A MAN A TIME AND A PLACE

Early Settlement and Development in the Wide Bay Burnett Region

with Particular Reference to Pioneers of the Maryborough and Bundaberg Districts

Richard Laurance Connor M.I.E. Aust. Retd.

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Bundaberg's Beginnings: *the Endeavours of Its very Early Pioneers with particular reference to Walter Adams MLA*, 2012

This is a story of the evolution from riverbank sites of native bush land into vigorous and rapidly expanding townships over a short period of time and of the development of the region within which they were enclosed. It is also of a pioneer, together with his family, a group of his early associates from the lower Mary River area, and other competent settlers from varying locations, whose dedicated involvement and co-operation in civic matters helped to solve the problems that occurred in the development of the lower Burnett River district, in an environment of widely varying colonial government policies, whilst establishing thriving agricultural communities on the subtropical east coast of Australia.



It is also the story of the development of agricultural industries, of an early pioneer's numerous agricultural experiments, and of the physical, commercial and rational contributions that he and many others made towards the introduction and promotion of the prosperous industries required for the rapid development of thriving communities in the Wide Bay region.

And it is of that pioneer's consequent representation of his community by participation in the colonial governance, and of that governance itself, which had such dramatic effects upon the fortunes of the evolving settlements and agricultural industries of that which has become the sovereign State of Queensland and which was, in those days, the British Colony of Queensland.

Dedication

To my late brother John Kingsley Connor, Master of Agricultural Science, who instigated a project of investigation into the history of past generations of family members together with that of many other early arrivals to colonial Australia and whose patience, perseverance and presence in many archival libraries over a considerable period of time provided a considerable amount of historical data. This information had proved to be extremely useful in the production of our earlier book by combining the results of our individual investigations and writings, in assisting a number of other family history researchers in their own investigations, and by making a very significant contribution towards the writing of the introductory chapters of this current work.

To John Young Walker, a copy of whose 1890 publication the *HISTORY OF BUNDABERG – A TYPICAL QUEENSLAND AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT* which resided in grandfather Richard Walter Adams's red-cedar bookcase during John's and my school days, introduced me to, and awakened an interest in, the very early days of Bundaberg's development and of the pioneers who contributed to this development.

To the many pioneers, not mentioned in this book, without whom the achievements and development described in the text would not have been possible.

To Tony Coutts, a most competent engineering surveyor and a gentleman of great consideration, who was a frequent companion in the investigation and surveying of works for remote communities in such locations as on Cape York Peninsular, in and about the Gulf of Carpentaria and in Torres Strait where a great deal of experience was gained, much of which is of relevance to the writing of this book.

And to those readers who enjoy the adventure of understanding how what we can now see had come to be.

Richard Laurance Connor

Acknowledgements

Many thanks and much gratitude are owed to my wife Patricia in exhibiting the patience and tolerance necessary to live with the very considerable amount of down-time that I have expended hand-wrestling with various models of computers and their differing programme editions and to her vast amount of patience in reading, re-reading and reading again, for checking purposes, the evolving manuscript during the progression of this work.

Thanks are also due to Robert Gough of Bundaberg for applying local knowledge in reviewing preliminary material that had been accumulated on the early development of the Bundaberg region and to the Mellor brothers of Gayndah, William and John, for their research into the existence of photographs of the 1800s local to their area.

To Judith O'Shea for the kindly provision of her copy of *An ABC of English Usage* which provides scholastic, non-intuitive advice on the use of the much-dreaded apostrophe and some jolly helpful advice on the application of the extraordinarily useful colon.

To Kaerest Houston née Jorgensen for the donation of photographs from the Jorgensen family collection so that selected copies may be included in this work.

And especially to those early settlers many of whose names are not mentioned in this book who, together with their families, contributed to the pioneering endeavours that made the achievements as described in this book possible.

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Preface

In the mid to late 1860's, and into the 1870's, an energetic and far-sighted group of people came together on the banks of the Lower Burnett River and, over the next twenty years, they were to establish a prosperous, permanent settlement that, in 1868, had acquired the name of Bundaberg. The diverse and complementary nature of these settlers' expertise, as derived from their earlier experiences in their countries of origin as well as in other locations in the colonies, and especially Maryborough, was to serve the infant Bundaberg well.

It is beyond both my ability and my ambition to describe the multiple paths by which the great majority of these people, often with their families, were to converge on the Lower Mary and, at later dates, the Lower Burnett settlements. I will therefore confine my description firstly to the experiences of one such immigrant family and then to the mention of a significant number of other highly competent settlers, including those like-minded pioneers who were to relocate, as did this family, from the then established township of Maryborough on the lower Mary River, to an appealing new location on the lower Burnett River with its rich volcanic soils.

The following work is comprised of material that had, in the main, not been included in the earlier work by my brother John and myself on *BUNDABERG'S BEGINNINGS*. It is hoped that the material included in this publication will give a clear picture of the atmosphere prevailing in the early days of Wide Bay's development and, in particular, that of the Maryborough and Bundaberg settlements as well as a description of the successes and hardships experienced generally in the expansion of the Wide Bay district and, in some regards, of the Queensland colony in general. A study of the archival records makes it obvious that the establishment of liveable, permanent settlements does not provide material for a continuous narrative; instead we find that we have on our hands descriptions of a multitude of fragmented decisions, happenings and achievements – perhaps a mirror of life itself on a larger scale.

It is an uncomfortable feeling to realize that, with the passing of my generation, much of the knowledge of that which was to us the 'not so old days' and of our understanding of the activities and lifestyles of those days will be lost. Just as, with the wisdom of hindsight, we should have asked many more questions than we did of the generations that preceded us, the answers that we could have provided to many similar questions will probably, in turn, take their departure with us. It was my generation that had the opportunity to view the prototype of the first commercially successful mechanical harvester of unfired sugarcane, as designed and displayed by the Toft Brothers in the Bundaberg area, and to associate with the well paid but

hard-working manual sugarcane cutters whose seasonal jobs the harvester was designed to replace. In this regard I still retain my own (now well-worn) cane-knife, a gardening tool of considerable adaptability.

In describing the events that resulted in the creation of the civic landmarks of Bundaberg that were so prominent in the nineteen-forties and fifties, many of which were in existence as far back as the late 1880's, is to detail a chain of events in the exercise of patient co-operation. However, as pedestrian as some of these events now may appear, their consequent achievements were far from being unremarkable, unrewarding or pedestrian. To this end I have documented many of the activities generated by these events in the hope that there will be readers, in some future time, who will find their recording to be both of interest and of some relevance to their specific areas of expertise.

When describing the nature of past civic decision making, and of its consequent results, this work describes the genesis of many of the landmarks that were so familiar to myself and to my contemporaries, the schoolchildren of the 1940's and 50's. Anyone living in Bundaberg in the late 1940's would have readily recognized the town's streetscapes and the drystone walls of the cane fields that had existed as early as the late l880's. In those days the Mount Perry railway line was still in operation and, in the 1940's, the Woongarra line, the construction of which had commenced in 1894, was still to bask in its once a year day of glory by transporting enthusiastic revellers to the Railway Picnic that was held at Bargara in November of each year. Of course, over the period from 1890 to 1950, the Boer War, the First World War, the Great Depression and the Second World War had all intervened to inhibit significant change.

It could well be that a listing of the town's streetscape changes that had occurred over the sixty-year period from 1890 to 1950 would be shorter than a listing of the earlier town features, constructed prior to 1890 and still existent in 1950. In this context some later changes such as the construction of the imposing Church of England (Anglican) and Presbyterian Churches, the now relocated show grounds and the town's water towers come readily to mind, as does the extension of the paving of the district's streets and the loss of the old China Town, but it is difficult to think of many more significant changes to Bundaberg's prominent features that had been added over this later period. A consequence of this continuity is that a person of my generation has little difficulty in relating to the photographs and atmosphere of the town as it would have presented itself in the early 1890's but, since the 1950's, there have been very great changes to Bundaberg's streetscapes.

In one sense my generation can serve as a bridge between the earlier and the current generations, having had contact both with our grandparents and now with our grandchildren, the more so in that our childhood environment was, in many ways, not dissimilar to the environment of seventy-five or more years earlier. Though living in a semi-urban environment we had poultry to manage for domestic use, dogs and cats having a run of the under-house and garden areas, horses used to round up the odd, recalcitrant milking cow, to assist friends in pulling their cattle from the scrub and to be

shod by the Targo Street smithy, Mr. Blackburn, various toxic weeds to control and flood damaged fences to restore. We used axes, as against the now ubiquitous chainsaw, to control re-growth and to clear unwanted timber. In our childhood days telephones needed cranking to charge their capacitors, iceboxes were in use rather than refrigerators, woodburning kitchen stoves were the norm, radio circuitry was a work in progress and the viewing of television in our homes we had not then imagined.

My areas of experience and expertise, accumulated over a considerable period, were in the areas of engineering investigation, surveying and design in urban, rural and remote environments particularly with regards to water-supply, sewerage, irrigation and flood mitigation works. To the above experiences can be added involvement in the execution of both local and state government undertakings and in the area of state government administration. This experience, expertise and involvement is of considerable relevance to urban and rural development such as that which occurred in the early development of the Wide Bay district.

Investigations and surveys could sometimes involve extended periods of time in bush environments living under far from luxurious conditions. Additive to this bush experience were the many months spent prospecting with my brother John in remote areas of Queensland and in the Northern Territory, though the currency of my Miners Rights have been in a lapsed condition for decades and my old gold pans, no producers of great wealth, are rusty.

Consideration of the above, when viewed in conjunction with a large amount of unused material that had been accumulated in the preparation of the first book, and which described situations that were, in some ways, compatible with my own past experiences, lead me – after some serious consideration – to contemplate the publication of one more modest, limited edition book containing material which may be of use to future researchers.

Whilst carrying out investigations and surveys into water resource potential for the Queensland Government on the tip of Cape York, and in Torres Strait, I had the opportunity both to associate and to work, in a professional capacity, with the Melanesian population some of whom, now residents of Moa Island, have descended from Bundaberg's original Pacific Islander labour force. This activity proved to be both productive and pleasant leaving behind many happy recollections of these days and an appreciation of the cheerful, friendly and co-operative nature common to these people. The experiences gained whilst on Moa Island gave me an insight into the nature of the people who were so vital to the favourable economics of Queensland's sugar industry prior to the introduction of central mills, smaller cane farms, and the mechanization powered, either directly or indirectly, by the steam and internal combustion engines.





We shall not cease from exploration

And the end of all our exploring

Will be to arrive where we started

And know the place for the first time.

T. S. Eliott









Introduction

The genesis of this book coincided with a re-reading of the *Maryborough Chronicle's* description of Mr. Robert Travis's presentation speech to Walter Adams on his family's 1871 departure from Maryborough to their new home in Bundaberg.In the presence of some of Maryborough's leading dignitaries, and on behalf of its townspeople, Mr. Travis's speech – in part – proclaimed: *"To Mr. Walter Adams, We, the undersigned, residents of Maryborough… . During a residence here of many years you have invariably identified yourself with every public movement calculated to confer a benefit on the community, and your zeal and energy have ever been employed, when required, in a good cause."*

"… you have invariably identified yourself with ***every public movement*** *calculated to confer a benefit on the community, and… ."* It was the words "every public movement" that caught my eye. Even a very conservative interpretation of the word "every" would translate to 'many' or, more probably, 'most'. This raised the immediate question – if Walter Adams was in attendance at *"every public movement"* in the early stages of Maryborough's development would he not be just as active, or perhaps even more so, in his new location following the transfer of his family to a district that was only then in the process of constructing its first domestic residence? And if so, might it not be rewarding to investigate this proposition as it may be possible to produce a word picture that, in some measure, encapsulates a feeling for the motivations and activities that helped produce, over time, the Lower Mary and Lower Burnett regional development that we are familiar with today and that gives an insight into the living conditions of the early settlers? Further research indicated that the answers to these questions were – 'yes he was' and 'yes it certainly would'.

In Walter's response to the speech of Mr. Travis he was to make the acute observation that: *"The interests of Bundaberg, where I mean to dwell, and Maryborough, from which I am about to depart, are, and I hope ever will be, nearly identical."* This comment has been given considerable weight and its significance, along with Mr. Travis's comment above, is reflected in the selection of material included in the following pages. A study of the available records detailing Walter Adams's attainment of practical experience in the promotion of a district's growth and cultural advancement, and of his later activities in the pursuit of civic development, resulted in the compilation of a very comprehensive volume of material detailing the critical, early stages of development both in Maryborough and in Bundaberg over the period prior to May 1892. To this compilation can be added some personal knowledge on the subject obtained directly from recollections of family discussions.

The details of Walter's career path therefore presented a very convenient timeline into which the sequence of events that had collectively

driven Maryborough and Bundaberg's early civic and economic development could be merged. Consequently, I have chosen to utilize Walter Adams's career as the framework on which to attach the record of the historical events described in the following work. Here serendipity had taken a hand, as further research revealed that there were few other citizens of Bundaberg who were continually active in the civic area; who had arrived there in the late 1860's to early 1870's; and who had maintained a continuous residence over the period up to and including the early 1890's.

Just as a description of the career of Walter Adams is intimately linked to the settlement and early rural and civic development of the Lower Mary and Burnett districts the linking of the careers of other early settlers such as Henry Ford, William Southerden, John Cathcart or Fredrick Buss to the area of retail store establishment, Thomas Child and the Crans to heavy industry or of Alexander Walker and the Young and Gibson families to pastoral and agricultural development would, I am sure, also be rewarding. Owing to advancing years such worthwhile projects must remain the province of future researchers.

Other than the information obtained from family sources the material contained in the following text is derived mainly from newspaper articles of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately the greater bulk of the relevant articles, as originally included in the editions of the *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail*, the *Star* and the other newspapers of the Lower Burnett District are no longer readily available, if they exist at all, and so the context of articles originating in these publications has been derived, in the main, from copies of these articles that were reproduced in the metropolitan newspapers.

The public access section of the National Library of Australia's Trove service has been a very helpful, though time demanding, source of the information as preserved in the following newspapers' archives: the *Maryborough Chronicle Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, *Queensland Figaro and Punch*, *Queensland Figaro*, the *Brisbane Courier*, the *Courier*, the *Moreton Bay Courier*, the *North Australian*, and others. Their articles augment the much more limited amount of material residing in the family retained copies of the *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* and the *Bundaberg Star*. The archival material contained in the newspapers that were scanned to produce the *Trove* library includes, given its very nature, sometimes archaic fonts and uneven quality of reproduction. These tend to produce optical character recognition (O.C.R.) reproduction of a variable nature, sometimes of a low legibility. Any resultant gaps have been filled, hopefully with an acceptable degree of accuracy, from information derived elsewhere. When this information is not available there may be mistakes, particularly with unverifiable names and other proper nouns, as these have been included in their original scanned form. Where an article has been reproduced in the wording of the original text it is intended that this be made clear though, to avoid confusion, there may be a change of tense from present to past in some instances.

There are many newspaper articles, both in the *Trove* collection and elsewhere, describing

the Queensland parliamentary debates in which Walter had participated and, in this regard, I still retain Walter's parliamentary volumes of the Queensland Colonial Government in my own library. I tend to find the wordiness of these parliamentary debates rather inhibiting and have largely exercised the lazy option in this area. However, whilst in our colonial past there was no federal government to further complicate matters. Bundaberg and district were still influenced, sometimes quite markedly, by the actions (or inactions) of the Queensland Colonial Government. It follows that the text contains some details of the colony's parliamentary activities where these activities have had a significant impact upon the development of Maryborough, Bundaberg and of the Wide Bay district in general.

It became clear that Walter's activities in the public domain, at least from the late 1860's onwards, would have been difficult not to notice due to his widespread involvement in the agricultural, infrastructure and civic areas. From his April 1872 arrival in Bundaberg to the close of 1874, less than two years later, Walter and associates had surveyed and cleared the Bundaberg race course and he had independently contracted to undertake the initial works on the town's most trafficked roads, the construction of a Bundaberg to Bingera road and the clearing for and construction of the telegraph line from the township to the pilot station at Burnett Heads. Over the same period he had, with the able assistance of Mary and family, a household to establish in a new town, a hotel to acquire and run, land selections to clear and render productive, the first bridge for public usage in Bundaberg to construct (under his own initiative), a *Progress Committee* and a *School of Arts Committee* to help set up and a major role to play in the acquisition of public reserves – these being only the items that come readily to mind.

However the following text is by no means all about Walter Adams as by far the greater part of the material is intended to give descriptions of, and provide some insight into and feeling for, the public events, commerce, living conditions, tribulations and challenges, both of a physical and political nature, encountered by our pioneers in establishing the viable colony, soon to become a state, in the virgin Australian bush. Even descriptions of river flooding, while telling of individual hardships experienced, can also provide useful indications as to the current state of a town's development when reporting upon the businesses and individuals that had provided support to those afflicted or had themselves sustained serious flood damage.

In these days of cellular telephones, internet connections, all pervading government services and low church attendances it is difficult to comprehend the magnitude of the influence that the various religious institutions played in the lives of very significant portions of the early settler populations. The importance of these institutions to the pioneering settlers lay in their provision of social contacts, family support and, in some cases, the secular education that they provided. All of this was in addition to their well-attended religious functions and hence the lifestyles of the church going settlers cannot be fully envisaged without consideration of the activities and the influence of the religious

institutions of their day. In a like manner the importance of public libraries to those early populations should not be underestimated as, in those days, there was no radio, picture theatres, television or internet. The interaction between the Irish Catholic and Protestant immigrants in the field of politics was also of a magnitude that cannot be ignored when considering early colonial governance.

A consequence of Walter's propensity to be on the scene whenever significant civic activity was taking place is that a record of his activities tends to provide an insight into contemporary civic activity over a very significant period of Maryborough's early development as a municipality and of Bundaberg's first twenty years of development, from a scattering of eucalypts on the Burnett River bank to a *'thriving community'*. Application of the experience that Walter had acquired, as Chairman of the Maryborough Town Council's Works Committee, was to make a very valuable contribution to development in the Bundaberg district. The great American revolutionary and diplomat John Adams has been described by the historian James Grant as being, *"Too plain spoken for diplomacy and too honest for politics."* This description would have fitted Walter down to a 'T'.

Account must also be taken of the considerable number of early pioneers, many being Walter's associates, whose names appear in these pages and who, by becoming members of local committees or by adopting other means of collaboration, were to initiate the individual developmental projects that, taken collectively, were to make towns such as Maryborough and Bundaberg such prosperous and liveable locations. A significant number of the Bundaberg pioneers had, like Walter, migrated from the Maryborough district, retaining the practical knowledge derived from their previous experiences. Such people as the Palmers, the Crans, Charles Faulkner, the Noakes brothers, John Cathcart, William Southerden, George Greathead, Edward Tanner and others were to play very significant roles in Bundaberg's early development. It is obvious that the major civic advancements in Maryborough, Bundaberg, and no doubt most other townships of the colony were not normally the results of spectacular happenings or of major events but resulted from the assembly and rational decision making of such citizens, largely at the local level.

Walter and his associates tend to emerge from these pages as distinct, interacting individuals; significantly more so than an unadorned description of the district's activities and achievements would normally project. Some examples of Walter's often mentioned generosity to those in adversity are detailed and his inquiring mind made him, amongst other things, a one man nineteenth century version of the C.S.I.R.O. and Department of Primary Industries combined. Examples of his relentless drive to nurture the colony's – and particularly the Lower Mary and Burnett Districts' – development are exemplified by his early experiments with sugarcane in Maryborough (when there were no crushing mills) and his importation of seed-wheat for trial by farmers in the Bundaberg district. This was in combination with his trial cultivation, harvesting and selling

of arrowroot, potato, cabbage, banana, cotton, maize, sugarcane and other crops, together with the dissemination of information about the crop's growth, harvesting and financial returns to the local agricultural organizations and in his enthusiasm to enter representative samples of the local produce in international trade fairs.

His championing in Parliament of the spirituous liquor, rum, as a snake-bite antidote although almost certainly made somewhat tongue in cheek in defence of the then brand-new Bundaberg rum distillery may have reflections in the activities of some of his descendants. Family descriptions of grand-uncle Jim come to mind and I, and my old engineering survey associate Tony Coutts, would never set out to work in such remote areas as the Gulf Country, Cape York or the Torres Strait without the inclusion of a bottle of *Captain Morgan Jamaican Rum* in our provisions. (If not needed for medicinal purposes it goes rather well with the juice of a green coconut.) In later times my brother John and I would not venture forth into the bush or desert without our protective supply of *Bundaberg Rum*. And wouldn't it be great to know where to purchase bottles of *Warner's SafeCure for torpid livers and kidneys*, given the ringing endorsement of the product by Walter and many other prominent citizens.

In writing on the establishment of a successful and permanent agricultural settlement, such as Bundaberg had become by the early 1890's, it is helpful to consider elements that can be clearly defined and quantified and I have therefore chosen to consider the following items:

- Distinctive, enduring and readily observable works and edifices of a pubic, private or clerical nature;
- The establishment of co-operative committees and organizations civic, industrial and governmental to achieve common goals; and
- The industries that did the most to promote the settlement's early development.

These items are given the most weight in the subsequent text when describing a district's physical and cultural development.

By the very nature of the circumstances under which this development occurred there will be no descriptions of earth-shattering events; instead successful civic, clerical and cultural improvements require such qualities as those mentioned below to be held by the more effective participants in the gatherings as described in the preceding paragraphs. These desirable attributes would include such qualities as:

- integrity, patience and persistence;
- a willingness to co-operate;
- the ability to persuade and to balance competing interests;
- the skill to negotiate compromises where the attainment of one particular outcome is not vital;
- the ability to achieve conflict resolutions;
- the confidence to address public gatherings;

- the strength of character to attend to the needs (though not necessarily the wants) of constituents; and
- the ability to overcome bureaucratic inertia when required.

It is a matter of record that the combination of a stable society and of the cumulative effect of civic events that were in themselves of an unremarkable nature, when applied over the collective Australian colonies, was to produce one of the most prosperous of all nations. It is also notable that, in attempting to describe the development of a region with its embryonic townships, it soon becomes apparent that this development cannot be visualized in isolation. Events taking place elsewhere, hundreds or even thousands of kilometres away can have a very profound impact upon the region's development. It is also of considerable significance that both Maryborough's and Bundaberg's development was taking place in a period that coincided with the peak of the Industrial Revolution. During this period early versions of steam-driven mechanical devices such as locomotives, saws, milling machines and pumps were becoming available together with the advent of such now familiar items as bicycles, telegraphic services, telephones and gas delivery – via reticulation mains – for street lighting and for provision of domestic and commercial heating and lighting.

Bundaberg is fortunate in having well researched historical works already available in its libraries so that to provide information that is either new, or presented in a significantly different format, has required a great deal of consideration. Whilst a conscious attempt has been made not to repeat or, at the very least, to minimize repetition of details previously described in *"BUNDABERG – history and people"* by Janette Nolan, which carries its research well into the 20th century, or the detailed and well researched work *"BUNDABERG – From Pioneers To Prosperity"* by Neville Rackemann, these books have, on occasion, proved to be valuable for cross-referencing purposes. The value of Mr. Rackemann's research lies in the fact that he was able to utilize the locally based material that was available to him in the Bundaberg newspaper archives and other town records of the 1980/90's together with the relevant anecdotes of older district inhabitants, information that is no longer readily available to current researchers. In consideration of his comment that *"… it was left to me as to content; I admit that much material had to be left out. …"* I have hopes that, by adopting a different approach and by accessing many other sources of reference, this work will provide a useful amount of the material that *'had to be left out'*.

