		
Mangana	...	...	...	0	1	24	0	2	19						
New Town	...	...	...	33	3	0									
New Norfolk	...	...	...	18	0	0	2	0	27						
Oatlands	...	...	...	34	3	5	14	1	0	9	1	11	0	2	0
Perth	...	...	...	18	0	29	4	0	0	10	0	0	1	0	0
Piper River	...	...	...				4	0	0						0 1 27
Pontville	...	...	...	10	0	0									
Ross	...	...	...	4	3	7	4	3	0				3	0	0
Richmond	...	...	...	11	3	2									
Rokeby	...	...	...	12	0	0							1	0	0
Sidmouth	...	...	...							10	0	0			
Sorell	...	...	...	16	3	8	3	2	19	6	2	8	1	0	22
Sheffield	...	...	...	4	3	8									
St. Helen's	...	...	...	6	0	0									
Silwood	...	...	...	10	0	0									
Somerset	...	...	...	5	0	0							2	0	36
Swansea	...	...	...	13	2	28	2	1	11	12	0	0			
Triabunna	...	...	...	2	0	0	3	0	0						
Torquay	...	...	...	6	0	0	4	2	0				2	0	0
Tarleton	...	...	...	8	0	0	6	0	0						
Ulverstone	...	...	...	8	0	24									
Victoria	...	...	...	3	0	0	4	0	0						
Vincent	...	...	...	10	0	0									
Wynyard	...	...	...	1	0	0	3	0	0						
Westbury	...	...	...	22	1	20	14	0	34						
Tunnack	...	...	...	.			4	0	0						
Tunbridge	...	...	...										1	0	25
Welsh	...	...	...				10	2	1						

Congregationalists,
Launceston.
O.A. 1 R. 0 P.

Note to Page 9.

BRUNY ISLAND.

The correct form of the Admiral's name is Bruny Dentrecaesteaux. It is so given in the list of the officers and crews of the ships *Recherche* and *Esperance* prefixed to the original French edition of the voyage, written by the naturalist Labillardière, and published at Paris in the eighth year of the French Republic.

In the early days of the colony the name of the island was spelt indifferently *Bruny* or *Bruné*. About 1830 the form *Bruni* appears to have been adopted by the Survey Office, and has remained to this day the recognised official spelling, although in land grants previous to 1842 it was sometimes spelt *Bruné*.

There can be no doubt, however, that *Bruny* is the correct form.

It is worthy of notice that Huon Kermadec, the captain of the *Esperance*, gave his christian and surname respectively to the River Huon and one of its tributaries. By an easy corruption the latter stream now appears on the maps of Tasmania as the Kermadec River.

Note to Page 26.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT AT RISDON.

The whimsical derivation of Risdon from a supposed "Restdown" is probably due to the ingenuity of some early chronicler. The error has been singularly tenacious of life, re-appearing in West's "History of Tasmania," and in many other writers down to the present day. A reference to Captain Flinders's "Voyage to Terra Australis in H.M.S. *Investigator*, in the years 1801, 1802, and 1803," proves the derivation to be fictitious. In the Introduction to his work Flinders gives a minute account of the voyage of exploration made by himself and Bass in the Colonial sloop *Norfolk*, in the year 1798. Under date 23rd December, 1798, he says:—"Four miles higher up we found Risdon Cove, and anchored there in four fathoms, with the intention of filling our empty water casks at the Risdon River of Mr. Hayes; but finding it to be a little creek, which even our boat could not enter, I determined to seek a more convenient watering place higher up the Derwent."—(Intro., p. 185.)

The visit of Captain Hayes is thus alluded to by Flinders:—"Captain John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine, visited Storm Bay and D'Entrecasteaux's Channel with the private ships *Duke* and *Duchess* in 1794. He went much further up the Rivière du Nord than the boat from the French ships had done, and gave it the name of the Derwent River. This name is likely to efface the first appellation, and with some degree of propriety."—(*Ibid.*, p. 94.)

It thus appears that Captain Hayes named the place Risdon in 1794, nine years before any settlement had been made. It is therefore plain that the derivation from "Restdown" must have been an after-thought.