A description of actual events that had occurred over a period of remarkable development, by its very nature, contains a record of successes and failures and this can provide valuable guidance to the endeavours of following generations; one that is often ignored. In conclusion I wish to express the hope that, by placing in a more or less chronological order descriptions of the countervailing influences, conditions, lifestyles, achievements, setbacks and events that our pioneering ancestors experienced in their time, I will have provided the reader with

something approaching a coherent narrative of a remarkable achievement, the creation of prosperous townships on virgin sites in a very few decades by migrants from many countries, and of many denominations, engaged in small business, farming, prospecting, mining and civil service, migrants who had chosen both the right and the obligation to be electors of their own government.

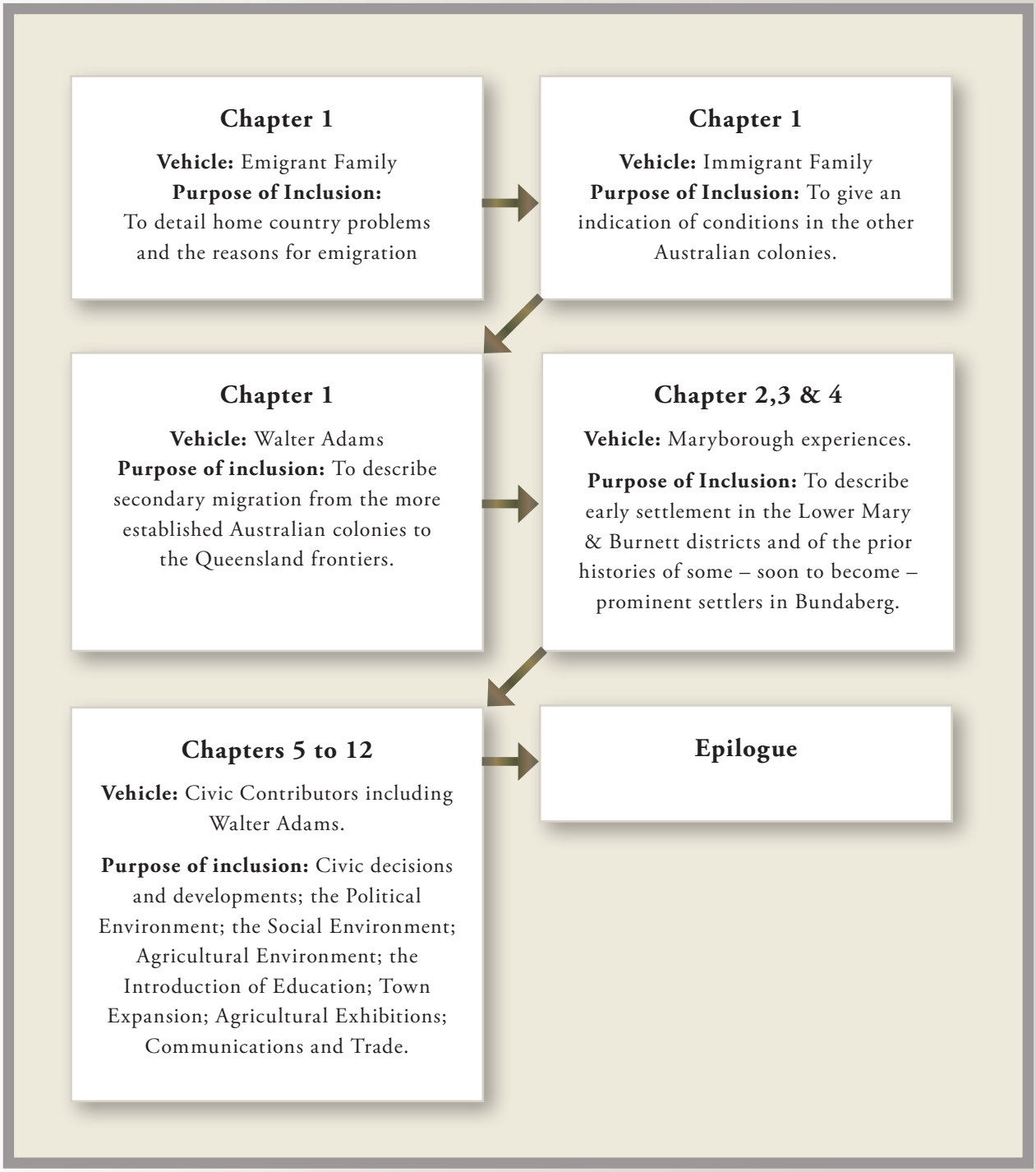
A remark that has been attributed to Mark Twain that *"It isn't what you don't know that gets you into trouble; it's what you know for sure that just ain't so."* has been borne in mind. The cross-checking of information, the accessing of historical sources in pursuit of specific information or to confirm the accuracy of long held verbal descriptions, largely from family sources, and with the conversion of this information into a compact and readable format has adsorbed a considerable amount of my time and resources. Would I do it again? Probably not; but now it is time to move on to the text itself including those segments that preserve the literary and historical remnants that have been bequeathed to us by those now long departed journalists.



Walter Adams
(a Family Studio Portrait)



THE BOOK'S STRUCTURE



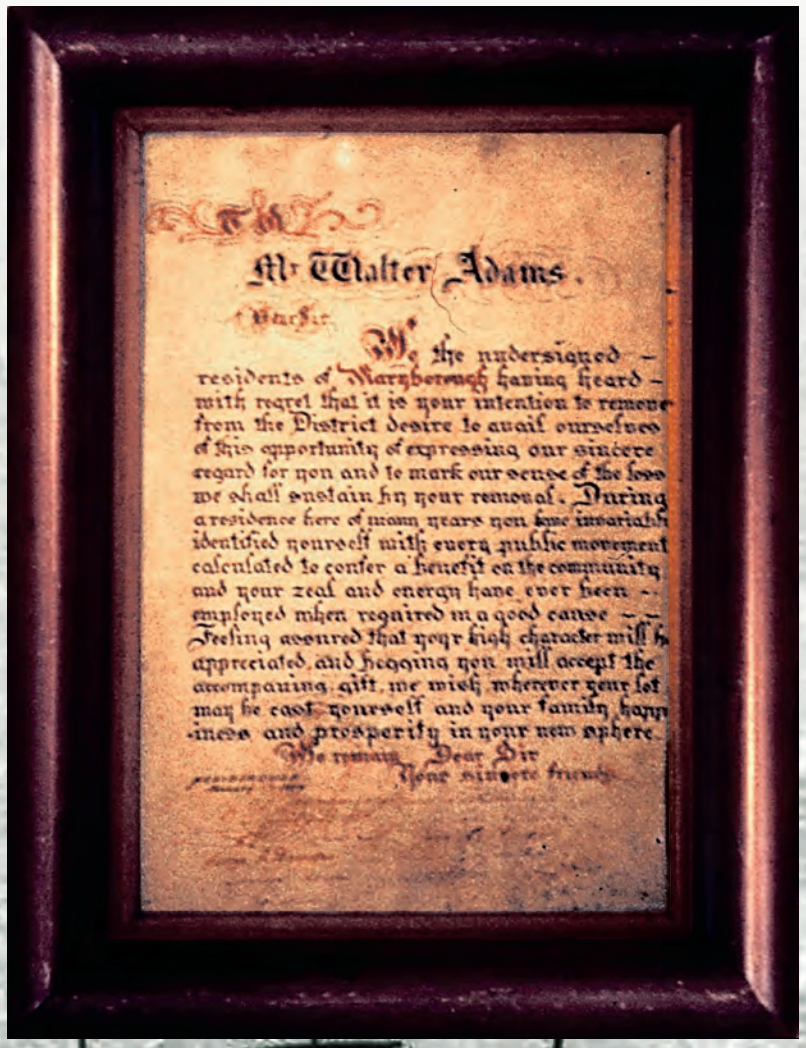












Mr Walter Adams.

Dear Sir

We the undersigned residents of Marlborough having heard with regret that it is your intention to remove from the District desire to avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing our sincere regard for you and to mark our sense of the loss we shall sustain by your removal. During a residence here of many years you have invariably identified yourself with every public movement calculated to confer a benefit on the community and your zeal and energy have ever been employed when required in a good cause — Feeling assured that your high character will be appreciated, and hoping you will accept the accompanying gift, we wish wherever your lot may be cast, yourself and your family happiness and prosperity in your new sphere.

We remain Dear Sir
Your sincere friends

Chapter 1

Over the Seas and Over the Land

It was a time to consider; a time to decide; a time to act. The 1830's were a time of tumultuous change in England and this change was imposing unprecedented strains upon the civil society of the day. As a consequence of the retention of the outdated *Settlement Laws*, and with the means of mass passenger transport still in its infancy, labour in the south of England had no ready access to the more plentiful work opportunities of the industrializing north. The consequence was a considerable disparity in labour demand between the north and south of the country with an accompanying divergence in wage payments. Industrial areas in the north of England, such as those in Lancashire, prior to the construction of the railways, drew their workers from the local countryside and this workforce could be supplemented by seaborne labourers from the nearby north of Ireland, at little cost, when required. The developing industrial areas of the northern and midland regions also required increasing amounts of farm produce to feed their workers but this was of no help to the agricultural areas of the south-western shires, such as Somerset, the location of the Adams family, again due to transportation limitations.

In 1815 duties had been imposed which inhibited the importation of foreign grain into England. These restrictions had remained in place up to the 1840's, effectively protecting the English agricultural landowners from price competition and forcing the consuming population to rely on expensive, home-grown bread-making materials. However, in 1846, the English landowners were to experience similar crop failures to those that were having a devastating effect in Ireland.

Over the Decade 1840 to 1850 Some Significant Occurrences in the Home Country Were:

– The entire British garrison of 16,000 men stationed in Afghanistan was wiped out

except for one survivor. Women and children had been allowed safe return to India;

– The legislating for 'Free Trade' was enacted by the government of Prime Minister, James Peel, Baronet, with Benjamin Disraeli acting as a thorn in his side; the younger William Ewart Gladstone acting as a loose cannon on the deck and with Karl Marx offering his criticisms of all of their governing systems;

– The disastrous wet season in 1845 was a significant factor in crop failures and in the consequent repeal of the Corn Laws of England. This wet season may also have contributed to the occurrence of the Great Famine of Ireland when one-third of the crop of Ireland's staple food, the potato, failed in 1845. This initial failure was followed by a failure of three-quarters of the crop in 1846, and virtually no crop production at all in 1847, owing to the sheer necessity to consume that which should have been the year's seed stock;

– Charles Darwin's impact on the religious establishment with the publication of his Origin of the Species by Natural Selection;

– The art of Mesmer (mesmerism) became popular; and

– The fears of a civil rebellion by the working class, inspired by Chartism, or by the ongoing abuse of the Irish population, abated largely due to a rise, both in the number and in the prosperity, of the English middle class.

AND – *Over the Decades 1820 to 1850 Some Significant Occurrences in the Vicinity of the Lower Reaches of a River Unnamed Until 1847, and then to be called the Burnett Were:*

– In 1823-24 Richard Parsons of the timber-getting, ticket-of-leave and shipwrecked group Finnegan, Pamphlet and Parsons most probably passed between the future site of Bundaberg and the seafront twice, on his trek north and on his return, in a misguided attempt to find an existing settlement;

– In 1830 James Davis (Duramboi), an escaped convict sheltered by aboriginal tribes, travelled the seafront east of the future location of Bundaberg and claimed, probably correctly, that he had explored for 60 miles up the then unnamed Burnett River;

– In 1846 Deputy Surveyor-General, Captain Samuel Perry together with Assistant-Surveyor James Charles Burnett (1815-1854), travelling overland, encountered the mid-reaches of an unnamed river which is now called the Burnett but was then assumed to be the Boyne;

– In 1847 a second expedition, ordered by Governor Fitzroy and led by James Burnett, explored the land from this river's mid-reaches to impenetrable growth on the banks of Saltwater Creek. Burnett's subsequent report on the area discouraged settlement in the lower reaches of the river for some years;

– Later in the same year James Burnett returned in a small boat and, on entering the watercourse through its mouth, conclusively proved that the river was a

newly discovered stream in its own right and was not the Upper Boyne, as had been assumed by an 1842 expedition, led by Henry Stuart Russell and guided by Duramboi. This expedition had been searching for suitable grazing country for their herds of sheep and;

– Later in the year 1847 the New South Wales Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, named the newly discovered stream the Burnett River in honour of the Assistant-Surveyor;

– Gregory Blaxland and his nephew William Forster settled in what is probably the Gin Gin Creek area in 1848. They arrived in the company of three Pegg brothers, with their own servants and with a flock of 30,000 sheep. They took up a very large tract of land across the south of what is now the Kolan Shire and called the station Tirroan, later renamed by Forster to Gin Gin and still later, under Thomas M'Ilwtaith, Gingin station. Gingin remained part of the McIlwraith estate until 1942; and

– In 1849 Dr. J. and Archibald McMurdo set up Walla Run on the Burnett River, George Rankin settled Wonbah and Molangool station was also settled in this year. Walla was later owned by A. A. Johnston and was repossessed by the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney in 1887.

It is impractical, if not impossible, to detail the backgrounds of the many settlers of different nationalities attracted to the Queensland colony. In a limited attempt to compensate for this discrepancy a brief description of the experiences and conditions encountered by the family of one such settler from Somerset which, in the mid-nineteenth century, gambled on the prospect of a better life on the other side of the world, is provided in this chapter

On the 2nd of September 1849 this Church of England family, leaving only one son behind in England, landed at Sydney, in the colony of New South Wales, from the ship *Victoria* out of Plymouth. Prior to passage George Adams, the nominal head of the family, was described as a 43 year old leather-dresser from Limington, Somerset, who could read and write and whose parents, John and Mary, were both deceased. His wife, Sarah, was described in official papers as a 42 year old house servant from the market town of Yeovil, Somerset, who could read. Sarah's father Giles Fudge had died but her mother, Susan(na) née Taylor, was still living at Langport, Somerset.

On the voyage to Australia George and Sarah were accompanied by their seven younger children namely Walter, described as an eighteen year old farm labourer, Matilda as a sixteen year old housemaid, both of whom could read and write, fourteen year old Emily and eleven year old Jane, the latter two being described as farm servants who could read. The ages of the three youngest children were Henry, nine; James, four and Edward, two. Walter and Matilda's descriptions as 'farm labourer' and 'housemaid' may have been adopted to meet the requirements for migration to Australia. The two oldest children, Alfred Adams and Sarah Sams, née Adams, then 26 years and 22 years of age respectively, did not accompany Sarah's parents on their voyage to Australia.

On his arrival in Australia George's trade was given as that of leather dresser which was

probably correct as the family came from a district well known for its leather-glove making facilities. There is no evidence that George ever practiced this occupation during his time in New South Wales, probably because this type of manufacturing industry had not yet been established in the colony. At various times he was listed as a labourer and gardener and, in his later years, as a farmer on Muscle Creek near Muswellbrook where his wife Sarah died on the 4th of March 1871, and George on the 14th of May the following year.

In England the elder son, Alfred Adams, set up a business as a painter, glazier and decorator in the town of Street where he and his wife Ann Caroline, née Fisher, whom he had married in Langport in June 1846, lived in Glastonbury Road with their children. These were Ann Amelia, born in 1850; Kezia, born in 1854; George Henry, born in 1857, who became a painter and decorator; John Alfred, born in 1863, who became a printer and Emma born in 1866. Another child, an earlier John Alfred, was born in 1852 and died whilst very young. Alfred Adams was still practicing as a painter and glazier in 1881 and died in July 1890, aged 67, having acquired a respectable estate from his business activities. Ann Caroline was to die twelve years later aged 75 years. The occupations of those remaining in England, in adapting to the changing commercial and civic environment, had become dissociated from the older, agricultural style occupations and entered the expanding service and manufacturing industries of the era.

A stained glass window situated above the residence's ground floor in Glastonbury Road advertising *"A. Adams and sons"* and a photograph, preserved by the local Historical Society, of Albert's son George in the Street fire-fighting crew are the only remaining traces of the Adams family's residence in Street as there is no known descendant of Alfred Adams remaining in the township. Alfred's decision to remain in Somerset may have been influenced by his wife's dedication to the welfare of her parents John and Kezia Fisher. No records of any visit by Alfred to Australia have been discovered, and he was well established in England by the 1870's. The reminiscences of Sarah Sams, née Adams, as recorded in Maitland during her later years, raise the possibility that Alfred may have visited Australia on several occasions, though searches have not uncovered any documentation of these visits.

Sarah Adams, the second child of George and Sarah, was born on 13th of February 1827 at Somerton, Somerset where, on the 11th of April 1847, she married Jehoiada (christened Jehoida) Sams at St Michael's Church. Jehoiada was the fifth child and the fifth son of Thomas Sams and Elizabeth Woods and had been born on the 6*th* of April 1823 at Knole, Somerset. Knole is a hamlet two and three-quarter miles north-west of Ilchester; somewhat removed from the Sams family's Somerset base which was Long Sutton, a village two and three-quarter miles south-west of Somerton.

Sarah and Jehoiada's first child, Ellen, was born at Somerton on 18th of April 1848 and eight months later, when 21 years of age, Sarah left England with her husband and daughter, sailing to Australia on the passenger vessel *General Palmer*. Following departure from England they had no further contact with land until their arrival at Port Phillip, as Melbourne

was then called, on 10th of April 1849. Their voyage to Port Phillip, which took four months, had set a record for the quickest passage from England to Australia up to that time. On their embarkation the board list described Jehoiada as an Episcopalian labourer who could read whilst Sarah was recorded as having the ability to both read and write. Their landing in Port Phillip preceded the arrival of Sarah's Adams family members in Sydney by five months.

The first official report of a gold discovery in Australia was in February 12th 1851, when a miner who had recently returned from the California gold rush, Edward Hammond Hargraves, discovered over four ounces of the precious metal when panning the banks of Summer Hill Creek, a tributary of the Macquarie River between Bathurst and Orange in the colony of New South Wales. Hargraves named this area *"Ophir"* after the region of great wealth described in the Bible.

Shortly thereafter, and following the offer of a 200 guineas reward for gold discoveries, reports were received of discoveries in the Victorian colony at Clunes, Andersons Creek, Ballarat, Bendigo, Buninyong and Warrandyte by prospectors such as William Campbell, L. J. Michel, T. Hiscock and H. Frencham. These discoveries were reported upon in the London *Times* of the 2nd of September 1851. The seeds had been planted for the advent of the great Australian gold rushes which later included the Gympie rush of 1867, the Palmer River rush of 1873 and the Kalgoorlie rush of 1893.

Following five years residence in Port Phillip's Collingwood the Sams family joined the Victorian gold rush and relocated to the newly discovered Castlemaine goldfields located midway between the Ballarat and Bendigo discoveries. The gold rush of the 1850's was to provide sufficient exports of gold to Britain to meet all of the Victoria colony's foreign debt which, in turn, helped to lay the foundation for the colony's dramatic commercial expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Victoria's greatest annual yield of gold occurred in 1856, when 3,053,744 troy ounces (86,572 kg. valued at approximately $3,500 million at 2018-dollar prices) of gold were obtained from the diggings. Over the period of the rush the population of Victoria rose from 75,000 people in 1851 to over 500,000 in 1861. This event, that boosted both Victoria's population and its economy, was to be followed ten years later by the Gympie goldfield's rush which, in turn, gave a vital boost to the Queensland colony's economy.

Following eight years on the Castlemaine goldfields the Sams, together with their growing family, which by then included six surviving children, found life on the diggings had become somewhat onerous and so the expanded family decided to take their departure. The family then consisted of Ellen - born in Somerton in 1848; John – born in Port Phillip in 1850; George – born in Tarrangower in 1855; William – born in Maldon in 1857 and Alfred and Edward who were born in 1859 and 1861 respectively. Another daughter Mary Ann had been born in Collingwood in 1853 and had died as an infant in 1854. In 1862 the family joine Sarah's father, mother, three brothers and three sisters in the Hunter Region of New South Wales where their fifth son, Edward, died in 1864. A further two children, Henry in 1863 and Matilda Jane (1865 to 1866) were born in East Maitland. It

will be noted that this family experienced the high infant mortality rate – in this case 33⅓ percent – typical of the pre public sanitation, antibiotic and preventive immunization era.

The voyage from Melbourne to Sydney took four days and was made on the *Rangitara*. By 1920 Sarah had become East Maitland's oldest resident, her husband having predeceased her by 30 years. Sarah had arrived there before the incorporation of East Maitland and maintained this residence for a tenure that exceeded sixty years. During the course of an interview with a representative of the *Mercury* newspaper some years prior to her death in 1923 Sarah described Port Phillip, at the time of her family's arrival, as being only a village with a population of ten men to one woman. There were no streets and the early town layout had no similarity to that prevailing by the time of the Maitland interview. In her narrative Sarah described her own and Jehoiada's five year residence in Collingwood and their subsequent relocation to the gold diggings of the Castlemaine district. She described the presence of many different groups and nationalities at the diggings, black and white people, Turks and many others; how the different groups largely kept to themselves and, though riots were often predicted, none ever eventuated.

In proceeding with her narrative Sarah went on to describe the family's voyage from Sydney to Newcastle on the *Collaroy* and the subsequent train trip between Newcastle and Maitland when there was only one train, a combined passenger and goods train, running each way between Newcastle and Singleton. She described how her parents, George and Sarah, having departed England three months subsequent to her own and Jehoiada's departure, had then travelled directly to New South Wales. *"I would also have come to New South Wales," Sarah said during the interview "but was told it was a convict settlement. However nearly everyone in Port Phillip in those days was a ticket-of-leave man or a man who had served his sentence. One man I met had been sent out from England as a convict, and all they had up against him was the killing of a rabbit."*

Walter, the 18-year-old *"farm labourer"*, on his disembarkation in Sydney was recorded as being a member of the Church of England's extended congregation and able to both read and write. He had been born on the 22nd of November 1830 at Yeovil, Somersetshire and had been educated at Somerton a short distance to the north. Yeovil was a medium sized market town containing architectural remnants of its old feudal village origins and from whose elevated northern boundary one can look northwards, over the long since drained swamp lands, towards the Glastonbury Tor approximately fourteen miles distant. rom the northern boundary ridge the streets of the town slope downwards into the extensive Blackmore Vale. It is a pleasant place in these days but living there was perhaps not so pleasant in the 1840's. At the completion of his formal education Walter accepted a position in a machinery factory, located in the Street/Yeovil area, reportedly owned by one of his cousins.

Over the Decade 1850 to 1860 Some Significant Occurrences in the Home Country Were:

– Joseph Paxton presented the design of the Crystal Palace for the Great London Exhibition of 1851 to Prince Albert;

– The death of the poet William Wordsworth and of the past Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel;

– England comes under the political leadership of Lord Palmerstone, a dedicated imperialist;

– William Ewart Gladstone replaced Benjamin Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's government;

– The chronic overwork and poor health of the English workers comes under criticism by the popular writers and others;

– Very unpleasant odours emanated from the heavily polluted River Thames in London and water borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid and typhus fever were rife; one disease epidemic followed another;

– The Brotherhood of Pre-Raphaelite Painters flourished with the famous art critic, Ruskin, as their defender and promoter;

– The Crimean War occurred making famous such names as Balaclava and of Florence Nightingale who had organised the ministration of nursing services to the war's casualties. A third of these casualties were acquired in battle with disease causing the remaining two-thirds. The hot-headed A.D.C., Captain Nolan, headed the Light Brigade in its catastrophic charge;

– Having acquired the smoking habit from Russians in the Crimea the Scot, Robert Gloag, introduced England to the smoking of cigarettes;

– The advent of the Enfield military rifle, with its ammunition greased by domestic animal fat, was in part to blame for the Indian sepoy's rebellion; and

– Following this rebellion, the East India Company had its Indian administration, together with its military force of 350,000 soldiers, placed under Westminster administration in 1858.

AND – *Over the Decade 1850 to 1860 Some Significant Occurrences in the Vicinity of the Lower Reaches of the Burnett River Were:*

– Gregory Blaxland was killed in 1850, probably under payback by the aborigines and William Forster, most likely still troubled by his uncle's death, sold out to Alfred and Arthur Brown in the early 1850's with the official notification of transfer not being recorded until a considerably later date. [Note 1] He returned to New South Wales and was elected to its parliament where he was later to become Premier. Nugent Wade Brown arrived at Gin Gin in 1859 to become overseer for the Brown brothers. He had been educated in Kings School, Parramatta and his sister married William Henry Walsh of later mention.

– *Kolanga* was taken up by J. Blackman in 1850 and the Landsborough brothers took up *Monduran* on the Burnett and *Tenningering* station near the Goodnight Scrub. When James Little and family arrived in the area, thinking that they had title to the *Monduran* station and finding it already occupied, they took the Landsborough brothers' advice and claimed the station that they named *Rosedale*. William Landsborough later sold *Monduran* to Edward Mullett and William

Henry Walsh, the owner of *Degilbo* station, to further his interest in exploration. Following his accidental death in 1888 Mr. Walsh's share of *Monduran* became the property of his partner Edward Mullett

– Owing to unfavourable reports concerning the navigability of the Burnett River mouth produced by Mr. R. B. Sheridan, the Maryborough Harbour Master, and by Lieutenant Heath R.N., the Brisbane Port Master, the lands adjacent to the lower Burnett River were initially settled by cattle grazers arriving in the area by inland approaches. In the period 1851 to 1854 Mr. R. P. Marshall, previously the lieutenant of the Native Police, lodged his applications for runs in the Bingera area and became the first lessee of *Bingera* station which was later taken over and stocked by Alexander Walker in 1863;

– In 1856 leased the Brown brothers, Arthur and Alfred, the then owners of the *Gin Gin (later Gingin)* [Note 2] sheep station, the first run located in the immediate vicinity of the future Bundaberg settlement, the Electra run adjacent to Bingera; also

– In 1856 Messrs. William Howard and Forbes, two squatters from Doongool in search of new grazing land took up land in the area which they named *Woongarra*;

– Shortly thereafter Messrs Hassall and Ogg established the *Tantitha* station; and

– By 1859 settlements described as being close to the Bundaberg town's future location were Henry Palmer's *Eureka* station and Mr. Little's *Rosedale* station, formerly owned by Mr. Foster.

Note 1: The dates given for the acquisition of land title for the early stations should be regarded with some caution. Settlement and title acquisition were, as often as not, quite separate events partly due to the remoteness of government in Sydney prior to 1859, the nature of communications at the time and the rapid expansion of settlement.

Note 2: It was reputed that the name of this station was changed by a later owner, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, a true Scot, from the dual word Gin Gin to the single word, Gingin, to save on the cost of sending telegrams that incorporated the station's name.

Walter's initial ventures into the business life of Australia were unsuccessful and he was compelled to adopt the trade of a blacksmith eighteen months after the Sydney landing. By November 1851 he had moved to Maitland and was in the employ of the *Australian Agricultural Company*. It may be relevant to note that, in those days, the trades of leatherworker and blacksmith, together with woodworker and teamster, were of critical importance to the young colony.

The *Australian Agricultural Company* was formed in London in 1824 to raise sheep with a fine fleece on a proposed one million acre New South Wales land grant and, by February 1826, it had established a base at Carrabean, the present-day Newcastle suburb of Carrington. The company had operations at Booral and Stroud and sheep were being pastured in the valleys stretching north of the Gloucester River. The Company's land grant arrangements were finalized in August 1833 and its pastoral grants issued over areas between the Manning River and Port Stephens and on the Liverpool Plains west of Murrurundi and north-west of Tamworth. The Company was also the operator of a coal mine at Newcastle. These operations and holdings were in place in 1851 and offered

work opportunities for both apprentice and tradesman blacksmiths. The Company remains in business up to the present day.

There is on record an entry indicating that Walter appears to have entered into a form of marriage with an Elizabeth Parnell in the Church of England in West Maitland on the 22nd of November 1851, his twenty-first birthday. The witnesses to the marriage, if such it was, were his sister Emily and Richard Savage who were themselves to marry in the same parish on the 24th of February the following year. However the circumstances of this event remain shrouded in mystery as the most likely, and possibly only, candidate for the role of Elizabeth Parnell that occurs in the contemporary records is the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth, née Griffiths, Parnell who resided in the Richmond/ Windsor area of New South Wales.

The younger Elizabeth was born in 1827 and was therefore of an appropriate age for marriage, being twenty-four years of age at the time, three years older than Walter. There is evidence of some links between the family of Thomas and Elizabeth Parnell and the Hunter region, and later an association between James Adams and the Parnell family. The mystery deepens, however, as the Elizabeth Parnell under consideration is recorded as having married a Henry Baker in the Church of England at Richmond, in 1853, under the name of Elizabeth Parnell. Was there an earlier marriage that was later annulled? The records examined provide no clarification on this issue and, as there is no available evidence of the couple ever having lived together, it is not unreasonable to assume that this may have been a 'marriage of convenience' the reason for which has been lost in the mists of time.

Walter's position with the *Australian Agricultural Company* proved to be of short duration and, whilst the rest of the family remained in the Hunter Valley, Walter had relocated to the remote town of Gayndah, in Queensland's Upper Burnett area, where he arrived in 1854, five years after the town's establishment. Gayndah is located on the banks of the wide Burnett River whose sandy bottom is the result of periodic and massive flooding. Flooding also occurs in Barambah Creek, a major tributary of the Burnett River, which joins the Burnett a short distance downstream from the township.

Exploration of the Gayndah area was first undertaken, in 1847, by Surveyor James Charles Burnett and explorer Thomas Archer. The Archer brothers, Thomas and David, were the sons of a Scottish timber merchant with Norwegian connections and they acquired the holdings of Eidsvold station, near the township of Eidsvold, and *Coonambula* on St. John's Creek, a tributary of the Burnett River south of Eidsvold. *Eidsv*old was named after the municipality of *Eidsvoll* in Akershus County, Norway.

Captain Maurice Charles O'Connell, the Land Commissioner for the Burnett, was appointed in 1848 and established his centre on the opposite side of the river to J. B. Reid's station of *Ideraway*. This quickly became the Burnett squatter's centre. In 1848 the first settlers arrived in the Norton's Camp, later Gayndah, area 6.5 kilometres from *Ideraway* and the township was established the following year with the post office being opened in 1850, thus making Gayndah the oldest Gazetted town in Queensland. Alexander Walker, who constructed Gayndah's fourth building, the

town's first general store, assumed the duties of the district's postmaster. Gayndah's first horse races were held there in 1852 and, by 1853, its population had risen to 92 persons.

The *Wetheron* property, 12 miles from Gayndah, was taken up by William Humphrey in 1845. From Mr. Humphrey it transferred to two sons of the Earl of Ducie, the Hon. Berkeley Basil Moreton (the future fourth earl) and Hon. Seymour Moreton, to pasture their sheep. The brothers had joined the limited number of squatters then on holdings along the Burnett River. These squatters were mainly from families who had a ready access to the services of banks and other financial institutions.

Later events of some significance in Gayndah's history were the arrival of the newspaper editor, Thomas White, of later mention, who began publication of the *Burnett Argus Gayndah and Central Queensland Advertiser* there in April 1861, and the acquisition of a municipal council in 1866.

The regional towns of Gayndah and Ipswich were of a comparable size and, for a time, they were in competition with Brisbane to become the Queensland capital when this colony separated from N.S.W in 1859. However, Ipswich was inaccessible to the larger ships and Brisbane subsequently received preference over Ipswich owing to its suitability for use as a port of entry.

Gayndah's bid to be considered for the capital of Queensland was also lost to Brisbane partially because the Burnett River at Gayndah and downstream, though at the time navigable to smaller craft, did not have the capacity to allow cargo and immigrant ships of adequate capacity to reach the town. Also of relevance was Brisbane's more rapid expansion both in area and in population.

By the close of 1825 the future Brisbane's first settlement had consisted of 47 convicts with guards and was made up of 45 males and two females. On relocation from Redcliffe their settlement was re-established on the north bank of the Brisbane River in what is now North Quay. Further transportation of convicts to the Brisbane settlement, which was initially called Edenglassie, followed but this transportation ceased in 1839. The termination of transportation preceded the closure of the Edenglassie penal settlement in 1842 and free settlement of the district then followed. The name of Edenglassie soon fell out of favour with many of the settlement's new residents and the present name of Brisbane was adopted in honour of Sir Thomas Brisbane,Governor of New South Wales the Governor of New South Wales.

It was also in 1842 that Andrew Petrie reported favourable grazing conditions and good forest lands to the north of Brisbane and, as a consequence of this report, settlers gravitated to the Fraser Island – Cooloola coast region. Later, in 1848, the first immigrant ship, the *Artemisia*, arrived in Moreton Bay. The Municipality of Brisbane was proclaimed on 6th of September 1859 and polling for the first council was conducted in the following month with John Petrie being elected as the mayor. By 1868 Brisbane had acquired a population of 15,240 making it the largest town in Queensland; however, it was not until 1902 that Brisbane was officially declared a city.

In 1851 a public meeting was held to consider Queensland's separation from New South Wales and the result of this, and of the meeting's consequential activities, was to culminate in Queen Victoria signing *Letters Patent* to form the colony of Queensland on the 6th of June 1859. The subsequent proclamation was read by George Bowen on 10th of December 1859 whereupon Queensland became formally separated from New South Wales. George Bowen was appointed as the first Governor of Queensland and Robert Herbert Premier was appointed as its first Premier. Queensland had thus become the only colony in Australia to have been proclaimed with its own parliament rather than having to spend time as a Crown colony under a Governor appointed by The Crown.

Prior to the 1890's there was no rigidly defined party-political system as such in Queensland and consequently a candidate's political definition was an indication of the individual member's personal preferences. Set out in Appendix 1 is a listing of the early Queensland premiers, from 1859 to 1893. This information can be of considerable use in understanding the political manœuverings in the Queensland colonial parliament during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Walter's presence in Gayndah would seem to indicate that his long journey from the Hunter Valley northwards was overland and by coach, or more probably horseback, rather than by the more comfortable, though expensive, seaborne route to Maryborough. Gayndah, in the early 1850's, being of very recent establishment was, in fact, a genuine frontier town in every respect. It was strategically located on an inland route to the north as well as to Hervey Bay (overland across Barambah Creek to the Maryborough area) and Lower Burnett (down the Burnett River to the Bundaberg district).

Whilst in Gayndah, on the 20th of March 1854, Walter married Mary Shannon under the auspices of the celebrant, the Rev. Edward Tanner, who was then the rector of St. Paul's Church of England in Maryborough. In the same year the young couple relocated to a residence in Albert Street, Maryborough where, in May 1855, Mary was to provide Walter with an heir, George Manus. The Maryborough settlement was established in 1847/8 and became a municipality in 1861. In 1855 the town proper was surveyed and consolidated in its current location adjacent to a deep, navigable river channel which created the opportunity for settlers to acquire the newly surveyed town allotments at favourable prices.

The first place of worship for members of the Church of England's *St. Paul's Parish* in Maryborough was a slab hut in the *"Old Township"* with the first officiating minister being the Reverend Edward Tanner who had arrived in Melbourne as a nineteen year old member of a group of missionaries on the ship *Stag* in January 1848. Shortly after officiating at Walter and Mary's marriage, ill-health forced the Reverend Tanner to resign and he was succeeded by the Reverend Mr. Dodd. In 1856 Mr. E. T. Aldridge, with other parishioners, purchased an acre of town land in Adelaide Street, and presented it to the church on the condition *"that it should be the site of the best church in Maryborough, and for school buildings in connection with its teachings"* and, toward the close of 1856, the existing church building

was removed from its *"Old Township"* site and relocated onto the Adelaide Street site. For ten years this humble edifice was to house the worshippers under the successive ministries of the Reverends Dodd, Postlethwaite, Mackenzie and Poole. In 1866 a new wooden church was built as a replacement and opened for Divine service on the 27th of May 1866 by the Reverend H. J. Poole, who was to depart for Tasmania early in 1867. His successor was the Reverend H. C. Claughton, brother of the Bishops of Rochester and Ceylon. who retired due to ill health following a tenure of just over one year. The Reverend G. G. Danvers was then appointed but, as he left for a curacy in England in 1872, the Reverend Edward Tanner was induced to return to the Maryborough rectory on a short term appointment.

Following his early Maryborough ministry, the Reverend Tanner had accepted a position as officiating minister in the Winchelsea, Victoria parish and served there until the middle of 1864. Subsequently Edward moved to locations in northern Queensland, including Port Denison (Bowen), where he engaged in various activities including, in 1872, the appointment as Government Agent to serve on South Sea Island labour vessels operating under the *Polynesian Laborers Act of 1868*. Following his last appointment to St. Paul's parish, the Adelaide Street church building which had become too small for the congregation was enlarged to make room for 400 worshippers. In 1875 Edward Tanner resigned from his second St. Paul's ministry to relocate to, and to reside on, his plantation *The Grange* near Bundaberg where he died on the 1st of January 1888.

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On registration for her voyage to Australia Mary Shannon claimed to have been born on the 6th of January 1833. She was the Catholic daughter of Manus and Mary, née Finn, Shannon of Ennistymon, County Clare, Ireland and was a girl of direct gaze and slim, upright appearance. Mary's father had been dispossessed of his agricultural land, and her mother had died prior to Mary's departure from Ireland on her migration to Australia. Mary's voyage was on the *Joseph Somes* that departed Plymouth on the 21st of October 1851 and arrived in Sydney on the 1st of February 1852. The landing records indicate that Mary paid £1 for her passage and was described as a *"20-year-old housemaid"* who could neither read nor write. As it appears that Mary had been born in 1836 (not 1833 as stated prior to her departure) it seems that she was only sixteen years of age, not the nineteen years as claimed, on her embarkation for Australia. The flexibility displayed in her declaration presumably resulted from an understandable desire to vacate the Ennistymon Workhouse, the prospect of a new life in a faraway land being relatively attractive when compared with the unfortunate circumstances prevailing in Ireland following the *Great Famine*.



Gayndah in the 1890's With the Burnett River in the Background (Following the 1890 Flood? Observe high river level and water lying on flood plain).

From the Gayndah and District Historical Society.

Chapter 2

Life in the New World

Settlers had arrived in the lower Mary River district by the late 1830's and this migration had culminated in the founding of the Maryborough settlement in 1847. By the close of 1848 the population of Maryborough had reached 380 and, in 1859, the settlement became a dedicated Port of Entry for inter-colonial coastal vessels carrying both freight and immigrants. The port, in the lower reaches of the Mary River, was initially founded to provide an outlet for the products of the developing pastoral industries of the district, particularly wool, from the Gayndah area and its surrounds. Coastal shipping transportation in those days, provided the only practical means of commercial transport in an era prior to the construction of formed roads and railways. Having to compete with few other commercial ports in south-east Queensland, Maryborough was regarded as being one of the colony's main northern venues for commerce and immigration. It was located in the district now referred to as Wide Bay, then the colony's area of most rapid pastoral development.

Prior to the advent of European settlement it was estimated that the local aboriginal population in the vicinity of the future Maryborough numbered approximately 5,000 persons and it was estimated that, in 1848, a number close to this attended a corroborree in the soon to be settled site of Maryborough's *'Old Township'*. Mortal conflict between the native tribes and the timber getters, shepherds and squatters and that perennial scourge of disrupted tribal cultures, alcohol, was subsequently to cause a significant reduction in the aboriginal population's numbers.

A small boat with Andrew Pertrie, a government representative; Captain Jolliffe who had been engaged by a Hunter River squatter, Mr. Eales, to explore new land for development; the Hon. Walter Wrottesley, an English aristocrat and adventurer; Henry Stuart

Russell, explorer, grazier and historian; five convicts and two aboriginals had set out from Brisbane in May 1842. This expedition was to discover the mouth of the Wide Bay River, later renamed the Mary River after Lady Mary Fitzroy, and return with two runaway convicts, James Davis and David Bracewell who had been living with the Wide Bay aboriginals.

On the expedition's return Jolliffe reported to Mr. Eales and then set off for Wide Bay with a heard of sheep. Henry Russell, on a following expedition, set out in November 1842 and found Jolliffe, on *Tiaro Station*, in desperate straits having sustained massive stock losses due to native attacks. Mr. Jolliffe abandoned *Tiaro Station* in 1843.

Following this, Henry Stuart Russell travelling inland from *Tiaro* in search of pastoral land with his brother, Sydenham Russell, and William Glover encountered a river that he named the Boyne in the mistaken belief that it was the same river that had previously been given this name by John Oxley. The river that Russell had encountered was, in fact, a tributary of the – later to be named – Burnett River. As a result of Mr. Russell's miscalculation Queensland now had two Boyne Rivers.

The earliest explorers of the Wide Bay and Burnett district lands were undoubtedly the pastoralists and overlanders who brought stock and took up grazing country. When it became publicly known that the Mary River was navigable, and that a large fertile territory lay beyond, many intending settlers moved northwards to establish sheep and cattle stations. The first township was founded 'on the run' in 1848 and later became known as the 'Old Township' to which the Gregories, Aldridges, Eales, Harwoods, Dowzers, Furburs, Palmers, and other pioneers relocated. In those primitive days bark humpies were plentiful, and Aldridge's was the only hotel, Mrs. Irwin's the only general store and Milner's the only bakery.

For much of the earlier period described in this chapter the new settlers were living under very rudimentary, if not primitive, conditions. Government services were basic to non-existent and the new arrivals had little capacity to document the local happenings and conditions.

At first the roads were mere tracks made by bullock drivers or teamsters when travelling from one place to another and travellers attempting to follow them often went astray. The government surveyors' broad arrow, on the ground or cut into a tree's trunk, was the sole indication of streets or thoroughfares and, until the year 1860, no serious attempts were made by the residents to improve the early town's facilities. A single store, hotel, baker, butcher, saddler, and shoemaker were sufficient to maintain the community in a mutually supportive state. Many of the first squatters established themselves in bark huts or gunyahs, rough erections of timber slabs and bark, from which they set out in the early morning to check on the location of their sheep or cattle.

In I850, Edmund B. Uhr, who arrived with his wife and family, opened the first boiling-down works in Maryborough on the site of the future Botanical Gardens to service the local stock owners. Storekeeping in Maryborough was generally considered to have its origins in the activities of Messrs. Uhr, Aldridge and Dowzer, all of whom had established their own small

outlets to sell useful and essential articles to bushmen and outlying stations. John Purser was born in Birmingham, England in 1822 and arrived in Sydney in 1850 where he obtained a position as a reporter under Henry Parkes. He arrived in Maryborough on the *S.S. Waratah* and joined Mr. Dowzer in his storekeeping business and opened his own soapmaking business ten years later. He promoted the *Maryborough Permanent Building Society*, was associated with some large mining ventures and with marine, fire and assurance companies.

Mr. Uhr, the first storekeeper, disposed of this business to Robert Travis who became the first merchant and second storekeeper to set up in Maryborough. He was born at Salford, Manchester and, in partnership with Mr. Melville, successfully maintained the business for many years. Following Mr. Melville's retirement Mr. Travis continued the business on his own account. By 1855 the female element of the local population was still small with probably no more than six European women in the *'Old Township'* and about four in the outlying district.

From the time Maryborough's *'New Township'* was proclaimed in 1851, and domestic and commercial allotments of land were sold, Maryborough began to advance and, aided by immigration and by an influx of pioneers from the *'Old Township'* the town's population markedly increased. The town's streets, so-called, were named by the surveyors or owners of the allotments. It fell to Robert Travis, in association with Mr. Melville, to open the first store in *"New Maryborough"*.

Although, by the 2nd of February 1851 Maryborough had been established as a township, it took a full decade of growth for it to be incorporated into a municipality, this event taking place in March of 1861 and, on the 26th of April, Henry Palmer was elected as Maryborough's first Mayor. He served a short term before being supplanted by John Eaton in August of the same year. The laying of the foundation stone of Maryborough's hospital was to take place three years later, in 1864.

Edward Thomas Aldridge was recognised as being one of the first of Maryborough's settlers having arrived there in the company of Henry and Richard Palmer in 1848. Mr. Aldridge acquired land at Baddow, later known as West Maryborough, but which was then regarded



Mr E. T. Aldridge

as the *"Old Township"*. The town's site had been specifically selected as a desirable location for the loading and shipment of the wool that was delivered by wagons, drawn by bullock or horse teams, from the stations of the Burnett and Wide Bay districts.

Mr. Aldridge opened a general store and the *Bush Inn Hotel* which was removed, at a later date, to a new site that was subsequently occupied by the *Royal Hotel*. In 1856, a new *Bush Inn Hotel* was erected in Kent Street. The first Maryborough land sales were held in 1852 and Mr. Aldridge's participation in these sales was to make him a significant owner of Maryborough's real estate. He lived on his Baddow property until his death on the 18th of May 1888 at seventy years of age. Prior to this, his pioneering work in the sugar industry was of considerable significance both to Maryborough and to its neighbouring districts. Throughout his career he was to support and to encourage efforts to ensure the prosperity of the sugar industry.

On his arrival in Maryborough's *"Old Township"*, in the company of his brother and Edward Aldridge, Henry Palmer was accompanied by his own flocks and herds to enable the establishment of pastoral activities on a station that he had already acquired in the Burnett district. His brother, Richard E. Palmer, then travelled further north to pursue his own business interests in Gladstone. Henry conducted his pastoral activities over a period of many years and was to become one of the best known, and most respected, of the squatters on the east coast of Queensland.



Mr Henry Palmer

The early years of the Adams family in Maryborough were dedicated to financial consolidation and to their expanding family. Walter and Mary's children, all born in Maryborough, were: George Manus born on the 18th of May 1855, Matilda Jane on the 30th of November 1856 and Mary Ann on the 30th of December 1857. These were followed, in the 1860's, by James Walter on the 23rd of May 1860, Sarah Margaret on the 14th of October 1862, Maria Emily on the 6th of July 1865, Susanna on the 30th of August 1867 (died 3rd of March 1869) and Ellen Elizabeth on the 17th of March 1869.

Following his arrival in Maryborough Walter worked as a blacksmith for wages and, by

1855, he had accumulated sufficient capital to purchase 64 perches of land in Lennox Street in the name of his new-born son. Further allotments were acquired in his own name, one on the 29th of October 1856 in Bazaar Street, and another on the 9th of September 1859 in Albert Street and, in or about 1855, he established a machinery business that he was to own and manage for seven years.