With reference to the date of Bowen's settlement the following passage from O'Flanagan's "History of New South Wales" (London, 1862) is worthy of notice. The date is stated to be taken from the *Sydney Gazette*:—"At daylight on the morning of the 11th June sailed the *Lady Nelson*, armed tender, for Risdon Cove, in Van Diemen's Land, having on board the people destined to form the first settlement in that country. They consisted of Lieutenant Bowen, chief in command; Jacob Mountgarret, surgeon; with three private soldiers, and ten male and six female prisoners. The caprice of the elements compelled the vessel to put back to Port Jackson, after she had been some days at sea, and otherwise delayed the voyage, so that not before the month of August did Bowen and his party reach their destination, which was situate on the east bank of the Derwent."—(p. 132.)

Mr. G. W. Rusden, in his pamphlet on "The Discovery, Survey, and Settlement of Port Phillip" (Melbourne, 1871), gives the following entry from a MS. memorandum book belonging to Governor King:—

"The under-mentioned persons being ordered to embark on board H.M.A.T. *Lady Nelson* for a passage to (the settlement intended to be formed in the River Derwent), you are hereby required, &c.

"Given, &c., 10th June, 1803.

"P. G. K."

It would therefore seem to be probable that August was the date of Lieut. Bowen's arrival at Risdon. Some writers give the 9th August, 1803, as the day of the landing.

LIST OF BOOKS RELATING TO TASMANIA.

(COMPILED BY JAMES B. WALKER.)

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 [The second volume contains portions of Tasman's Journal of the Discovery of Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, &c. See also the Collections of Harris, De Broses, Dalrymple, Burney, and others.]
- COOK (CAPTAIN JAMES).—*Voyage toward the South Pole and Round the World, performed in H.M.S. Resolution and Adventure, 1772-75, &c.* 2 vols. 4to. London, 1777
- MARION'S Voyage in the ships *Mascarin* and *Marquis de Castries.* Paris, 1783
- COOK (CAPTAIN JAMES).—*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, &c., under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clerk, and Gore, in H.M.S. the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-80.* 3 vols. 4to, and folio atlas. London, 1784
- MORTIMER (LIEUT. G.).—*Observations, &c., made during a Voyage in the Brig Mercury.* London, 1791
- BLIGH (LIEUT. WM.).—*A Voyage to the South Sea, with a Narrative of the Mutiny of the Bounty.* 4to. London, 1792
- COLLINS (LIEUT.-COL. DAVID).—*An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, &c., &c., with an account of the Discovery of Bass Strait by Flinders & Bass.* 2 vols. 4to. London, 1798-1802
- LABILLARDIERE (JACQUES JULES).—*Relation du Voyage à la Recherche de la Pérouse.* 2 vols. 4to, and folio atlas. Paris, 1800
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- GRANT (LIEUT. JAMES).—*Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery in the Lady Nelson in 1802.* 4to. London, 1803
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- TUCKEY (LIEUT. J. H.).—*Account of a Voyage to establish a Colony at Port Phillip, in Bass Strait, in H.M.S. Calcutta, in the years 1802-4.* 8vo. London, 1805
- ROSSEL.—*Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux, rédigé par M. de Rossel.* Paris, 1808

- PERON ET FREYCINET.—Voyage de Découvertes aux
Terres Australes. 2 vols. and 2 atlases, 4to.
Paris, 1809-16
- BROWN (ROBERT).—Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ
et Insulæ Van Diemen. 8vo. London, 1810
- MANN (D. D.).—The Present Picture of New South Wales.
4to. London, 1811
- FLINDERS (MATTHEW).—Voyage to Terra Australis,
&c., prosecuted in the years 1801-3, in the *Investi-
gator*, the *Porpoise*, and the *Cumberland*. 2 vols.
4to, and folio atlas. London, 1814
- [O'HARA, —].—History of New South Wales. London, 1817
- BENT (ANDREW).—Michael Howe, the last and worst of
the Bushrangers of Van Diemen's Land. 8vo.
Hobart Town, 1818
- WENTWORTH (W. C.).—Statistical, Historical, and Poli-
tical Description of the Colony of New South Wales,
and its Dependent Settlements in Van Diemen's
Land. 8vo. London, 1819
- JEFFREYS (LIEUT. CHARLES).—Van Diemen's Land;
Geographical and Descriptive Delineations of the
Island. 8vo. London, 1820
- WALLIS (CAPTAIN).—Historical Account of the Colony
of New South Wales and its Dependent Settlements.
Folio. London, 1821
- DIXON (JAMES).—Narrative of a Voyage to New South
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Topographical Description of Van Diemen's Land.
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Van Diemen's Land. 8vo. London, 1822
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- WIDOWSON (HENRY).—Present State of Van Diemen's
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