Over the Decade 1860 to 1870 Some Significant Occurrences in the Home Country Were:

- Following the pioneering works on the Liverpool Borough's sewage system designed by the Scottish engineer James Newlands, Engineer Joseph Bazalgette, assisted by William Haywood, eliminated the *Great Stink* of the Thames River at London and, as a consequence, virtually removed the threats of recurring epidemics such as those of cholera and typhoid;
- Early in this decade England's wealth was, in large measure, derived from the export of coal from its mines and from the manufacture of ships in the docks and slipways located in its northern districts;
- An English dockyard launched the first iron hulled battleship;
- The revitalisation of the north-east of England was achieved by the processing of imported fibres, mainly of cotton and wool, using the mechanization introduced by such men as Arkwright, Cartwright and Hargreaves in England, and by Eli Whitney (the inventor of the cotton gin) in America;
- The American civil war's (1861-1865) blockade of its southern states inhibited cotton deliveries to the English mills and its conclusion ended the use of slave labour in the cotton producing southern United States;
- A flowering in the number of public schools as social instruments, and the revival of older established schools such as *Rugby* under Thomas Arnold, enabled the bourgeoisie to acquire many of the mannerisms and accents of the 'gentlemen' of the realm; and
- Charles Dickens wrote *David Copperfield* and *Great Expectations*, Charles Kingsley *Water Babies* and Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll of Christ Church, Oxford) *Alice in Wonderland*.

AND – *Over the Decade 1860 to 1870 Some Significant Occurrences in the Vicinity of the Lower Reaches of the Burnett River Were:*

- In 1861 Augustus Purling Barton acquired the Gin Gin Creek uplands from the Brown Brothers after earlier having forfeited the land that was to become the Gympie goldfield. The new station acquired the name *Moolboolaman*. Upon Mr. Barton's death in 1914 *Moolboolaman* passed into the hands of his son, Mr. R. M. Barton who later entered into partnership with his nephew Mr. P. A. Elliot;
- In early 1862 Alexander and Robert Walker, together with Messrs Barnard and Parker, on travelling the Burnett River from Gayndah to the future location of

Bundaberg, declared the waterway to be navigable and investigated land holdings in the Lower Burnett area;

– Shortly thereafter, in 1863, Alexander Walker acquired *Bingera* station from Mr. R. P. Marshall and Hassall and Ogg were established in their *Tantitha Run*;

– In 1863 Nugent Wade Brown inspected the seafront land between the mouths of the Burnett and Elliot Rivers and, on his advice, a five-year lease on this land, to be used for the grazing of cattle, was taken up by the brothers Alfred and Arthur Brown;

– In 1866 John and Gavin Steuart, with local aboriginal guides, travelled overland from the Baffle Creek works to the north bank of the Burnett River, at the location of the future North Bundaberg, to locate new timber resources to produce barrel staves for the packaging of tallow. The staves were intended to supply the Baffle Creek boiling down works as tallow and hides were the only transportable cattle products in those early days;

– In January 1867 Thomas Miller's schooner, the *Elizabeth*, was the first sailing vessel known to have entered the Burnett River in order to transport a consignment of cedar logs loaded at a site close to the location t of the future north-shore town wharf;

– And the settler population, prior to the Steuarts' arrival on the future Bundaberg's north side, was estimated to be five men at Tantitha, two at Bingera and three at Kolan;

– Over the period 1867-68 the Steuarts, together with Thomas Miller, acquired the Woondooma property of 320 acres on the Burnett River's north bank, adjacent to the *Mabbro* property that had been selected in 1865 – but not immediately occupied - by Thomas Watson, with the intention of harvesting and utilizing the local timber in the manufacture of barrel staves;

– Also, in 1867 Thomas Watson took up residence at *Mabbro,* having relocated from Alexander Walker's *Bingera* station, to partner the Steuart brothers in their barrel stave manufacturing business. His first, and rather primitive, hut was constructed of discarded barrel staves;

– In 1868 the embryonic settlement's fortunes were boosted by the arrival and installation on the Burnett riverbank of Samuel Johnston's sawmill, a very useful adjunct to a settlement about to experience rapid expansion;

– Thomas Watson erected a more substantial slab hut on his *Mabbro* selection, to which he brought his wife and daughter, who thus became the Bundaberg settlement's first and second female inhabitants;

– District-Surveyor Thompson and his party surveyed a base line from the Yellow Waterholes through to an area that Thompson was to select as his *Rubyanna* property and then, on further direction from the Brisbane Survey Office, Thompson and his assistants Messrs. Ellwood and Edwards surveyed a Town Common and

named the surveyed site *"Bundaberg"*. According to Mr. Loyau the Bundaberg survey was conducted in a location known to the aborigines as Biarbarrain in the district of Booralbooral; and

– In this year the *1868 Crown Lands Alienation Act* brought the *Tantitha*, *Kolan*, *Barolin*, *Bingera* and *Branyan* Stations under the *Settled Districts* category thus setting them aside for primary agricultural purposes.

In January 1860 Walter Adams showed an early interest in good governance by adding his signature to a letter from thirty-eight Maryborough town dignitaries and electors including such early inhabitants as E. T. Aldridge, E. B. Uhr, J. Dowser, R. Travis, H. Palmer, R. Case, Pierre Louis and A. Goodwin. The letter was addressed to Governor Sir George Bowen via the Queensland Colonial Secretary. This letter was objecting to the appointment of Mr. Halloran, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Police Magistrate in Maryborough, to the electorate's returning officer position. The basis of the objection was that, having acquired the official position of returning officer, Mr. Halloran had then exhibited a lack of impartiality by campaigning for his son-in-law in a local election. Whilst the Governor was to take no public action on the issue Mr. Halloran resigned from the returning officer position *"for reasons irrespective of those mentioned by the memorialists"*. There the matter appears to have rested.

In March of 1860 Thomas White together with William Keith established Maryborough's first newspaper, the *Wide Bay and Burnett Times, Maryborough, Gayndah and Northern Ports Advertiser*. Later in the same year Mr. White relocated his business to Gayndah. The void created by the departure from Maryborough of Thomas White's business was immediately filled by the establishment of the tri-weekly, conservative and long lived *Maryborough Chronicle* established by Mr. C. H. Buzacott in November 1860.

Charles Hardie Buzacott was born in 1885 at Torrington, Devonshire, where he received his education. He arrived in Sydney in 1852 and here he acquired experience both in printing and in journalism. Mr. Buzacott arrived in Maryborough in October 1860 where he established the Chronicle. In 1864 he started the *Peak Downs Telegram*, and six years later purchased the *Rockhampton Bulletin*, converting it into the *Capricornian weekly* in 1875. He entered Parliament as member for Rockhampton in 1873, resigned but was again elected in 1875. In 1879 he was appointed Postmaster-General under the M'Ilwraith Government with a seat in the Upper House. Whilst in office he originated the *Divisional Boards Act* and the *Local Works Loan Act*, was responsible for the passing of the *Postal Card Act*, and also established a direct mail communication between London and Brisbane. He has also been credited with the introduction of the telephone to Queensland.

He resigned his Parliamentary seat in 1880 and, in 1882, at the request of the Mayor of Brisbane, drafted the *Tramway Bill* which passed through Parliament as a Government measure. He then set up the *Brisbane Tramway Company* of which he was chairman in 1886. In 1884, acting on behalf of the *Brisbane Newspaper Company* of which he held a one-third interest,

he purchased the site of the Courier building for £40,000 and then had erected upon it the imposing building in which the *Courier*, *Observer* and *Queenslander* newspapers were published.

Another notable resident of the expanding Maryborough, Charles Faulkner, was born in Lincolnshire in 1820 and arrived in Brisbane in 1848 following periods spent working in the Californian and Victorian goldfields. He moved to Maryborough in 1860 where he undertook work as a builder. In May 1862 he was appointed to the position of assessor for the Maryborough Council and still later took part in the Gympie goldrush of 1867.

On the 8th of October 1860 Walter Adams purchased three blocks of agricultural land, having a total area 13 acres 2 roods 24 perches, at The Pocket, which was located relatively close to the Maryborough town centre, and then commenced farming on the property that he named *Somerville*. Later, on the 21st of December 1869, he acquired an adjacent block of 4 acres 32 perches to expand both his area under planting and, hopefully, his income. The four blocks were located on the flood plain of the Mary River.

It is of considerable significance to this narrative that Edward Thomas Aldridge, widely acknowledged as being a founder of the Maryborough township, introduced the growth of the sugarcane crop into the Wide Bay district by its cultivation on his plantation, *Copenhagen*, in 1860. Innovation being part of Walter Adams's nature he drew on the resulting *Copenhagen* cane stock and, in 1864, he produced stands of sugarcane *"in the jungle near Maryborough, at a place called Somerville considered to be finer than anything … seen in Mauritius"* when viewed by an expert consultant, Thomy de Keating. Mr. de Keating, from Mauritius, had visited Maryborough in 1865 at the invitation of the *Maryborough Sugar Growing Company Ltd*. This expert opinion encouraged Mr. Adams to provide three sticks of cane, from a stool grown at The Pocket, to the Sub-collector of Customs in Maryborough, Mr. Sheridan, for his inspection. Mr. Sheridan, in turn, forwarded the samples to the *Brisbane Courier* which was then regarded as being Queensland's leading newspaper.

Richard Bingham Sheridan was one of the earliest of Queensland magistrates. Born in Ireland in 1822, he arrived in Sydney in 1842. He was appointed by the Imperial Government to Her Majesty's Customs in 1846 and received a promotion to Brisbane in 1853. Following Queensland's separation from N.S.W. he became the Chief Officer of Customs, Water Police Magistrate, Immigration Agent, and Harbour Master at Maryborough until 1883, when he retired on a pension, and entered Parliament as representative for Maryborough. He accepted an office in the Cabinet without portfolio and, at the beginning of 1886, was appointed Postmaster-General. Mr. Sheridan received the commendation of His Excellency Sir W. W. Cairns for his reformation of the treatment of Islanders engaged on plantations. He was prominent in the foundation of the Maryborough Botanic Gardens and, during his residence in Maryborough, held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Volunteer Force.

When leaving Maryborough to reside in Brisbane he was presented with an illuminated address together with a handsome dessert service.

William Southerden was born in 1832 at the Isle of Thanet, Kent and acquired his knowledge in the management of drapery stores whilst in London. He arrived in Sydney in 1852, where he entered the employment of the firm of *Dawson and Eager*. Relocating to Brisbane in 1854 he assisted his brother in establishing a business and then, in 1857, opened his own store in Maryborough a venture he maintained until 1872. By November 1860, in company with John Purser, James Dowser and Robert Case, he was a member and representative of the *Maryborough Cotton Association*.

THE YEAR OF 1861

Mr. Henry Palmer was elected the first Mayor of Maryborough on the 26th of April 1861. In May of that year he had a new brick store erected in the town to further the development of his expanding grocery business. Henry Palmer maintained his Maryborough Council office until August 1861, at which time he resigned from his positions both as Mayor and as Alderman. Following his resignation, and in the same month, the council agreed to approve Mr. Palmer's application for a wharf-site lease over a riverbank position close to his newly constructed store.

In the April of 1861 Walter Adams exhibited an interest in civic affairs by nominating for a position as an Alderman in the Maryborough Council and, in July of the same year, he experimented with the practicality of planting, harvesting and marketing his first arrowroot crop. This experiment made him a pioneer planter of arrowroot in the Mary region. His finances were enhanced in November by the provision of services to the *Wide Bay Cotton Growing Association* whose members' prospects had been enhanced by the advent of the American Civil War. The war together with its tumultuous consequences, including the blockading of the southern ports, had virtually eliminated the supply of American cotton to the English mills.

The pioneering *Union Saw Mill* of Frederick William Gladwell and Robert Greathead was installed in the latter half of 1861 and opened in December of that year. It was equipped with three circular saws driven by a six-horsepower steam engine. Early doubts as to the viability of the enterprise were resolved when Henry Palmer offered to purchase all of the mill's commercial output from the first six months of its operation to assist in boosting Maryborough's progress which had been severely inhibited by the lack of this vital building material.

THE YEAR OF 1862

In the mid-nineteenth century the most effective and efficient source of commercial energy was coal. It was used to fire up the furnaces of the industrial boilers and to be converted into gas for lighting, cooking and heating purposes. The discovery of the Burrum coal measures in the vicinity of Howard, possibly by a Mr. Buchanan, in or about 1862 [Note 1] was therefore a very significant contribution to the next stage of Maryborough's development.

Note 1: A Burrum area coal discovery has also been attributed to pastoralist William Howard following his exploration of the Burrum and Isis districts in 1863.

THE YEAR OF 1863

A Mr. Miller provided Maryborough with a significant quantity of coal for initial examination and, in January 1863, a meeting was held in the *Bush Inn Hotel*, with Henry Palmer in the chair, to determine any steps that the meeting deemed advisable to adopt in the development of the coal resources of the Maryborough area. At the meeting a committee was elected, consisting of

Messrs. H. Palmer, R. Greathead, R. Travis, Dr. Ward and P. M. White, to explore the practicality of implementing the various options that had been raised at the meeting. Subsequent to this meeting a company was formed, and a steam-collier was ordered from Sydney to be installed as a component in the construction of a coal mine at Burrum. The mine's construction was completed in 1865-66.

Walter's ongoing carting business was to have its ups and downs and, in January 1863, his tender for the supply of bush logs to the town, almost certainly by bullock drawn wagon, was cancelled owing to the Council's lack of funds at a time, prior to the Gympie goldfield discovery, when public funds in the colony were at a very low level.

The rivers played a major role in the daily life of newly established towns such as Maryborough and Bundaberg. At a time when 'roads' were either non-existent or rudimentary bush tracks the coastal sea-lanes provided such critical services as the supply of goods and food stuffs, mail and service delivery and passenger transportation. However, in the land of *"droughts and flooding rains"* the presence of the rivers proved to be a mixed blessing, they being sometimes servant and sometimes master. The costs of capital works required to provide for the necessary river crossings were also major considerations in a young colony of limited financial means.

The *Maryborough Chronicle* of the 19th of February 1863 reported that the Mary River, Barambah Creek and Burnett River catchments experienced the most tempestuous ten day weather period that had been experienced since the settlement of these districts. A boat belonging to Mr. Morrison and the Ban Ban Creek punt were washed away by the flood and Mr. Morrison was obliged to construct a new boat so that he could restore his mail service delivery to clients on the opposite creek bank. The Gayndah mail could not be delivered owing to the flooding of Barambah Creek and the Gayndah mailman also reported that the roads were in an impassable state, the creeks being extremely dangerous to cross, and that he had narrowly escaped drowning when swimming across Oakey Creek. The Gladstone mailman had departed Maryborough on the previous Sunday week, and had not returned, the watercourses on his route being even worse than those on the Gayndah line. Another consequence of the flooding was that settlers downstream of Salt Water Creek, on the left bank of the Mary River, had no means of access to the town until the flooding in the river had subsided.

Strong south-east winds had been experienced early in this stormy period, bringing with them copious amounts of rain and, by Thursday night, the wind had increased to such strength that trees were being uprooted and the dwellings of many settlers were placed at considerable risk. The weather was equally tempestuous on the Friday with the torrents of rain being accompanied by violent squalls succeeding each other in quick succession. As a result, nearly every household experienced some rain damage and the streets were converted into almost impassable quagmires.

Towards Friday evening the weather had moderated a little, probably due to the passing of the eye of a cyclone but that night the wind shifted towards the north-east and again rose almost to hurricane pitch with the rain being as heavy as that experienced during the previous night. Saturday and Sunday brought intervals of severe squalls and, on the Sunday, these squalls were accompanied by thunder. However, by Monday the wind had finally moderated and that night a thunderstorm arrived from the south-west which cooled the air for a time. Tuesday was a much warmer day, but a north-east breeze sprang up towards the evening and this was accompanied by the cessation of the rain periods.

Captain Coote of the steamboat *Williams* said that his ship had been in imminent peril during the storm. She had reached the Mary River bar on Friday morning, but was unable to cross, and was compelled to return to blue water. For seventeen hours the little vessel with its hatches battened down combated the storm and, over this period, the crew had serious concerns for their own safety. The vessel had put to sea with a few tons of iron on her upper deck and this had to be cast overboard to save the vessel as its weight had made it difficult for the ship to rise out of the heavy seas that were breaking over her bow and sides. When so lightened she managed to ride the waves and finally arrived in port on the Sunday afternoon. Mr. Wallace, chief officer of the *Williams*, stated that in all of his experience along this coastline he had never before witnessed such a storm and, had not the *Williams* been such a tight little vessel, there would have been no one to report upon the fate of those on board.

The ships *Queensland* and *Clarence* were at anchor off the white sandy cliffs of Frazer Island on Friday and early Saturday, but sailed outside the Bay during the daylight hours. The *Williams* was signalled by an unknown steamer's blue light on Saturday when it was positioned a little south of the bar. This signal may have been sent by the *Jane Somerville* as she would have been at sea during the gale, having left the port of Gladstone for Maryborough early in the previous week. The *Pacific* was also at sea and was known to have turned back towards Keppel Bay before the storm's arrival.

The Mary River rose to a great height following the downpours, the wharf was completely submerged, and the steamboats that were in port were compelled to manoeuvre into midstream and to rely upon their anchors rather than on their normal river bank moorings. By the Friday night the *Union Sawmill* was flooded and the resident families living on the lower part of the mill's ground had to be removed by boat at 9 p.m. A large quantity of timber was floating about the yard but, fortunately, none was lost as the current, of from eight to

ten knots, was confined to the stream's main channel. The *Gladwell and Greathead* mill's loss was mainly due to the enforced stand-down time occasioned by the necessary restoration and maintenance works.

Heavy losses were sustained by farmers, whose land had been submerged, a farm at Copenhagen Bend being the greatest sufferer having lost twenty-five acres of corn ready for the harvest. The small acre farmers in the town's eastern suburbs were affected in a similar manner by having their crops and dwellings inundated and this had required the relocation of their families by boat to a safe refuge. Walter Adams's farm and the farm of Mr. Burns suffered the greatest damage with Walter's loss estimated at about £60. Many trees had been uprooted by the storm but, when considering the large number of dead trees that had been left standing in the town, some of which, on falling, had crushed houses it was fortunate that no fatal accident was recorded.

In October 1863 another storm passed over Maryborough that again caused additional damage to farms in the east of the township with large hailstones flattening and shredding the settlers' growing crops. Walter Adams was one of the settlers who again suffered damage and, on this occasion, he lost most of his newly extended acreage of mature corn.

It was also in this month that Charles Faulkner advertised his intention to commence business by setting up as a baker in Maryborough. A vote in council favoured Mr. Faulkner's appointment as the aldermanic replacement for the position recently vacated by Mr. E. T. Aldridge. A show of hands at the council meeting resulted in ten votes for Mr. Faulkner, six votes for Mr. H. Palmer and five votes for Mr. Booker.

THE YEAR OF 1864

James Equestrian Noakes was born at sea in 1844 on the ship *Equestrian*, from which he acquired his second name. Mr. Noakes was educated in Sydney and served an apprenticeship with *J. Ranken and Company* a firm of storekeepers in Maitland, N.S.W. He arrived in Maryborough in 1864 to act as *J. Ranken and Company's* confidential manager. Whilst there he founded Maryborough's first cricketing eleven in 1864 and became the elected secretary of the *Maryborough Cricket Club* in January 1865.

In February 1864 Mr. Faulkner was proposed as a nominee for an aldermanic replacement but lost election to Mr. Melville by fifteen votes to three in a show of the ratepayers' hands. However, in October 1864 Mr. Faulkner was successful in being elected as a director of the Wide Bay Benefit Investment and Building Society and was to remain as a director in the then Maryborough Permanent Building and Investment Society up to the year 1871.

The Maryborough Chronicle of the 17th of March 1864 reported that the entire lower Mary district was exposed to an event of almost biblical proportions. The flood of February 1863 proved to be merely a precursor to the flood of March 1864 which was referred to at the time as *The Greatest Flood*. This flood was caused by a massive storm that covered both the Mary and

Burnett River catchments. The ground had been pre-saturated by continuous heavy rain falling over the preceding weeks causing the Mary River to break its banks and flood the adjacent lower land but this flooding had caused only localized damage and two or three days of fine, clear weather followed.

However, on the following Wednesday dense, dark, blue-black clouds gathered, the rain returned and heavy downpours followed. Commencing in the afternoon, and continuing until Saturday morning, the storm was to reach its maximum intensity on the Friday night with a tremendous wind and with rain that descended in sheets. There had been no significant rise in river levels until sundown on Friday but, by about ten o'clock that night, the level commenced to rise at the rate of three feet (900 mm.) an hour and the numerous families housed in the premises of the *Union Saw Mill* once again required removal to a place of safety with several boats having to be requisitioned for the purpose. The boats had to navigate by the light of the moon, as it filtered through gaps between the dense clouds, with the floating timber and debris contained in the fast-flowing river current making navigation exceedingly dangerous. Good fortune prevailed and, in a few hours, all the families had been rescued, though not too soon, as the flood waters continued their steady rise. On the Saturday morning some houses had begun to float and drift off into the flooded stream channel and two or three of these houses, together with their contents, were swept away. The floating houses that remained were secured with ropes but some of these had sustained so much damage that they later required rebuilding.

The sawmill machinery, engines, and boiler-houses, the greater portion of which had only just been erected, were all submerged halfway up to their roofs and there were fears that the foundations of solid masonry supporting the mill's equipment would be damaged, in which case all of the heavy equipment would have had to be re-set. By Saturday the water had reached the mill proprietor's house that was situated on the high bank behind the mill and the proprietor's family were compelled to quit their premises.

At the large shipping store owned by Mr. Palmer the water rose two feet (600 mm.) above the level of the lower floor but up to that time it had been kept out of the building itself. On Saturday the water continued its slow rise and so, on Saturday night, Mr. Palmer's perishable goods had to be relocated to an upper floor.

The scrub farms adjacent to the town were again submerged and it was fortunate that there was no loss of life. The farms of Walter Adams and of Michael Doran were the first to be flooded. Walter had left his farm early for safety reasons, but Mr. Doran waited until it was too late to escape and, with rapidly rising floodwater in his house, he and his family took refuge in the barn which had been constructed on slightly higher ground. However, the waters continued to rise and, but for a table that happened to have been retained in the barn, their situation would have been of an even more unpleasant and hazardous nature. The whole family of six persons, together with their cats, dogs and fowls, perched the whole night on this relatively small platform while the water rose several inches over the tabletop and the wind threatened to bring the

rickety old building down upon them. On the following morning Messrs. Butcher and Pattison were passing near the spot in their boat and, on observing that Doran's house was submerged to the upper wall-plates, concluded that the residents had escaped. The inmates of the barn had become hoarse from their overnight shouting, but a faint cry managed to attract the attention of the boatmen and the endangered group was finally rescued.

By Saturday the cyclone had passed and the wind, which had come from the south on Wednesday, veered to the east and then to the north-east and, by Friday, was blowing steadily from the west. Following this wind shift every trace of the storm was swept from the sky.

The flood water was to continue its rise on the Sunday morning and several houses, that had previously been deemed to be safe, were now in jeopardy. The tenants were compelled to abandon Mr. Keith's farm when the farmhouse foundations began to erode. Other farmers in this locality were also to suffer severe losses. When the farms near the ferry, located on the bank of the river opposite the town, became flooded the farmers were driven off their improved land on the riverbanks and were forced to move onto higher ground further removed from the river. The punt that belonged to the newly acquired ferry service filled with floodwater and sank.

The flood was then about two feet higher than the flood of 1857, reaching nearly to the eaves of Mr. Aldridge's shipping store that was located about twenty-five feet above the level of the wharf. The backwater, in flowing up the creek into the town reserve, covered the upstream bridges under many feet of water and covered the Kent Street bridge, near Macpherson's, to a height of at least one foot.

Much was owed to the exertions of Mr. Sheridan and his boat's crew who, in the midst of the storm on the Friday night, rescued the families located on the premises of the saw-mill and to the untiring efforts of the scrub farmers, including Mr. Rankin, who worked up to their waists in water whilst engaged in assisting the afflicted families to rescue what property they could from the rising flood waters.

By Monday morning the flood had fallen by about ten feet (three metres) leaving a train of slimy mud behind. The greatest sufferers of flood damage were again Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead, of the *Union Saw Mill*, and there was general sympathy in the town towards this enterprising firm. It was, unfortunately, a time when the quantity of stocks of both the unmilled logs and of the sawn timber was unusually large. Upwards of six hundred logs were swept away and a large quantity of sawn timber was also lost. The men's quarters at the mill had been either washed down river or had become ruinous heaps of rubble but the more substantial work of the machine houses had saved these from coming adrift. The loss of time required to bring the mill's machinery back to working order was to add a significant amount to the total monetary loss of approximately £1,500.

Next to Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead the farmers in the scrub near the town were the greatest sufferers. The farms of Walter Adams, Michael Doran and Mr. Jackson lost all of their growing crops, garnered corn, pigs and poultry.

The farm house of Mr. Keith, together with the crops and out-buildings, had been swept away by the flood and the farm's agricultural soil was removed to a depth of three feet (900 mm.) in places. The farmhouse had been located on a very high bank of the river which had been completely undercut by the current. Following the riverbank's erosion induced collapse a running stream flowed over the spot previously occupied by the house. Mr. Bogild's property at Copenhagen Bend was also a heavy loser as the flood destroyed its mature crops of maize, cotton and arrowroot.

Damage caused exclusively by wind had been less than originally feared with the most serious damage being caused by the levelling of the four sides of a large wooden store in the course of erection by Mr. Hanlon in Adelaide-street. Damage of a less severe nature was sustained by Mr. S. Smith who had the framework of a small store under construction blown over. The tenants of several of the tents about the town were stripped of their shelter and, in one of these tents, a woman in childbirth was exposed to the effects of the storm, fortunately without injury. These homeless victims were given shelter by their neighbours.

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Henry Palmer, elected the first Mayor of Maryborough in 1861, was re-elected as Mayor in 1864 and retained this position until 1866. In May of that year Mr. Southerden sold his Bazaar Street produce merchant's store and business to Thomas Buss to concentrate his attention onto his newly constructed grocery store.

Throughout the 1860's William Southerden was extremely active in civic affairs. He helped to form the *Chamber of Commerce*, of which he was elected vice-president, and was also a trustee of the Cemetery reserve, a member of the *Central State School Committee*, Vice-president of the *Hospital Committee* and an alderman of the Municipal Council of which he was Mayor in 1876. He was also a purchaser of gold during the Gympie gold rush.

Over the 1864 year the income earned by the Adams's carting business was augmented by renewed profits from the Maryborough Council contract. This had provided the business with additional earnings of about £1 18s. 0d. per month. In November of that year a *Chronicle* report on the *Somerville* farm's produce stated that:

> *"We have at our office a fine sample of wheat grown on a farm in the immediate vicinity of Maryborough by Mr. Walter Adams. The wheat is in prime condition and will yield about forty bushels to the acre. Despite the general opinion to the contrary Mr. Adams believes that, with due precaution being observed in the cultivation, wheat would be as safe and profitable a crop as could be planted in this district. Certainly, one of the largest wheat growing countries in the world, Egypt, has a climate of as warm a temperature. At present it is mere theory that the growing of wheat cannot be carried on profitably here. Its cultivation has never been tried on a scale sufficiently large to prove this and the experiments that have been made on a small scale go to prove the contrary."*

And the *Chronicle* printed this follow-up article in December:

"There has been added to our editorial museum, during the past week, a loaf of bread manufactured by Mr. Walter Adams made from home-grown wheat and home-made flour. The bread is of that good homely quality on which the yeomen of England raise so much muscle and strength. Mr. Adams says he has used it in his own household for the past three weeks, and we certify to the excellent quality thereof, if we may judge by Mr. Adams's personal appearance. The mechanical appliances for the manufacture of the flour were very economical yet efficient; a steel-mill, which cost 30 shillings and a wire sieve costing 5 shillings and 6 pence were all that were needed in the process. One, or two, hours' labour in each week provides a week's supply of flour for a large family."

Walter Adams's experiments with wheat growing were of considerable local interest as there had been no previous trials in subtropical coastal Queensland on a scale of sufficient magnitude to test this crop's commercial viability. For this reason Walter was keen to have it trialled as he was of the opinion that, as wheat production would appear to have been successful in climates similar to that of Maryborough, then it should be possible to find suitable locations for wheat cultivation in the Maryborough district. Later, in May 1865, following discussions with his friends and associates, Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead, their firm agreed to support a wheat growing venture and offered to erect a flour mill in the district providing that the local farmers cultivated sufficient grain to make the mill commercially viable.

Walter pursued the issue of alternative crop production further by sending a 'Letter to the Editor' of the *Chronicle*, one that was actually directed at the region's farmers, and intended to advocate the advantages of dual crop growth, it being obvious that a second crop in the one year should produce a significantly greater income. The following is a copy of this letter:

Sir,

It appears from the different letters, published in the Chronicle, that the farmers on the Mary River are doomed not to make farming pay unless they begin to grow sugar or cotton. But I would ask, where has farming been properly tested? We all know that the farmer who has to begin on a new farm and has not, or cannot, work anything but the (hand-held) *hoe cannot compete with the farmer who can work the plough and has the means to do so. But there are none who use the plough that can come forward and say that potatoes will not pay though, from my own experience, I can safely say that, if we have a middling season, we can rely on three tons to the acre and I have never seen potatoes sold here for less than £9 per ton and often a deal more. The seed (potatoes) for an acre would cost about £5, which would leave £22 for labour and we are not now able to grow (even) one third of the potatoes consumed in the district. The only thing that is spoken of besides is maize.*

Now, Sir, this ought to be only a secondary consideration for, in the other colonies, the farmer always gets a crop of wheat, oats, or barley off the land before planting maize and then, if maize should fail, they do not feel the loss and why, let me ask, can the farmer here not do the same? As for myself, as you are aware, I grew wheat last year and was glad to be able to produce a good sample and had it out in November in good time for the maize crop. The only thing I was sorry for was that I did not grow enough, for I planted only half a bushel, and had enough to support my family in

flour from November until March which, I might here state, was nine in number. I purchased a steel mill for thirty shillings, and a sieve to separate the bran from the flour for five shillings. I was speaking with Mr. Greathead the other day, and that gentleman, told me if the farmers could be induced to grow wheat that he would get a pair of stones put up and grind their wheat by the bushel for them or purchase it for himself. So I think that the farmers have every inducement now to try wheat growing. I intend to plant nearly two acres this month on or about the first of June. I have the seed and am now getting the ground ready and I trust that others will follow my example. We shall then see whether potatoes and maize will pay or not.

Yours truly,

Walter Adams

Whilst the early wheat growing trials were encouraging, the moist climate east of the Dividing Range proved to be too favourable an environment for wheat's natural pests much to the detriment of the coastal wheat crops. Subsequent trials indicated that maize (or corn) was a more reliable crop to grow under eastern coastal conditions.

THE YEAR OF 1865

In September, 1865 Henry Palmer, acting in his capacity as the chairman of the *Maryborough Sugar Company*, received a letter from Mr. Thomy de Keating that was accompanied by samples of granular sugar produced by the use of *"rude appliances"*. The granular samples were derived from a consignment of sugarcane stalks that had been supplied by Mr. White to Mr. De Keating to be utilized as planting material on the De Keating estate.

In December 1865 the Mayor and Alderman Groundwater met the local farmers' committee of which Walter Adams was a member. The Council's representatives did not agree with the committee's selection of the site for a proposed agricultural produce marketplace. It was the Council's belief that it would be more convenient to have the produce market located close to the existing down-stream wharf. The farmers' committee, however, considered an upstream site to be more appropriate and used their numbers to out-vote the Council's nominees. In the dispute between the council representatives and the farmers Walter, even though he owned a farm close to the down-stream wharf, agreed with the upstream farmers that the market should be located closer to the upper ferry, a placement that was to his own disadvantage.

In the same month Walter applied his enquiring mind to another project, the production and use of cornmeal in the baking of bread. While of an apparently trivial nature the letter serves to emphasize the critical influence that the availability of local produce had upon the diets of the then relatively isolated communities. He was to pass on the results of his own experimentation to the editor of the Chronicle. Details of his response to an earlier *'Letter to the Editor'* as submitted by another reader of the Chronicle on this subject follow:

Sir,

There appeared in the columns of the Chronicle a few weeks ago, a long letter in which the writer advocates, in very strong terms, the use of cornmeal as being more healthy and also a great saving, not only to the consumer, but also to the colony.

Now, Sir, I quite agree with the writer's remarks, but I think that when anyone is writing for the public, they ought to make things as clear as possible and not only tell them what can be done but teach them how. The writer says he has had made, of half maize and half wheaten flour, good bread, pastry, dumplings, and hominy, but does not show how they are to be made. It is not everyone who would like to eat hominy, but I suppose after using it a few times we would get used to it and it might be, or seem to be, something better as my family, after having used it a few times with new milk for breakfast, begin to like it very much. As for the bread, I have tried it several ways, and can say that if you mix the maize-meal and wheaten flour to set in the same manner as all wheaten flour, and let it rise, then work it, and put it into the oven to bake, you will find the flour baked, but the maize will be raw, and the bread would not hold together and would eat like so much sand in your mouth.

But, however, bread can be made of half wheat and half maize and, to enable you to judge for yourself, I have sent you a piece of bread that has been made of equal parts of each and, that I may not keep you in the dark as to how it was made, I will tell you and if anyone has a better method to propose I hope they will come forward with it for I would as soon eat the bread I have sent you as I would (an) all wheaten bread.

When you go to make your bread, take a portion of the wheaten flour and set it with yeast in the usual way, the other portion you reserve, as it will take a great deal of the flour to dry up the corn-meal, for the corn-meal will have to be boiled, and be sure that when you put your corn-meal down to boil that you use boiling water and, when it is cooked, it will be like so much hominy, but it must be very thick; then turn it out into a dish to get cool and, when cool, mix it with the flour you reserved for that purpose. You may use more than half maize if you like. The bread which I have sent you is half of each, and I intend for the future to use a deal of it. I may state the maize was ground in a small steel mill.

I am, Sir, yours,

Walter Adams

THE YEAR OF 1866

In February, 1866 Mr. Faulkner together with Messrs. Palmer, Southerden, Cook, Booker, Hawthorne and Rutherford were the alderman present at the first meeting of the Maryborough Council that had been elected under the Ward system. Mr. Palmer was voted Mayor.

Also, in the February of 1866 the local aboriginal tribes were in the news having removed the portable possessions from outlying farms in the vicinity of Maryborough. Mr. Murray, a farmer on Tinana Creek about a mile and a half from Maryborough, was at work on his farm on a Monday and saw some aboriginals entering his house. He and his man went up to the house, when the aboriginals decamped and, having armed himself with a gun, set off in pursuit leaving his man in charge of the place. However, on hearing a pistol fired behind him he returned and found his man overpowered by another party of aboriginals who must have been concealed in the vicinity. On his approach they made off taking with them a quantity of clothes and a valuable silver watch.

Walter, having his residence located on his agricultural property in the scrub near the town, had also experienced a robbery on the Sunday. A description of the event, as published in the local press, follows:

"On Sunday last, while I and my family were at church, the man that was left in charge of my place was attacked by a party of aboriginals who, I presume, must have been lurking about and watching for a favourable opportunity to plunder. They affected an entrance into the house before the man was aware of their proximity and cut off every chance of his obtaining anything to defend either himself or the house, so that when they attacked him, he was compelled to run and obtain assistance. On his return he found that they had decamped, having thoroughly ransacked the place and taken whatever they fancied. Boxes and drawers were all turned out, the beds s tripped of the blankets, nothing was left for my family's dinner, and many things were taken that can be of no possible use to them, such as breast pins, brooches, &c. When I returned and found how things were, I rode into town for the purpose of obtaining rations, intending on my return to follow up their track.

While in town I was advised to go and inform the Police Magistrate of the circumstances, which I did. That gentleman immediately came down and gave instructions to the sub-inspector, who at once gave orders to Sergeant O'Brien (what the orders were I am unable to say), and I was informed that two men would be after me as soon as possible. I then returned home, and after having dinner, I went in search of the marauders tracks, and found them to lead into the scrub, through which I followed their trail for some distance, but thinking the two men promised would be soon at my place, I returned and found that they had just arrived. I asked the sergeant what he intended to do; did they mean to dismount? The answer I received was that they could not leave their horses but would ride through the Natural Paddock, which they did, and straight home.

The fact of two troopers coming here on horseback to look for aboriginals that had but little more than an hour before plundered my house, and, after getting a drink, returning straight home again is rather more than I expected. Perhaps such was their instructions, or that they did not believe what I had stated, and merely came to find out if I had been robbed."

Walter was left to mull over the thought that, from the point of view of officialdom, he was left as the sole protector of his family's property and possessions.

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Having been inspired by a lecture delivered by the Queensland sugar pioneer John Buhot, who had visited Maryborough in 1864, and recognising the potential for the income provided by the sugarcane crop to compete with that of maize Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead agreed to meet the needs of the increasing number of cane growers in the district. The partners employed Mr. Buhot to design a mill that was to become the *Central Sugar Mill* at Yengarie that had a rated capacity of approximately 4 tons of granular sugar per 12-hour shift. Tenders were called for the erection of the mill buildings in 1866. Machinery was transported from Sydney and wharves built on the river that were linked to the mill by tramway. *Gladwell and Greathead* had no use for the molasses by-product which was to remain in the hands of Mr. Buhot. The mill was ready for its first crushing in early 1867 and it was anticipated that there would be ten to twelve acres of cane available for crushing by that time. The first five acres of cane were to be harvested with the assistance of Pacific

Island labour as supplied by Mr. Rankin. The sugarcane, following its cutting, was loaded into drays which transported and then discharged the stalks, by tilting their loads, into punts for delivery to the mill.

THE YEAR OF 1867

In March, 1867 Mr. Charles Faulkner was advertising the sale of several varieties of sugarcane plants and, in April of that year, an adjourned meeting of the Council attended by Aldermen Harwood, Wilson, Adams, Milner, Cooper and Walsh received Mr. Faulkner's letter of resignation from his position as alderman. In July of the same year Mr. Faulkner entered a notice in the *Maryborough Chronicle*, *Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* that he had disposed of his baking business to Mr. Joseph Jack.

Work on the Tooth and Cran slaughter-house and boiling-down works for their meat curing process was well underway by March 1867 at *Yengarie* on Graham's Creek with the expectation of an imminent commencement of operation. The works were located about one-half mile above the creek's junction with the Mary River and the construction materials of bricks and sawn timber were being transported to the site by river punt with the dual boilers being floated to the site utilizing their own buoyancy. A significant amount of the site's infrastructure, such as stockyards, boiling-down shed and workers' cottages, had originally been constructed by Mr. J. C. White who had then been unable to put them to practical use. The *Tooth and Cran Meat Preserving Works* was designed to provide preserved, lean meat in addition to the traditional boiling-down products of hoofs & horns, hides and tallow thus adding considerable value to the final product. A Professor Liebeg of Germany was credited with the invention of this preservation process which enabled the transportation and trade of meat around the globe. It was intended to employ forty to fifty workers at the industrial site together with the attendant coopers, black-smiths and tin-smiths required to produce the necessary casks and hermetically sealed tinned containers. The workers' cottages and the tradesmen's workplaces were separated and Mr. Cran's residence and the offices were located on a third site.

South America was regarded as being the main commercial competition for the supply of preserved meat products at the time. The economics of production were such that the produce of hoofs & horns, hides and tallow earned about £3 15s. 0d. per head of cattle processed whereas fifteen pounds of meat-extract per head at 8 shillings per pound of produce would earn a further £6 – giving a total sale price per beast of £9 15s. 0d. A purchase price of say £4 which, together with processing costs of £1 per head, gave a profit of £4 15s 0d. per head. With a throughput of 300 head per week the annual profit for an installation of this nature would be in the order of £75,000.

There was a ready demand for the preserved meat from the hospitals, armed-services and navy of the day and it was considered that there would be a rapidly expanding demand for the product from the general population. Feedstock of fat and store cattle was available locally as well as from the Wide Bay and Lower Burnett, Kolan and Baffle Creek districts and from the *Gin Gin* station and its surrounding selections.

Early suppliers were Mr. Mant – 1,800 head; Messrs. Wilkin and Holt – 2,000 head from *Kolonga* and Captain Johnston, the shipping agent.

Mr. James Bartholomew was a native of Stirlingshire, in the parish of Mairavonside, Scotland. Before leaving the old country, Mr. Bartholomew was foreman of *Martin and Co's Steam Saw Mills*, Dublin, the largest mill in the United Kingdom. Suffering from failing health Mr. James Bartholomew came to Maryborough in 1862 to take charge, as manager of Messrs. *Gladwell and Greathead's* saw mill, where he remained until he entered into the partnership of *Wilson, Bartholomew and Company* as a proprietor of the *Maryborough Saw Mill*. His wide experience in the management of a business of this nature was of considerable value in enabling the successful establishment of both milling operations.

The construction of Wilson and Bartholomew's *Maryborough Saw and Planing Mills* was completed by May 1867. Though the site of the mill had been covered by floodwaters in 1864 this flood was considered, by 1867, to have been an exceptional event. In lieu of the more usual, and hazardous, overhead belts and pulleys the mill's machinery was driven by underground shafts powered by a 100 H.P. steam engine fed by two large boilers which relied upon the combustion of waste wood for fuel. The mill's machining equipment included circular saws, a vertically mounted band saw, and planing facilities. The planing equipment could be set up for size reducing, smoothing, tongue and grooving and chamfering and the equipment was also capable of producing mortise and tenon jointing. This equipment was housed in three large buildings. Unfortunately for the owners the mill came on line during a depression, with its slack trading, so that the dressed timber had to supply markets remote from the lower Burnett, such as that of Sydney, where it had to compete with dressed timber from the United States and New Zealand.

In the same month Walter Adams's eldest son George was leading one of his father's horses to a suitable spot for tethering. In picking his way through some swampy ground George allowed the tethering rope to coil round his thigh just as, for some reason, the horse bolted. With the lower leg being embedded in the mud it offered too much resistance to the jerk on the rope and the thigh bone was fractured. Dr. Ward, a local doctor, was called in to reset the leg.

An article appeared in the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* of the 4th of September 1867 that had considerable relevance to a public meeting that was to be held in Maryborough later in the following year. The article, though confusing as to timing, announced that: *"Charge has been made against Captain Ross Lewin, of kidnapping some of the South Sea Islanders, now on Captain Towns's plantation. The police magistrate left here yesterday for Townsville, to make a thorough investigation, and had not yet returned."*

The decades of the 1850's and 1860's, taken in combination, encapsulate the period that most probably represented the pinnacle of European lawlessness in the Pacific Ocean

with such freebooting sea-captains as Ross Lewin, Ben Boyd, Albert Hovell, Ben Pease and Bully Hayes indulging in unscrupulous Pacific Islander recruiting and many other nefarious practices especially in the areas of sandal-wood, trepang and copra trading. By 1872 these activities were to become much less attractive to these and other unscrupulous merchants with the passing of the *Pacific Islanders Protection Act* in the British Parliament which authorized the apprehension and trial of seafarers engaged in such unlawful activities.

A lengthy description of the discovery of the Gympie goldfield is given in the following text as this was not only an event of great consequence to the prosperity of the colony but its description also paints a vivid picture of a significant portion of the colony's development up to the late 1860's. Squatters, by virtue of their pastoral leases, had established the large Mary River valley sheep and cattle stations in the 1850's. It was typical of the time that the boundaries of these stations - *Widgee* (established 1849) to the west, *Curra* (established 1859) to the north, *Traveston* (established 1858) to the south and *Imbil*, still further to the south, of the present Gympie were not well-defined, and stockmen from these stations tended to avoid the broken country near Gympie Creek. This area was covered with open eucalypt forest on the ridges and dense rainforest, or scrub, in the gullies. This scrub flora included the stinging nettle, or *gympie gympie*, this name being derived from the nomenclature of the local aboriginal tribe. Closer settlement in the Mary Valley commenced when half of the original *Imbil* station land was resumed for settlement under the *Crown Lands Act 1868* and made available for selection.

The following passages describe how an ordinary man who was engaged in his chosen occupation was to have an immediate and dramatic impact upon Maryborough's everyday commerce and was also to produce a major, and desperately needed, expansion of the Queensland Colony's economy. James Nash (1834-1913) was born in Beanacre, Wiltshire and migrated to Sydney in 1857 when twenty-three years of age. He moved to the Calliope gold diggings near Gladstone, Queensland in 1863 where he achieved some success. He then went on to the Boyne River diggings where the face that he was working collapsed in upon him causing severe injuries. Having recovered from this accident, he made for the Reid's Creek diggings, near the Burnett River, with disappointing results. He then moved on to Nanango and finding nothing of interest there he made a start, early in September 1867, towards Gladstone via the Wide Bay district with his pick, shovel and dog, on a prospecting tour. He walked to *Yabba* station where he stayed the night and on Monday reached an old sheep station about twelve miles from *Yabba* where he encountered two station-hands tending cattle. They told him that some gold had been found at a location three miles from there called Bella Creek which he journeyed to, sampled and detected some colour in his gold-pan at several localities. He then travelled to Brisbane, via *Imbil* station, and while in Brisbane bought a horse and rations. He then returned to give Bella Creek a fair trial and, finding nothing of payable quantity, he set out again for *Imbil* where he camped the night with Rees Howel, who was manning the mail run from Maryborough to Brisbane, and Mr. Lamb, the manager of *Imbil* station.

He left *Imbil* the following morning and arrived at the empty Denman timber-harvesting camp at about 11 o'clock where he discovered a fire, boiled his billy and had his dinner. Just as he had finished his dinner Bob Wannel appeared. Mr. Wannel was hauling timber for Mr. Denman and Nash asked him where he could cross the Mary River. Mr. Wannel then offered to provide Nash with a guide following their dinner. As Mr. Nash had already had his own dinner they shared a social drink of tea and then moved on to Denman's tent. Mr. Denman said that he was an old digger from Victoria so Nash showed him the few specks of gold that he had obtained from Bella Creek and Mr. Denman then indicated that Six Mile Creek was a likely place to find gold. Presumably, by basing his claim on this recommendation, Mr. Denman was later to claim that he was the genuine discoverer of the Gympie goldfield. Mr. Denman was then a dedicated timber-getter and there is no evidence that he had ever made an attempt either to open, or to develop, a gold field though it has been mentioned that James Nash's brother did loan Mr. Denman his own gold mining claim at a later date.

On James Nash's departure from the camp Bob Wannel arranged for a local stockman to indicate the location of the track down to the Mary River crossing. Mr. Nash was searching for the track when the stockman came looking for his herd and he showed Nash the track's location. The river was crossed from west to east and Nash reached *Traveston* that night, stayed there with Harry Best and a stockman named Mr. Ramsey and who was employed by Mr. Powell.

He left *Traveston* the next morning and arrived at the recommended Six Mile Creek but, not liking the look of it, did not give it a try. Moving on he travelled down from what is now called Caledonian Hill and tried a pan of dirt. A speck of gold appeared and, during the remainder of that day and of the next day he won a further ounce and three pennyweights. On the following day he broke his hammer-headed pick and could do no more digging, so he travelled to Maryborough located downstream in the Mary River valley, [Note 1] where he approached two banks and several stores, but could not sell the gold. At last he tried Mr. William Southerden, the storekeeper, a second time who then traded £3 for the gold – £l in money, the rest in tools and rations. Mr. Nash then returned to his gold discovery to conduct further sampling, taking about ten or twelve days for the round trip including his stay in Maryborough.

The first and second panning results at Sailor's Gully, or Sawpit, an alternative, contemporary name for his Gympie site, were so positive that he decided to obtain more rations and to give the area a thorough testing before passing on any details of his discovery to the authorities. Having procured rations from Mr. Booker's station, *Curra*, he went to work with a will and over the following six days he had won seventy-five ounces of gold. He then returned to Maryborough, and boarded the steamer (steamboat) to Brisbane where he sold his gold to the Flavelle Brothers, jewellers. Mr. William H. Walsh, Maryborough's parliamentary representative, was in the shop at the time and asked Nash where he found the gold. Mr. Nash's reply was, *'up north'*, which was perfectly true, Gympie being north of Brisbane, though perhaps the answer was a trifle misleading.

It was at this time, while staying at *St. Patrick's Hotel*, that Nash contacted the appropriate Government agency to provide details of his gold discovery so that there would be no mistake as to who was the original discoverer of the field if he were later to make a claim for the discoverer's reward of £1,000. He then sent for his brother, John Nash, who was residing in Sydney, to join him in Maryborough. Having purchased a horse from Mr. Redhead, a farmer, a dray from Kent's sale yard and having a gold cradle made at the old Pimlico shop he returned to Maryborough, accompanied by another digger called Malcolm, whom he had met on the Maryborough steamer's southern voyage. At Maryborough, which was then holding a sitting of the Circuit Court, the miners obtained provisions and equipment, which included tarpaulin, corn, chaff and rations from the Travis store. It was from here that the two diggers, now fully equipped, set out for the diggings with Mr. Nash's brother to follow. Owing to the heavy load that their horse had to pull it took the party four (nine in Mr. Nash's later recollections) days to reach the diggings owing to the need to unload and reload the dray at several creek crossings. On arriving at the diggings, it took very little time for them to determine that they were working a very payable gold field. Whilst working the gully the diggers awaited the arrival of John Nash for whom James had left sufficient directions at Maryborough's *Sydney Hotel* for John to locate their camp.

Being anxious to register the claim Mr. Nash decided to wait for his brother no longer and starting from the camp at sundown reached Tiaro at daylight, unknowingly passing his brother John on the way. Upon arrival in Maryborough, where he learnt that his brother had already set out for the Gympie camp, he lost no time in reporting his gold discovery to Mr. R. B. Sheridan, the Police Magistrate, who arranged for Sergeant Ware to peg out the claim. Mr. Nash then visited the Commercial Bank where he would only deal with the manager, Mr. William Walker, who admitted him into his office. Here Nash drew from his pocket a bag which he thumped down on the table and said, *"I have discovered a goldfield, and I wish to deposit those 30 ounces for your safe keeping."*

Sergeant Ware set out on Thursday the 17th of October and was accompanied by Maurice and William H. Walsh, Charles Brown (who subsequently relocated to Gympie), W. Leishman and, he thought, Mr. J. Cartright – Mr. Nash's recollection; or by Messrs. E. Booker, Maurice Walsh, Charles Faulkner (veteran of the California and Victoria goldfields), and one black-tracker – a contemporary reporter's account. During this party's visit Nash withdrew from under the root of a tree a nugget that subsequently weighed in at forty-one ounces and which was discovered nesting within a cluster of smaller nuggets. At the party's departure Charles Faulkner, having acquired considerable gold mining experience in earlier gold rushes, remained on the field to 'shepherd' the party's claims and, no doubt, to undertake further exploration.

When the party returned, accompanied by Malcolm, to a spot opposite Maryborough's *Commercial Bank* on Saturday the 19th of October a vigorous shout went up and all the people within hearing gathered around. In a few words, they learnt that the diggings discovered by Nash were a rich source of placer gold and, as

proof of this, the party had returned with about one hundred and forty ounces of gold, eighty-three ounces of which was lodged in the bank. The forty-one-ounce nugget, another nugget weighing eleven ounces, and other gold samples were put on exhibition.

The news of this discovery flew like wild-fire and induced a great state of excitement in the citizens of Maryborough. On that Saturday night stores were cleared of prospecting pans, with the stocks of picks, shovels, and billycans also being in very high demand. Parties of men had immediately set out for the diggings and were shortly to be followed by scores more. Up to that time no prospecting had been conducted beyond the initial gully that had been tested. Following the returning party's announcement nearly all the unencumbered, able-bodied men had left Maryborough and the rush had commenced. Mr. Davidson, later Surveyor-General but then the Land Commissioner in Maryborough, arrived in Gympie to *"put the compass"* over Mr. Nash's claim and to reduce the claim's size at its lower end.

As previously mentioned, the country surrounding the Nash discovery was rather broken in character. The three gullies first worked were each about four to five hundred yards long and ran from a rather low ridge of heavily timbered iron-stone quartz into a creek which commenced about three-quarters of a mile higher up, and joined the Mary River about a mile and a half below the diggings. The gold was found on a bed rock with, in many places, only a few inches of wash dirt, and in no place was the wash more than fifteen inches thick. The gold nuggets and particles were found densely packed in bars crossing the gullies and the banks of the gullies were themselves yielding from one to five pennyweights (5 times 1/20th of an ounce) of gold to the bucket. The creek, both above and below the gullies, was sampled by the prospectors who obtained favourable results, but their activities in panning the fine gold particles were somewhat limited for want of water. About half a mile down from the gully junctions the main creek entered upon a flat across which it journeyed to join the Mary River. It was considered that this flat also had the potential to produce a plentiful supply of gold, provided that the water for washing the contents of the pans could be obtained. There was not much water available at the diggings themselves, but the river was only a mile and a half away. Unfortunately, the banks of the Mary River were very steep at this location. Later experience was to indicate that the gold-rich quartz veins, from which the placer gold was derived, had originally occurred where the intrusive mineral bearing quartz came into contact with the much earlier deposits of carbonaceous siltstone. Interaction between the quartz magma and the carbon in the siltstone appears to have been a vital element in the gold's deposition.

Note 1: Maryborough, located on the Mary River downstream of the just discovered, and soon to be declared, Gympie goldfield was the only seaport and/or commercial centre within a viable, though far from short, working distance of the Gympie goldfield site at that time.

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The discovery of the Gympie gold by Mr. Nash was to have a profound effect upon

the finances of the Queensland colony and consequently upon the development of both Maryborough and Bundaberg. A graphic description of the effect of this event, which first impacted upon Maryborough in October, 1867, was included in the recollections of a Maryborough bank manager, Mr. William Walker, on retiring from the position of manager of the *Commercial Banking Company of Sydney* Limited. On his retirement in August 1908 he had been requested to relate matters respecting the public institutions and movements with which he had been closely connected during his forty-two years residence in the town. He was pleased to acquaint those present, including the *Maryborough Chronicle* reporter, with a recital of his recollections and these provided a great deal of information as to the commercial and civic activities of the lower Mary and Burnett districts and of the goldfields over the extended period of his residence. A foreshortened version of these recollections follows.

"On arrival in Maryborough on the 26th of January 1866, as accountant to the *Commercial Banking Company of Sydney*, I entered on my responsible duties… . At that time things in Maryborough were exceedingly dull, and the outlook not at all bright in any direction. The only important industry in Maryborough at the time was that of timber. There were two sawmills, one at Dandathu known as *Pettigrew & Company*, and the other on the ground, now vacant between the Ferry Road and *Walkers Limited's* ship yards known as *Gladwell and Greathead*. Great hopes were entertained for the sugar industry and, what was then known as the *Maryborough Sugar Company* had already planted, on their property on Tinana Creek, a fair area. That company was promoted, as I recall, by Mr. Henry Palmer, Mr. R. B. Sheridan, Mr. V. M. Davis, and Mr. Robert Travis. I do not think, as far as I can remember, that they were financially successful but their efforts did much to promote a desire to cultivate sugar cane in the district … the early experience did much to encourage the farmers to look elsewhere for suitable land, so that many … betook themselves to the famous Woongarra Scrub [Note 1] and have been, I believe, very successful.

Yengarie was established in 1866 by Messrs. Tooth and Cran erecting very extensive boiling down and meat extract works which brightened very much the prospects of the town and district. It gave to the squatter a good outlet for his stock, and Maryborough benefitted much by having within it a settlement which grew into an important suburb meeting all requirements needed to maintain a population of three or four hundred persons. The boiling-down and meat extract business having closed, a cane crushing plant and sugar refinery were established there and continued for some years, until it was found that Bundaberg offered a greater scope for their enterprise and, in about the early eighties, Messrs. R. Cran and Company erected there the extensive refinery known as *Millaquin*.

The most notable event in the sixties, however, was the discovery by Mr. James Nash of the Gympie goldfield. The tale has often been told but its importance was so great at the time, and the discovery was of such advantage to the Colony of Queensland, that its repetition is not out of place even at this stage. On the 16th of October, 1867, James Nash called at the *Commercial Bank* (the old building which stood on the land

now adjoining the present *Queensland National Bank*) and asked particularly to see the manager – he would see nobody but the manager. I went out to the counter, but he intimated he wanted to see me privately. I called him into my office where, without any remark, he drew from his pocket a bag, thumped it down on the table and said, *"I have discovered a goldfield, and I wish to deposit those 30 ounces for your safe keeping."* Note 2

For some time I was scarcely able to make any comment, I was so delighted to hear of such a discovery. The news spread rapidly through the town and everyone who could get a pick and shovel and get away accompanied Nash to the field. That was on Wednesday. On the following Saturday I happened to be at the punt, the old Ferry Street punt, when I heard cheering on the Tinana side of the river which at first I could not understand, but I guessed it was the return of the diggers and I said to my friend who was with me, *"Wait until the party comes across and we will hear the news."* We did so and the party were so delighted with the news they had to bring that they didn't tell us the result in words but pushed into my hands lumps of gold weighing 20 or 30 ounces, so that there was no need to declare that Gympie was a great success; and it came at a time when it was most beneficial for not only Maryborough, but for all the colony, as times were bad with trade dull from one end of the land to the other. As a result of the excitement, steamer after steamer came and, with the great and good news having spread to the other colonies, there was a rush of diggers to Maryborough. They came here by steamers two or three times a week. As a rule those men had means, some of large amounts, showing that they were prepared to give the diggings a fair trial. Frequently the steamers arrived at night. In that case the knocking at the bank door was often early in the morning, and they compelled me to take from them their deposits, frequently in sovereigns, so that they could get away first thing to the diggings.

Of some importance in connection with Gympie was the discovery of what was known as the *'monster nugget'*, which was brought to me to be forwarded to the Sydney Mint for realization. It was found on a claim belonging to a party of diggers, which was on the verge of being abandoned, as up to that time very little success had attended the work of these men. The story goes that the men had lost heart on not getting payable gold. One said to his mates, *"Well, I will have a try with the pick once more"* and in that effort he struck the nugget, so it is said. The gross weight of the nugget was 974 ounces. After being treated at the Sydney Mint, it was reduced to 906 ounces, and yielded, after expenses, £3,182 9s. 9d. (i.e. £3 10s. per oz.) … .

Towards the end of 1867 the rush had somewhat slackened but, on the report of the discovery of the 'monster nugget', the rush was renewed with greater vigour, and steamers full of passengers from New Zealand, Victoria and New South Wales arrived almost daily. The discovery of Gympie gold by Mr. James Nash was of such immense benefit to the colony (the total yield of gold being about £12 million at the time) that the Government could have granted him a life pension in addition to the allowance of £1,000 provided with the grant of an extended claim.

The sawmill industry expanded, when, in 1867, the Hon. A. H. Wilson returned from

Scotland bringing with him an extensive plant which he, in conjunction with the late James Bartholomew, erected on the opposite side of the river adjacent to Canning Park. The partners suffered much loss in the flood of 1875, [Note 3] but continued there until 1882, when the mill was destroyed by fire. They then built new premises and plant on their commodious site on the town side of the river now occupied by *Wilson, Hart & Co. Ltd*. The advent of *John Walker and Company's* engineering establishment, in 1868, was of great importance to Maryborough as it fixed here a (manufacturing) centre whereby the machinery required for the sugar industry and for the Gympie goldfield could be supplied, and it raised Maryborough's position to that of an industrial centre … .

In April 1872 I was sent on a visit to Bundaberg to report on the town's prospects and to determine if the opening of a branch there was justified. I made the journey along a bridle track passing through the Isis Scrub quite unconscious of the wealth that lay below. The track was so narrow that I, and the mailman whom I was following, could only make our way in single file. [Note 4] We reached Goodwood on the first night and remained under the hospitable roof of Mr. Charles West. The next day we arrived at Bundaberg about noon. I found the place was one of great promise, indicative of a good future. After remaining a week, I reported to my head office and was fully determined to open a branch office which we accordingly opened shortly afterwards. At the time of my visit a number of stores had already been established and were doing good business. Among the storekeepers I remember Mr. William Southerden, Mr. J. T. Bell and Mr. Stephensen. Several hotels had already been erected and I also remember seeing Mr. Walter Adams, formerly of Maryborough, and Mr. Foley during the visit. I rode through the now famous Woongarra Scrub and all that was to be seen was here and there a few acres of maize. It was obvious that (up to that time) there had been no attempt at the cultivation of any sugar crops."

Note 1: Settlers such as Walter Adams, George and James Noakes, Charles Faulkner and Edward Tanner had relocated to the Woongarra Scrub. George Greathead had relocated to an area south of Bundaberg. Woongarra was named by William Howard and Mr. Forbes who took up a selection there in 1856.

Note 2: As previously indicated James Nash had first tendered gold nuggets to Mr. Southerden, the storekeeper, to purchase a pick and food supplies but was instead advised to take the nuggets to the bank. As the bank manager would not exchange cash for gold Nash returned to the store and exchanged some nuggets for a pick, food and £1.

Note 3: Following the Mary River flood of 1875 the body of Mr. James Bartholomew, aged forty-four years, was found on the Monday morning at Leslie's farm, below Dandathu. He was seen from those on board the schooner Douglas to step or stumble from the verandah of his house, whilst fully clothed, into the floodwaters at a time when the river level was still rising.

Note 4: The mailman was Mr. Charles West. The track from Maryborough crossed the Freshwater Elliott and entered Bundaberg from the south. It was used by travellers, including Walter Adams and his sons, when commuting by horse between Bundaberg and Maryborough. The alternative to overland travel between the two towns was by small, coastal passenger vessels from the Port of Maryborough to Bundaberg's Burnett River wharf.

William. Southerden was one of the most active agents in the early development of mining on the Gympie goldfields which, prior to the founding of a Gympie township, was dependent upon Maryborough for services and commercial contacts. As the police department of the time was under the control of the Colonial Secretary, whereas the provision of a gold escort service came under the direction of the Colonial Treasurer, the Maryborough police had no authority to escort gold shipments. In October 1867 the Mayor, in a meeting at the Maryborough courthouse, arranged for the temporary provision of a private escort service to which Messrs. T. N. Milner, William Southerden, P. Graham and Nicholas E. N. Tooth volunteered their services. They departed for the diggings in mid-November and returned with a consignment consisting of 500 ounces of gold. The first official government escort arrived in Maryborough on the 5th of February with 3,525 ounces of gold:- for the Commercial Bank – 3,302 ounces; for Mr. Philpott -10½ ounces; and for Mr. Southerden – 20 ounces.

The Central Mill owned by Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead was experiencing difficulties due to accidents, the small scale of the refinery, outdated equipment and inexperience. In October 1867, the problems of the business were compounded both by an industrial explosion and by a labour shortage caused by the discovery of gold at Gympie. Even though the mill was operating day and night in October, it was closed in November due to financial problems. *The Australian Joint Stock Bank* foreclosed on the mortgage and plant from the operation was sold at auction in Sydney in December 1867 to John Meiklejohn. The equipment, as itemised at the auction, were a steam engine and boiler, evaporating pans, two large hardwood cane punts, a trolley with iron wheels with ratchet, a Cornish boiler and a tramway leading from the wharf.

George Greathead had been employed at the sugar mill of *Gladwell and Greathead* as an overseer from August 1866 to October 1867 and was responsible for tallying the men's working hours and for providing them with payment certificates. From the onset of the sugar's boiling down process his wages were set at 30 shillings (£1 10s.) a week with rations. George claimed in court that his ex-employers owed him for wages, and it was determined that he be awarded £1 per week for back wages, less an amount of £7 4s. 6d. ruled to have been previously paid, giving George an overall pay-out of £56 8s. 8d.

In October 1867 Walter Adams advertised the holding of a preliminary meeting of the district's farmers to discuss the need for the establishment of an agricultural association, the meeting to be held on the following Saturday. He maintained that any sensible farmer would agree with the object of the proposed meeting and expressed his view that more co-operation was needed between the district's farmers if they were to successfully achieve their objectives. The farmers' response, regarding the proposed meeting, was positive suggesting that conditions for the start of such an association were favourable and, at the meeting itself, they agreed that any association of this nature would receive their full support. The first, and most difficult, step towards the establishment of a district farmers' co-operative had been taken.

At this time the settlers in the district were boasting that there was as much value in the machinery erected on the banks of the Mary River, when including the sugar milling machinery that was about to be delivered, as there was in the remainder of the colony. This assertion was not far from the truth. There were then five sawmills on the river – Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead's central mill in Maryborough, one on the Upper Mary at the Sugar Works, Messrs. Pettigrew and Sims's mill at Dandathu, Mr. Eaton's mill at Woodlands and also the mill of Messrs. Wilson and Bartholomew. In addition there was the large extract of meat establishment of Messrs. Tooth and Cran at *Yengarie*; Messrs. Gladwell and Greathead's sugar factory; the Woodlands steam boiling-down establishment then leased by Mr. Booker and Mr. Purser's soap manufacturing works.

A long drought had, by December 1867, proved to be fatal to much of the new cane crop plantings and, consequently, had placed considerable stress both upon the cane farmers and upon *Gladwell and Greathead*, the owners of the central mill. The mill was on the market, but the crushing had to be deferred until such time as the repairs and alterations, as deemed necessary by John Buhot, had been implemented.



Maryborough in the 1850's

From *THE HISTORY OF MARYBOROUGH AND THE WIDE BAY AND BURNETT DISTRICTS FROM THE YEAR 1850 To 1895*
by George E. Loyau



***Mary Ann* – the first steam locomotive manufactured in Queensland**

BUILT IN JOHN WALKER'S MARBOROUGH WORKSHOPS IN 1873
FOR WILLIAM PETTIGREW'S TIMBER MILL
From the John Oxley Library



Maryborough Post Office 1870

NOTE THE TIME BALL ON POLE AND NO CLOCK YET INSTALLED.
From the John Oxley Library





Chapter 3

An Alderman of Maryborough

In February 1867 Walter Adams entered into the realms of local politics following a meeting of the South Ward ratepayers, held at the Maryborough Council Chambers, to elect their local alderman. Walter was nominated and there being no other candidate was declared duly elected much to the approval of the agricultural rate payers who were to proclaim, *"We are generally rather careless as to the results of Municipal elections among you, but the donning by Mr. Walter Adams of the aldermanic toga has gratified us all without exception. We are sure that, by one member at least of the Town Council, any agricultural request or petition will be seriously entertained and, if the answer be a refusal, there will be some courtesy in the manner of it and some reason for the refusal given."*

Walter was to remain a Maryborough alderman over the five years from February 1867 to February 1872 where, in his later years on the Council, he also held the position of Chairman of the Council's Works Committee. During Walter's time in Maryborough successive mayors were: Henry Palmer (1861), John Purser (1861), Henry Palmer (1865), Mr. Nightingale (1866), Mr. Henry Stoward (1869) and Mr. E. Booker (1870).

Walter's election to the Council was not without its travails and, in a letter to The Editor of the *Chronicle* shortly after his election, he felt compelled to educate the newspaper's correspondents *Censor* and *Junius*, who had submitted earlier letters to the Chronicle on matters of the Council's expenditure, in the following manner:

Maryborough, 23rd May 1867

Sir,

I am sorry that my conduct in the Council should have raised the ire of your correspondents Censor and Junius, but whatever may be their

views on the matter, I shall still endeavour to do my best for the Ward that I am for the time being the representative whether it includes Ann-street or the Blossoms. Junius credits me with the repudiation of the estimates. I am only one of nine members of the Council, and not having the key of the consciences of the other aldermen, it is absurd to think that eight men of common sense would be led by one man unless they saw that what he proposed was for the benefit of the town. As for the Town Hall, baths, and bridges, if Junius had any sense he would have seen they were not in any way affected by the Council's decision.

Yours truly,

Walter Adams

In 1867 doubts were raised as to the viability of a proposed real estate development called Bingham (of later reference) situated on the Bay to the east of Maryborough. At the time it was claimed that, with swamps and marshes to the west, Hervey Bay to the east and the rocky point at the Mary River mouth to the south there was little potential for the success of such a development.

THE YEAR OF 1868

The *Polynesian Labourers' Act* of 1868 was introduced to codify the engagement and employment of Melanesian field labourers and it was also in this year that James Noakes opened his Maryborough store, a business that was to remain profitable over the next twenty years.

In January 1868 the Council held a meeting to compare the *Linklater and Thompson* tender of £580 with the *Beed and Company* tender of £375 for the town wharf extension, necessitated by the rapidly expanding needs both of the township and of its rural exporters.

In April the fourth monthly meeting of the newly established *Wide Bay Farmers' and Planters' Association* was held both to advise existing members on recent developments in agriculture and to enrol new members. With the Mayor's permission it was held in the Council Chambers at 7 p.m. on a Saturday. At the meeting Walter expressed the opinion that: *"Sugar production ought to have the first attention of the society as that bides fair to become the staple crop of the district. Already nearly every old corn grower had become more or less a sugar planter yet how few are there amongst us whose management of that crop may not be described as a grope in the dark."*

He hoped that someone would be able to furnish the society with fresh, practical ideas on sugar production that would enable growers to avail themselves of any recently acquired knowledge that could then be adopted to enhance the profitability of sugarcane growing.

Walter's main objective, on this occasion, was to draw attention to the presence of a grey, cane boring grub that he had encountered in his own farm's cane crop. Walter wondered if it was identical to a borer that had been referred to in a letter to the *Maryborough Chronicle* some time earlier that had been very destructive to the cane crop in Mauritius. He hoped that it was not the same borer as the one in Mauritius and that *'his borer'* might prove to be a far less of a danger. He also expressed an opinion that it may be

possible to control the borer by maintaining the cane crop area free from weeds. (Presumably to give the borer's predators a clearer field for their hunting and feeding activities.)

The meeting's attention was then drawn to a proposition that had been made to the committee regarding the holding of a ploughing competition. The person tendering the proposal had offered the Society the use of land near the town suitable for the competition's purpose and, in addition, offered to contribute £10 towards the prize list provided that a reasonable number of competitors were to nominate.

At this meeting the following, additional prizes were submitted and approved for presentation at the following month's meeting, the intent of the prizes being to promote local competition: A first prize of twenty shillings (£1 or $2 in today's currency), and a second prize of ten shillings ($1), for the first and second best three pounds of butter to be presented in one pound packages – the butter to have been made in the Wide Bay District and exhibited by a society member;

Other prizes that were offered for awards at the following month's meeting were one, of twenty shillings (£1), for the best bunches of ripe grapes submitted and another, of ten shillings, for the best ripe pineapple, both to be put on display at the meeting.

Mr. Adams proposed, and Mr. Paul seconded, *"That the subject for discussion at the February meeting be cotton and its management, from the preparation of the ground for the reception of seed, until being baled for market."* Association members and persons wishing to become members were to receive a public invitation, issued by W. Adams and J. Cheyne, to attend this meeting.

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In April 1868 a meeting was held that gave considerable insight into the state of affairs in the south-east of the colony. The question as to the obligation, or otherwise, of giving relief to able-bodied, destitute men came rather unexpectedly upon Maryborough's Municipal Council when sixty-two *"starved out gold-field diggers"* presented a petition for relief to the Council. The petition claimed that the petitioners had been *"deluded and misguided"* by different newspaper reports on the nature of the gold rush and had arrived in Maryborough to earn an honest livelihood on the gold fields but, having exhausted their limited means, they faced no prospects other than starvation.

The Council suspended its Standing Orders to consider the petition and, having decided that there were no corporate funds available either to find employment for these men or to afford them any relief, they fell back, naturally enough, upon *"the Government"*. Alderman Milner *"believed Mr. W. H. Walsh (the local Member) would be likely to suggest to the Executive how something might be done for the petitioners"*. Alderman Cooper said, *"It was not wanted to send these men away, but the Government should be requested to employ them on the road to Gympie"*, and Alderman Adams *"thought that the Government should be asked for a sum of money to make a road from the wharf to the ferry"*. This overlooked the salient fact that, whilst a road traversing Maryborough would have been of considerable value to the town itself the expenditure would

have held little appeal to a distant Colonial Government, then of limited means.

Whilst the Council believed that none of these men should be left to starve the question of how best to provide a measure of relief, one that the council could afford, to the most necessitous of these unemployed men had no obvious solution. To grant unfettered financial aid to strong, healthy men in the prime of life was considered the worst possible form of relief as it sapped the very foundations of that self-reliance and self-respect considered to be essential qualities of a working man. It was pointed out that the application of the old *Poor Law* in England had provided abundant proof of the adverse mental, moral and physical consequences that were the result of a system that offered basic forms of charity to able-bodied, unemployed men. Though the labour test had been applied rather harshly in some English workhouses, no one at the meeting would have questioned the need for such a test and it is relevant that many of those attendant at the meeting would have had the experience of dealing with their own hard times either in their country of origin, in the colonies, or in both.

Money previously spent on relief camps in the Maryborough district during the latter part of 1866 and the beginning of 1867 had produced results that were anything but encouraging. If the Government was to employ these men to work on the road then under construction between Maryborough and Gympie, even if they were paid low wages, it was predicted that the portion of the road on which they are engaged would be the costliest of the entire route. Conversely, if the Government was to pay the same rate of wages that it was paying to the men then working on the road construction to sixty-two new workers, it would most likely receive thousands of additional applications from workers each with as valid a claim to the Government's financial assistance as had the original sixty-two applicants.

It was considered natural enough for these men to say, and perhaps even to think, that they had been deluded by newspaper reports of plentiful quantities of alluvial gold but it was generally considered that they had really deluded themselves. In hearing, or in reading, reports of the success of one or two gold-field diggers they had acquired the idea that they too would be as fortunate but found out to their cost that their expectations were unfounded. It was regrettable that this should be so but it had happened on every diggings ever discovered whether in Queensland, in the other colonies or overseas. No matter how large the gold field there was sure to be more persons flocking to it than those who could find payable gold, and of that unfortunate number there would be a proportion left destitute.

In the Queensland colony it was thought unlikely that men who were able and willing to work would be unemployed for any length of time provided that they did not set too high a price on their labour, and so it was finally decided that their needs could be met by temporary relief.

Statements provided by potential employers of labour in the colony indicated that there should be little trouble in absorbing any surplus labour that may have gravitated to places such as Maryborough. This would apply, most specifically, to the labour of men willing to

undertake outdoor work, of which digging for gold was an example, as employers were then paying large sums of money to import South Sea Island labour as they had found it next to impossible to engage reliable white labour that was prepared to work in the fields.

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Saturday's monthly meeting of the *Wide Bay Farmers' and Planters' Association* in August 1868, held in the Council Chambers, provided the association's committee with a lesson in timing. Due to a then current mania for horse racing and dancing the attendance at the meeting was so small that, on the motion of Mr. Dowser and seconded by Mr. Adams, the meeting was adjourned.

It was reported in the Maryborough Chronicle of Saturday the 8th of August 1868, with reference to a sitting of the Northern District Court in Maryborough, that: *"Mr. C. Faulkner begged to be exempt from serving on the jury on the grounds that he had been a resident at Gympie since October last."* (October 1867 – the very start of the gold rush). His Honour then confirmed that *"persons living beyond thirty miles from the place where the Court is held were not obliged to attend."* Mr. Faulkner, that old veteran of the earlier Californian and Victorian goldfields, having arrived on the Gympie diggings at a very early stage, had the opportunity to obtain a favourable lease. It is therefore quite possible that this advantageous situation may have providing him with a much more lucrative income than had been produced by his previous Maryborough undertakings.

In September an inquest was held for Pierre Louis formerly of Mauritius with W. Adams, whose occupation was described as grocer, present as a witness. It appears that there was little known of Pierre in the district and Walter, in his deposition and after having been sworn in on oath, stated: *"I am a grocer, residing in Maryborough. I knew the deceased, Pierre Louis, whose body I have now seen lying in Mr. Brown's workshop, for the last eleven years. He was a native of Mauritius, a single man, forty-eight years of age. He was not a man of sober habits. I know nothing whatever of the circumstances attending his death."* It appeared that the Maryborough of the 1860's had a multi-cultural population some of which, from other European colonies, would have held useful sub-tropical, agricultural experience.

On the 12th of October 1868 the Supreme Court in Brisbane received an application from Mr. Frederick William Gladwell to enter into an arrangement for the dissolution of his partnership with Mr. Robert Greathead. Mr. Gladwell believed that he had entered into an arrangement with Mr. Greathead whereby he was to assume ownership of the portion of the partnership that included the *Union Saw Mill* and all town properties and that, in taking ownership of the saw mill business, he should enter into agreement to pay off the overdraft owed to the *Joint Stock Bank* and all other liabilities incurred prior to the 12th of September 1867 except for certain wages. However, on the 17th of October Mr. Gladwell received a letter from Mr. Greathead indicating his wish to withdraw from that which Mr. Gladwell had assumed was a definite agreement. Following its deliberation, the Court decided in Mr. Gladwell's favour and the partnership was dissolved. In January 1870 Mr. Gladwell purchased the timber business together with its land, two houses, large quantity of dressed and undressed timber and

of its pine, cypress pine and cedar logs – all for the moderate sum of £1,910.

The details of the newspaper article that is reproduced below, and that was published in the *Maryborough Chronicle* of Thursday the 26th of November 1868, are included as they describe a public meeting of Maryborough citizens the objective of which was related to the politics of an argument that was destined to carry on in the colony over the following three decades. On one side of the debate there was an element, consisting mainly of labourers but also of tradesman, city dwellers and squatters from west of the Great Dividing Range whose industry's economics enabled them to employ family members and/or to engage stockmen, mainly of European origin, if and when required. This group either feared the effects that cheaper labour would have on their own employment or wished to reserve Australia for the 'white-man', usually a mixture of both.

Middle of the road groups were represented by persons who were more relaxed about the employment of Southwest Pacific Island labour in specific areas, and who held out for them to be given a *'fair go'*, a viewpoint subsequently codified under the Queensland Parliament's *Pacific Islanders Laborers Acts*, 1880 - 1892. (See Appendix 6) In this debate the public outrage at an apparent and, under the circumstances as described here, probably real injustice visited upon a locally employed group of Melanesian labourers, became entangled with a debate about the employment of Southwest Pacific Island labour in general.

Well before the mechanization of the sugar industry representative wages on the sugar plantations were about 6 shillings and 6½ pence per week (and rising) for Pacific Islanders versus about 15 shillings per week for Europeans. However, one needs to be careful of comparisons here as work on the plantations was very intense during planting and harvesting but involved minimal work for the remainder of the year. Pacific Island workers would still be paid, housed and provisioned in the lay periods whereas European labour, unless it fulfilled an ongoing and critical role such as plantation manager or bailiff, was normally expected to be self-supportive and to obtain other work during the lay period – whether or not such work was available.

The public meeting was held on Tuesday evening the 24th of November in the Maryborough Courthouse and was so crowded that many of the attendees were obliged to remain on the veranda. A description of this meeting by the *Chronicle* now follows:

Mr. W. S. Walsh (Probably William Sarsfield Walsh), in the absence of the Mayor, was voted to the chair. Having read the advertisement that had proclaimed the meeting, the Chairman then read a letter from Mr. Southerden regretting his inability to attend the evening's meeting on the Polynesian Question [Note 1], and concluding with the following sentiment: *"I regret it the more as I wished to bear testimony with others, more especially to the circumstances attendant on those recently employed on the Sugar Company's estate, now without food or covering, and those also of their number who were sent by the last steamer to Brisbane Gaol a matter, I conceive, which demands immediate attention on the part of the Executive."*

Mr. Spence here informed the Chairman that the Rev. Mr. Wiles was prevented by illness from attending but that his sympathies were with the objects for which the meeting had been convened and Mr. J. W. Todd then moved the first resolution: *"That this meeting memorialise the Government to inquire into the alleged illegal conviction of the twenty Polynesians who were lately sentenced to seven days imprisonment by the Bench in this town for breach of agreement, and also with regard to the two Polynesians now undergoing sentence in Brisbane Goal."* And he added: "It was the prevailing opinion of a vast number of people that the recent conviction of the twenty-two Polynesians for breach of agreement by the Bench was both unjust and illegal, the men having, been denied the common justice due to all living under the British constitution. The South Sea Islanders had been forced away from their homes, in many instances kidnapped, in others engaged under false pretences, and then brought over to Queensland. These twenty-two men had been engaged, as they believed, for twelve months by the *Maryborough Sugar Company*. When their time was up these men refused to work any longer, and the company then charged them with an alleged breach of agreement. Unfortunately the agreement was never produced in Court, it was lost – accidentally it was said – and although such an important document as an agreement between contracting parties is not usually lost or mislaid yet, as in this case, 'accidents will occur even in the best regulated families'. This agreement, so much in favour of the *Maryborough Sugar Company* it was said, was not forthcoming.

The 25th clause of the Polynesian Act expressly provides that all Polynesian labourers already in this colony, or to arrive, are expressly declared to be subject to the provisions of the *Act, 25th Vict., No. 11*, or, in other words, the *Masters and Servants Act*. Now this Act provides that the defendant in all civil cases is at liberty to give evidence for himself. In this case the men were not heard although they all tell the same tale, without any discrepancy, that they were engaged for twelve moons and not three years.

They were convicted on secondary evidence, or I believe so, while the principal person who could have cleared up the matter, Captain Rodd, was absent. Again, no interpreter was provided for them. When a German is tried, and cannot understand our language, Justice provides him with an interpreter. So with the Chinese. Here, however, we have a conviction where the men do not understand our laws, our habits or our speech and when they have never had any copy or copies of the missing agreement themselves.

We have been taunted by the advocates of this kind of labour with being narrow-minded and jealous while they themselves have denied the poor fellows the rights and privileges of men such as ourselves. Should we gain a case if we took one of our employees into Court and could not produce an agreement? No! The farce of issuing twenty warrants was gone through before these men were committed and they were without food for twenty-nine hours.

To the honour of our police force be it said that the (police) men made a private subscription to relieve these men from the pangs of hunger; and it was at the 27th hour that the Police Magistrate ordered them rations. They were afterwards locked up – twenty men in two cells, each cell 11 feet by 9. Because they had exercise on the

subsequent morning, and for giving them rations at the 27th hour, the worthy Police Magistrate was reported to the Colonial Secretary, I am told by a gentleman in commercial circles, as keeping them from the plantation. (Groans) Thus a mere act of common humanity was said to be a desire to make these men dissatisfied and keep them from going back to the company. Seeing that these men would not go back to the company's plantation, and that the company could not compel them, and knowing that they are existing in a state of semi-starvation upon the sympathies of the townspeople for support, this resolution calls upon the Government to step in and enquire into this abuse. The only thing to be done with them now seemingly is to commit them as vagrants; but was this community to pay the penalty of cheap forced labour? Were they to pay heavy taxes to help to keep these men and send them back to their homes? (A voice – *'No'*) And he said "No!" Let the employers of such labour bear the mischief of loose doings and lost agreements." (Loud and prolonged cheers)

Mr. Rowland then seconded the resolution and said: *"Although I am a comparative stranger in this town and district, I consider that I ought to come here and give this movement my support, in the absence of our leading men, who have left the question to the working man because they are afraid of the responsibility. I should like to see the question debated upon its broadest grounds. Meetings had been held in Brisbane upon this subject, and a memorial had been sent to the Home Government, who have, very wisely I think, decided to let the question be settled by the colonists themselves. Much has been said on the manner of bringing Polynesians here. The master of a schooner goes coasting off the Islands and gets a few Islanders here and there to come aboard his nice little vessel, and he completes his live cargo in much the same manner as any other cargo."* (Loud cheers)

Mr. Spence next addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. He said: *"Is it to be said that we, who come from a land of freedom, we who rejoice under a glorious Constitution, which recognises all men as free and as equals – is it to be said that we shall allow slavery to get a hold amongst us in this our adopted country?* (Cheers) *Is it because we may be called agitators, stump orators, screamers, and demagogues that we are to sit quietly and hold our peace upon this subject? No! It is slavery when labour is coerced, either with the whip or the pistol, which has been done in this country. It is said that we are to be benefitted by these Polynesian labourers – that we cannot stand the heat. We shall not be benefitted by them, but driven out of the country; and as for standing the heat, why, I am not a dried-up or baked-up mummy, or mere skin and parchment, and yet I have worked for seventeen years with the chisel as a stonemason. (A voice – 'Where are your acquaintances?') It was the rum which shortened life; not the heat of the sun, but the rum which the sugar companies were making from their molasses. This question of Polynesian labour is a most serious one, because the Government have legalised it. It has been urged that wealth is against us, and we have no leading men here, tonight. Well, if the heads of the people are not here tonight, the people's heads are here (Cheers) and it remains for you to put a stop to this infamous traffic for it is the thin end of the wedge, it is incipient slavery, and you have the power to put a stop to it. Let but the slave element come in at 2s. 6d.* [Note 2] *per week, and down comes every other kind of labour. You will always find plenty of poverty with a low wage and a high price of provisions. Why, who can compete with*

the Polynesian labourer? There is no competition at all. What is to become of our children, and future generations if our labour is to be given over to men who are compelled to work for 2s. 6d. per week? This is the finest country in the world, with a climate unequalled, and all labour can be done by the white man. Let us have a good argument for the employment of Polynesian labour, not the namby-pamby stuff that goes through the press, that good men are engaged in the traffic. Half the mischief done in the world is done by good, bad men. If it was left to bad men, it would cease and die out. As we would resist the invasion of a foreign army, let us resist the insidious increase of Polynesian slavery."

The speaker then detailed how the proprietor of Townsville, was always trying to cheapen labour, and had employed coolies of every country without success. He had finally engaged Polynesian labour, as it was handy to obtain and cheap to keep. Mr. Spence then resumed his seat amidst vociferous applause. The resolution was then put to the meeting and was carried unanimously.

Mr. P. Higgens then made a few remarks upon the squatters and the low price of wages in the bush and suggested that the memorial be forwarded to the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Wilkins moved, and Mr. Crane seconded, that this meeting forms a permanent committee to watch over the matter on behalf of the Polynesians, and to recall the meeting if it became necessary. Volunteers for this committee were: Messrs. W. Southerden, Pietzker, Spence, W. S. Walsh, J. W. Todd, R. Wilkins, Phillips, and Crane. The meeting delegated to the committee the power to add to its number if required. The motion as moved by Mr. Wilkins was carried unanimously.

When Mr. Wilkins suggested a defence fund several gentlemen in the meeting put down their names for differing amounts, and this money was collected by volunteers at the meeting.

Mr. Kenny next urged the meeting to consider the question in all its bearings and aspects. To think of it as one that was closely connected with their best interests.

Alderman W. Adams moved, and Mr. R. Wilkins seconded: *"That the Memorial be sent to the Government through our local Member."* On being put to the meeting the Chairman declared the motion carried.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Mr. Todd and seconded by Mr. Annear [Note 3] who, in his remarks, alluded to the local employment of Polynesian labourers and denounced the system as being productive of the evil that was coming to light every day.

The vote being unanimous the Chairman, Mr. W. S. Walsh, said that he esteemed it an honour to have been placed in such a position and thanked them for their orderly proceedings. He then indicated that he should only be too happy to countenance any other meeting upon the same subject.

Note 1: The miss-usage of the word Polynesian possibly derived from its North American usage concerning the engagement of Eastern Pacific (i.e. Polynesian) labour in American industries. The word *"Kanaka"* often used in the nineteenth century in this connection was a then frequently adopted, but apparently out of context, usage of that which appears to have been a

Polynesian, and not a Melanesian, word for man. The word most often used by the Queensland colonial government in its official and legislative documents was *"Polynesian"* a very inaccurate categorization of peoples from the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. Whilst it will be necessary to retain this word when describing government acts or pronouncements it is of little use as a guide to meaningful general usage. The blanket use of the word 'Melanesian' would inappropriately cover peoples from the Torres Strait and New Guinea and the use of the words 'South Pacific Islanders' would be more accurate, if we exclude the Maoris, but is rather wordy. *"Kanaka"* is the word almost exclusively used by the colony's reporters of the 1800's and, though misplaced and inappropriate, may be retained here when reproducing the wording of reports by nineteenth century newspaper men, or by reproducing the actual words of leading colonial identities, where this is necessary to retain historical integrity. Where the source material has referred to both 'kanaka' and 'islander' in the one article the word 'islander' has been used throughout that article. In choosing an appropriate word outside of this context, that does not contain some misleading element, the word 'Islander' has been chosen for use in this work as shorthand for 'on field labour from the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands'.

Note 2: A rhetorical flourish, refer to the earlier comment on wages.

Note 3: John Thomas Annear was born at Budock, two miles (three kilometres) west of Falmouth, Cornwall, on the 3rd of June 1842. He arrived in Queensland in 1863 and travelled to Ipswich where he resided till 1867. He later relocated to Maryborough where he commenced work as a manual labourer. Here he obtained recognition as a successful businessman, largely due to the energy that he applied to his endeavours and also to his honest dealings. He constructed many of the public buildings in Maryborough, notably the Commercial Bank, Hanley's Stores, the Immigration Barracks, Hockley's Stores, Lands Office, Court House and State School. He was elected to Parliament as the M.L.A., for Maryborough.

In 1868 plans were laid for the construction of Tooth and Cran's sugar mill at *Yengarie* to service the Graham Creek's farmers (See Appendix 2) and by mid-1869 work was underway on construction. Unfortunately, a punt carrying mill machinery sank and settled down to the Mary River's hard clay bed. A diver named Henry Fisher was then engaged to reclaim the equipment with the strength of the river's current posing a problem for the diver. However, this event did not adversely influence the mill's availability for the oncoming season's crushing.

The mill site was about nine miles by road from Maryborough with access gained by taking a left-hand turn onto a bush-track that left the Gayndah road about four miles from the town. It then passed through bands of open scrub between flats and forest land before reaching the *Yengarie* estate's gate. The works had the appearance of a large establishment with a tall factory in its midst that was surrounded by workshops, ancillary buildings and a small schoolhouse. The adjacent village was of a significant size and extended along the bank of the creek. The residence of the managing partner, Mr. Cran, was on an eminence closer to the river than to the mill and the residence's location offered views of the creek's windings and of the plantations on the opposite river bank. The lower reaches of the creek were navigable to small craft for the transportation of cane up to the mill's wharf. The riverbank opposite the creek's mouth then accommodated

about 100 acres of cane and it was intended that this planting would be augmented by further plantings on the more recently acquired lands.

THE YEAR OF 1869

The first Annual Report of the *Wide Bay Farmers' and Planters' Association* was submitted to the January 1869 Annual General Meeting of its members in the Court House on a Monday afternoon. Mr. J. Dowser was nominated as the meeting's chairman. The matters raised at this meeting give a good indication as to the progress of the agricultural industries in the district and details of the meeting's proceedings have therefore been outlined in some detail below.

The Chairman reviewed the objectives of the association and referred to its growing importance. He then called upon the honorary secretary to read the report on the horticultural achievements of the district and *"to beg most cordially to congratulate and thank the members and friends by whose generous support and sympathy they are this day enabled to proclaim the association a success."*

The financial report as presented to the members of the society had exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the committee which offered its firm opinion that the opportunities afforded by the members' discussions at the association's monthly meetings had been extremely beneficial in providing for the successful interchange of ideas on agricultural and other rural issues. During the year twelve public meetings were held in which original papers on the following topics had been read and debated:

On Cotton Cultivation, by Mr. H. Fox*;*

Cultivation of the English Potato, by Mr. George Richards*;*

Cotton Cultivation on the Mary River, by Mr. W. G. Bailey*;*

Sugar Cultivation on the Mary River, by Mr. F. Hill*;*

The Labor Question, by Mr. W. G. Bailey*; and*

The Labor Question, in reply to strictures of the Brisbane Courier*, by* Mr. W. G. Bailey.

However, the committee's disappointment regarding the attendance at its public meeting prompted the Chairman to say that: *"Various important subjects, such as dairy management and the culture and uses of maize, had also been discussed and much useful information elicited. In connection with these meetings several competitive exhibitions of fruit, cotton, butter, &tc. were held and prizes awarded. Notwithstanding all this, the interest evinced by those for whose advantage the meetings were designed had not been such as would justify the committee to recommending their continuance."* Consequently, the committee proposed that quarterly public meetings should be trialed in lieu of the then current monthly meetings, and that these meetings should not proceed beyond 4 p.m. The committee was convinced that this alteration would benefit all concerned and that additional benefits would result if the current meeting could decide upon future meeting dates and topics.

The Association's committee had staged Maryborough's inaugural *Agricultural Show* as a New Year's Day event and the success of the resultant exhibition was considered by the meeting to have exceeded expectations, especially when taking into account its impromptu character and the poor growing season that had adversely affected many of its potential exhibits. The variety, and the general excellence, of the products on exhibit were declared a credit to the individual contributors and their quality also spoke volumes of the district's favorable soil and climate. The show's records indicate that forty-nine contributors entered articles for exhibition and that their combined entries numbered one hundred and fifty. The exhibits were separated into seventy-two classes which included raw and manufactured produce, livestock, implements and other items.

The Association's balance sheet showed that the receipts for the year amounted to £79 17s. 0d. with expenses of £64 1s. 0d. giving the Association a financial balance of £15 16s. 0d. which, when combined with an amount in excess of £10 for outstanding subscriptions, was considered to be a very satisfactory result. Expenditure on advertising and printing at first appeared to be somewhat disproportionately large but this had resulted from the considerable outlay of capital needed to advertise the establishment of the society. The treasurer expected additional capital to accrue due to a Government subsidy entitlement related to the amount received from members' subscriptions. In closing the meeting thanks were heartily accorded to the Mayor for the meeting's use of the Council Chambers during the year, to those who officiated as judges at the agricultural show, to Messrs. Cooper and Jones, of the *Union Saw Mill* for the supply of free timber for tabling and to Mr. Horsburgh for the use of his trestles.

The committee then resigned and, in accordance with the association's rules, the meeting was called upon to elect a new president, vice president and committee. William Henry Walsh, M.L.A. [Note 1] was then appointed as the incoming president; John Meiklejohn was appointed vice-president and the following members were elected to the incoming management committee: Messrs. W. Adams, R. Murdoch, J. Simpson, H. Fox, J. Ingham, J. Cheyne, P. Dickenson, F. Hill, G. Richards, E. Watson, P. O'Kelly, and R. Ferguson, with the elected committee having the power to add to its number.

The arrangement of the timing of the ordinary meetings of the association, and the subjects to be discussed then received attention. Mr. Ingham proposed, Mr. Fox seconded, and the motion was carried that 'quarterly meetings' be substituted *'for monthly meetings'* and that they be programmed as follows with the:

First meeting on the 29th March, subject for discussion, *"Poultry"*;

Second meeting of 21st June's subject, *"Orchard Management"*;

Third meeting of 20th September's subject, *"Pigs"*; and the

Fourth meeting of 13th December's subject, *"The Arrangement and Management of a Fifty-acre Farm"*.

Mr. Dickenson then proposed that the association's next public exhibition be held towards the end of July, or in early in August, at the discretion of the committee. The motion was seconded by Mr. Watson and carried. A vote of thanks was made to the retiring committee and the chairman expressed the committee's appreciation of the services of the honorary secretary, Mr. Cheyne, [Note 2] who had, in conjunction with Mr. Adams, done so much to secure the efficiency and success of the association. A vote of thanks was extended to the chairman by those attending and this concluded the meeting.

Note 1: William Henry Walsh (1823-1888), squatter and politician, was born at Milton, Berkshire, England. He arrived in Sydney on the 11th of June 1844 and acquired colonial experience while in the employ of David Perrier of Bathurst during which time, in 1847, he opened a sheep station for Mr. Perrier on the Macintyre River. He later drove a Perrier flock through floods to open another station on the Burnett River. Following this he acquired *Degilbo*, near Gayndah, for *Griffiths, Fanning & Co.* of Sydney, a property that he was later to acquire for himself and was also to acquire Monduran station a few years later. Mr. Walsh married Nugent Wade Brown's sister Elizabeth on the 20th of February 1857 and became a member of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in 1859. He later won and held the elected position of Member for Maryborough in the Queensland colonial government from 1865 to 1873. Mr. Walsh was elected as the representative for Warrego in the first Queensland Parliament and was subsequently elected M.L.A. for Maryborough in the early sixties where he assumed the position of Speaker in the Legislative Assembly in 1874. He exercised his considerable talents in support of movements that promoted the progress of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts as well as contributing well received articles to the Press under the non de plume of the *"Ghost of Ban Ban"*. Mr. Walsh was president of the *Wide Bay Farmers and Planters' Association* in January 1872 and had an interest in the Burrum coal mines together with other mineral and pastoral ventures.

Note 2: John Cheyne was born and was educated in Aberdeenshire, Scotland. He was a practical gardener who had contributed several valuable papers on floriculture to the Press both in the old country and in Australia. He arrived in Maryborough in 1864 and was a very active member of the establishment of the *Wide Bay Planters' and Farmers' Association* of which he became a leading member. He initially rented land at Baddow from Mr. Aldridge which he developed as a market garden and later purchased his own land on which he erected substantial shade-houses and planted choice shrubs and trees, but the venture was to run at a loss. He eventually moved to Tinana where he founded *"Cheyne's Gardens,"* of 40 acres, and planted 1,600 different varieties of orange trees together with a very large assortment of tropical plants.

The subject of the importance of hoe selection as applied to surface soil stirring and weed eradication was also raised at about this time. The Queenslander, when commenting on the then current farming technology, particularly as applied to the smaller selector with his hand operated tools, maintained:

"Next to vigor-inspiring manure, there is nothing like surface stirring of the soil for bringing on crops during the summer months. To effect the desired object, two inches of stirring are as good as six, better in fact because, while the shallow working kills grass and weeds, the roots of the crop are left untouched. he flat Dutch Hoe when hand labour is employed or the light, one-horse Queenslander Horse Hoe, are excellent in achieving this aim."

Susanna, the Adams family's fifth daughter, was born on the 30th August 1867 but was to die

eighteen months later, on the 6th of March 1869. The era was one, relative to that of the present, of a high birth rate combined with a high rate of infant mortality. The main agents responsible for this tragic situation were bacterial diseases such as diphtheria, cholera and typhoid whilst viral diseases such as yellow fever, measles and influenza also took their toll. The results of advances in hygiene such as the design and construction of effective water supply purification and distribution schemes and waste-water collection and treatment installations, together with advances in medication and vaccinations over the last century, are highlighted by the comparison of the rather grim mortality rates of our ancestors with those of the present day. It is significant that the death rate of women and children fell progressively over the full period of the industrial revolution. Of Mary and Walter's forty-five grandchildren nine were to die before they were three years old. The Adams family's last child, Ellen Elizabeth, was born on St Patrick's Day, the 17th of March 1869. It was also in the year of 1869 that Walter launched his Maryborough contracting business, an undertaking that he conducted almost up to the time of his family's departure for Bundaberg.

At the June meeting of the *Wide Bay Farmers' and Planters' Association* the chairman, Walter Adams, introduced *'maize'* as the subject for discussion. He maintained that, if the nutritious, wholesome and economic qualities of this noble grain were more generally known, it would receive a much better recognition than being regarded as only fit for pig and horse food. He had regularly used maize meal as an article of diet in his family over several years and, so far as his own experience and taste went, would regard it as a calamity to be deprived of it. Of greater importance still, his children were very fond of it and it agreed remarkably well with them. Various modes of preparing and cooking the grain were discussed and it was noted that, unless the corn had previously been dried in a kiln, only enough should be ground to meet current needs.

Mr. Bromley sent some very fine sample cobs of a yellow maize variety which he described as being an average sample from an area of about one third of an acre which had produced forty bushels of the grain. Another cob, shown by Mr. E Watson, weighed over 2 lbs. Several specimens of the tuscarora (a fine white variety) were exhibited and this variety was pronounced to be by far the best for meal making. Unfortunately, from the information presented to the meeting, it also appeared to be not very productive and very susceptible to weevil attack. The following discussion elicited the information that January and September were the best maize planting seasons for the Maryborough district, that fifty bushels per acre was the yield for a good average crop, and that three crop plantings in two years were the most that could be undertaken with safety.

Mr. Ingham submitted some splendid specimens of the *Poor Man's Orange* [Note 1] obtained from the garden of J. E. Brown, Esq. that was perfectly free from the cocus pest. Two specimens of the fruit were displayed, the samples weighing two pounds and one and one quarter pounds respectively. The success of this crop demonstrated the potential mango [Note 2] growing capability of the Mary River banks. On the motion of Mr. Adams, seconded by Mr. Shaw, it was decided that *'Sugar Cultivation'* should form the subject of discussion at the July

meeting. Ten new members were then enrolled in the association.

Note 1: In this context a mango; nowadays this description probably refers to a hardy form of citrus with a bitter rind and a caramel/vanilla taste resembling a grapefruit. This fruit may be the result of tangerine/polemo hybridization.

Note 2: John Carne Bidwell, former Government Botanist, Sydney, and later Commissioner for Crown Lands, Police Magistrate, and Harbour Master at Wide Bay, was the first man to introduce the mango – a plant native to India – into Australia.

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An account of a river excursion on the August half-day holiday, as described in a report to the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* of Saturday the 28th August 1869, gives a vivid description of the Mary River bank's environment at that time. The following is an abridged description of this excursion:

"Affording a convenient opportunity to escape from the cares of business, we walked on board the little steamer *Mary Ann Eaton* with a determination to enjoy ourselves and to spend the day happily. The day was just such a one as we would choose for a trip – fine, but cloudy – and, as we trip along the smooth waters, we have the benefit of a fine breeze. In a short time we pass on our left the noble residence of Mr. John Eaton, the enterprising owner of the steamer which conveys us and the owner of a new sugar mill and plantation a little further up the river.

Carrying on, and on our right-hand side, we pass the beautiful garden of Mr. John Cheyne, laid out in terraces of orange and other fruit trees, betokening a vast amount of labour and persevering industry. Next we come Mr. John Eaton's sugar mill and plantation, where the acres of cane stand ready for the mill which, unfortunately, is not yet in operation.

Next we come to the plantation of Messrs. Dunn and Parker, who have a portable engine and mill, and intend itinerating their machinery from farm to farm, after crushing their own cane. Further on, on our right, we pass the residence and plantation of Mr. Stedman, with heaps of cane ready for crushing. The mill and plantation of Mr. Meiklejohn is adjoining and, now that we are before it, we observe that it is in full operation. Down a tramway, sloping from the works to the river, is a wagon on which is drawn the cane from the punts in the river up to the mill, a rope being attached from the wagon to a steam-winch in the shed. way on our left is Mr. Matheson's farm, a braw Scotchman probably, and there he is just laying down his hoe to look at us, with his wee ones beside him in single file, one of the elder ones waving, on a pole, a three-bushel bag as a flag.

We now pass Graham's Creek, on which is situated the celebrated, and now world-renowned *Yengarie* meat-preserving, boiling-down, manure works, and sugar mill, which employs a large number of men. It is, in fact, quite a village in itself. Jamieson's mill and plantation we now pass on our left, and there he is himself, busy among his men, in that deep cutting for a tramway leading from the river up to the mill. On our left we have the Adams's farm and opposite is Canny's sugar plantation. We now pass several punts, each loaded with sugar cane, going down to the *Central Mill*. Christy and Miller's farm is on our right with Scott and Clarke's farm and plantation right

in front of us at a bend of the river and there, beside the mass of growing cane, perched on a stump, is a South Sea Islander, having a good look at us.

Now Mr. Hill's farm, *Scarva*, comes in view with its acres of sugar cane. Some distance further on, on our left, is Peter O'Reilly's farm and on our right the fine estate of Captain Jeffrey while here and there, between these cultivated sections, the scrub is being felled and burned off by the stalwart settler surrounded by his helpers, islander and white, who look like so many dots amongst the giant fig-trees of the scrub and the great, burning heaps around them.

Our little steamer having now taken us some twenty miles up the river, we are landed at a place called the *Pioneers' Rest* – being a spot on which have settled a number of immigrants from Lancashire, some four or five years ago. The banks here are very precipitous being some forty or fifty feet above the water. The ascent to the chapel, however, is made by an easy slope cut into the bank up which we walk, and before us stands the settlement's chapel, the opening of which we that day came to celebrate. The building is constructed of pine weather boards, lined and ceiled, well lighted by windows, and has Venetian ventilators in each gable to secure the exit of the heated air and the interior possesses a light, lofty, cheerful, and comfortable appearance. The chapel is entirely unsectarian, being open to any minister of the Gospel. It is capable of seating 120 persons and is to be used both as a Sunday and as a day-school, as well as a place for public worship. The ground was given by Mr. Carruthers, and occupies a very fine position on the banks of the river amidst groves of mulberry trees and masses of growing cane. Mr. Case has been conducting public worship a little higher up the river in a private house for a long time past and Mr. M'Donnell has for the last three years conducted a Sunday school in the neighbourhood.

The logs from which the chapel timber was sawn were donated by timber-getters working in the neighbourhood, and were milled at a considerable reduction on the usual charge by *Messrs. Wilson, Bartholomew and Company*. The lamps and fittings were also sold by Messrs. *Powell and Co.* at a considerable reduction when they learned the purpose for which they were intended. We also learnt that the use of the steamer was generously donated by Mr. Walter Hay, and this was no small item in this successful undertaking. The building was constructed by Messrs. *Brown and Coutts*, for the very low sum of £40. The beams and other parts of the building were tastefully hung with evergreens and flowers and the mottoes which decorated the walls were very appropriate for a building intended to be used by various Protestant sects. So good was the attendance from the locality and from Maryborough, that the tables had to be re-laid three times. About 300 persons were present. The proceedings were opened with singing and prayer. Mr. Case announced that the funds already subscribed and promised would suffice to liquidate the expenses incurred, with a slight balance left over.

Our departure was delayed as the little steamer had not sufficient water to float her, so we had to perambulate to a parade on the banks, which was quite gay with the lighted up cottages, the dancing and music, and the passing to-and-fro of visitors from the town and district. It now became time for our embarkation, and though

it was somewhat foggy, the steamer landed her passengers at the ferry safely by 5 a.m. on Friday where, after three cheers for the captain, they repaired to their homes."

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On a Saturday morning in August his Excellency the Governor, Samuel Wensley Blackall, attended by Mr. Nicholson the acting private Secretary and Captain Heath held a levee in the Court House where the following dignitaries were accorded private converse with his Excellency the Governor: the Police Magistrate, Mr. G. Faircloth; the Water Police Magistrate, Mr. R. B. Sheridan; the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. B. G. Sheridan; Mr. See; the Medical Officer to the Government, Dr. Brown and the Mayor, Mr. H. Stoward. His Worship, the Mayor, then introduced to his Excellency the following Aldermen of the *Maryborough Municipal Council*: – Walter Adams, H. Bonarius, John Cheyne, T. Hutchins, T. N. Milner, Mr. Murray, M. S. Walsh, and the Town Clerk T. Woodward.

In September 1869, frustrated by the lack of a response to his activities in connection with the acquisition of funding for a road bridge crossing the Mary River at Maryborough to replace the existing ferry, Walter Adams's patience was finally exhausted and, as a consequence, he prepared and dispatched the following letter to the *Maryborough Chronicle*:

Fellow Townsmen,

You have shown by your every act that you can give honour where honour is due. You have shown your loyalty to your Queen and your respect for her gracious Majesty's representative, whom we all believe to be both good and true and will do all that he can for the welfare of the colony. But while we have been doing honour to his Excellency, what has been doing in Parliament? Why, they put your member in durance for uttering that naughty word 'bloke' and, because he had the pluck to tell them, I bet he would not apologise for uttering a word that is spoken in almost all classes of society. Is not this insulting? Perhaps not! Have you not held public meetings, and signed petitions, and sent them to the Parliament? Has the Government taken any notice of all this? The answer is, "Yes", they have seen the petitions for a bridge across the Mary, but "No" you are not to get it but instead a steam ferry. So, in the face of all your protests and in the face of receiving from this port, and in Brisbane for goods shipped to this port, something like £100,000 per annum they are going to give you most likely something worse than you have now. After trying to close the mouth of our member, they will give us £2,000 for a steam punt seasoned with this little bit of savoury, as was given by one of the Ministers on the vote. If the Government provides the punt, of course they take the toll. Is not this rich, ye men of Maryborough? The Government is not fleecing you enough, but they will give you something like what you have, or perhaps worse, take the tolls and leave you the honour of taking the tolls for it out of your own funds.

Arise, then, I say! Sleep no longer but meet together again. Call upon your Town Council to apply for some of the town reserves to be given them to dispose of for bridge purposes, and we will soon have one. We want nothing ornamental

but something useful. Can the Government refuse to give us lands when they have given them to Brisbane? I believe not, because it would be injustice without a cloak.

I am, fellow townsmen, humbly yours,

Walter Adams,

Maryborough, September 9, 1869.

In October 1869 the *Chronicle*, perhaps desperate for material to publish in that week's edition, included the following article.

"Monster cabbages are generally held to be a proof of famine in the realms of journalistic reporting. If the assertion holds good our literary larder must be very slenderly stocked indeed, for we feel it incumbent on us to do justice with pen and ink, as we hope to do with knife and fork, to a splendid specimen, a very patriarch, of the brassica tribe, which was yesterday submitted for our inspection and acceptance by Mr. Walter Adams. It weighs 17 pounds and though perhaps inferior, in point of weight, to many of those produced on the Darling Downs, it vindicates in a very creditable manner the capabilities of our warmer coast climate and soil, as well as the horticultural skill of the producer in so dry a season as in the recent past." Clearly Walter was maintaining his agricultural experimentation at a time when growers had to make decisions between the cultivation of known, predictable crops or of crops having an unknown local adaptability but that may have had the potential to produce significantly greater profits.

Copper was discovered in 1869 in the vicinity of the future Mount Perry, approximately 100 kilometres west of the site of the future Bundaberg Township, by Henry Dingle a local squatter whilst grazing sheep. Mr. Ebenezer Vickery formed a company in Sydney with a subscribed capital of £10,000 and the company commenced mining operations at Mount Perry in 1871. A Mount Perry township was quickly established and its population expanded rapidly. Over the four years following 1871 two thousand tons of copper were produced for a realised value of £160,000. A network of mines was soon operating in the district including the Normanby, Wolca, Ellendale, Edina, Moolboolaman, Boolboonda and New Monta workings.

Over the period 1871 to 1872 the population of Mount Perry (then called Tenningering) increased from 10 to 800 persons with a further increase to 1,000 by 1875. In the early 1870's, twenty hotels sprang up in the town to cater for the high proportion of men without families on the mining field. At the time of discovery, the location of the site that was to accommodate the future Mount Perry was known by its aboriginal name of *"Gnoorgnoor"*, which meant 'the burial-ground', according to George E. Loyau. The township was named after Samuel Augustus Perry the Deputy Surveyor General who accompanied Assistant-Surveyor J. C. Burnett, on their expedition to Gladstone. Mount Perry's heyday was to occur in 1907 when its population reached 3,675 persons which gave it a population then equivalent to that of Cairns or Mackay. Following the example of many other old mining towns its population has since suffered a major reduction.

Chapter 4

A Time to Move on

Over the Decade 1870 to 1880 Some Significant Occurrences in the Home Country Were:

- In 1872 the British House of Commons passed the *Pacific Islanders Protection Act*, an act that authorised British warships to board and to apprehend pirates on ships that were suspected of transporting illegal human cargo in international waters and to deliver them (if in the Pacific Ocean) to Australia for trial;
- The Franco-Prussian War broke out in conjunction with the rise of Bismarck in Germany and of Gladstone in England;
- As the leading maritime nation of the time Britain then commanded 27% of the world's seaborne trade;
- The two-party political system achieved prominence with the domination of English politics by Gladstone's Liberals and Disraeli's Conservatives;
- Disraeli's purchase of the company shares in the Suez Canal gave Britain control of this strategic waterway;
- In anticipation of another Russian-Ottoman war England invaded Cyprus by deploying its Indian troops. It retained control of the island even though the expected war did not eventuate;
- A second British invasion of Afghanistan took place to forestall a Russian expansion. The expansion did not take place;
- In South Africa the Zulu War, with its Rorke's Drift engagement;
- The publication of Anthony Trollop's novel *The Way We Live Now*;

– The commencement of collaboration between Gilbert and Sullivan in the production of their satirical musicals; and

– The publication of Thomas Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

AND – *In the Early 1870's Some Significant Occurrences in the Vicinity of the Lower Reaches of the Burnett River Were:*

– In 1870 Henry J. Ford's store opened on the north bank and experienced serious flooding in the same year;

– In 1871 Richard Palmer began clearing land for planting on his *Millbank* property;

– Surveyor Barnes conducted a survey for a road from the settlement to the freshwater Elliott River Crossing. From this baseline additional surveys to facilitate the allocation of properties in the Woongarra Scrub took place. The subsequent settlement was pioneered by Messrs. Greathead and Archer to the south; Messrs. Kendall, Kirby, Jealous, Lee and McGill from Saltwater Creek extending to the east along the Burnett River's southern riverbank; and a Maryborough contingent of Messrs. Adams, Noakes and Faulkner still further east towards the mouth of the river;

– In 1872 the first crushing of sugar on a commercial basis took place in the Bundaberg area in Richard Palmer's mill at *Millbank*; and

– In 1873 the Mulgrave electorate was gazetted, and Mr. Walter Scott became the first elected Member for Mulgrave.

THE YEAR OF 1870

In 1870 Mr. Noakes was an active member of the *Maryborough Sugar Company* and was also a director, with Mr. Faulkner and others, of the *Maryborough Permanent Building and Investment Society*. In February of 1870, Charles Faulkner was successfully nominated for the position of Maryborough Council alderman in the March election.

In February 1870 it was learned that Mr. Robert Tooth had been forced to sever his connection with the firm of *Tooth and Cran* and had arranged his return to England due to ill health. His introduction of the Leibig meat preservation process had given a much needed boost to the Maryborough district at a crucial time and, over the following years, his successful innovation in the sugar processing area, together with his improvements to sugar production techniques, provided major benefits and a much needed boost to the Maryborough district's economy. At a later date the Bundaberg economy was also to benefit with the inclusion of his innovations in the *Millaquin* mill and refinery. His contributions to mill design were to make him a significant benefactor to both the lower Mary and lower Burnett districts. Appendix 2 gives the design details of his mill components.

Major flooding was to return to the Mary River and to neighbouring catchments in March 1870. The details of the flood's effects on the district, as described in the *Brisbane Courier*, are reproduced in the following passages:

Maryborough's unmetalled streets became quagmires and traffic ways that had been under water were almost impossible to traverse, when the water finally receded, owing to the accumulation of slime and mud. News from the countryside was scant though it was said that the road to Gympie was open to horsemen. Mr. Southerden, who had recently relocated to the Lower Burnett from Maryborough to open a general store in the new township of Bundaberg, informed the press that very boisterous weather was being experienced at his new location. As a result, his store's goods had to be temporarily housed in rented storage to avoid serious damage. He advised that the Burnett River had risen to the level of the Bundaberg wharf but, up to that time, there had been no inundation of the farms and building sites adjacent to the river.

The storm had commenced at 2 a.m. on the Saturday morning, when violent gusts of wind and rain broke over Maryborough, and these continued without intermission for three days and nights. By Tuesday afternoon the clouds allowed glimpses of blue sky and sun to appear at intervals, though more heavy showers were still to follow. At about 9 a.m., in conjunction with the Saturday morning's heavy rainfall, the river at Maryborough began to rise and thereafter maintained a steady increase in level up to Tuesday morning, when a flood height of thirty feet above low-water mark was attained. The *Natural Paddock*, a block of about six hundred acres located to the south of the town, was completely inundated. The settlers and dwellers in this locality, many of them farmers, had to flee for their lives leaving behind their household goods and cattle. Fortunately, several flood-relief boats had been held in strategic locations as a matter of routine and this enabled their crews, on hand for such emergencies, to assist many of the flood affected families in need of water-borne rescue.

On Sunday an inebriated woman in the *Natural Paddock* area deliberately entering the flood waters and was drowned. Owing to the strong current running in the river it had not been possible to recover her body. The *Union Saw Mill*, situated in the same locality, was being held in chancery at the time owing to an ongoing equity suit and, as a result, no one was willing to take responsibility for the securing of the mill's timber stocks. Accordingly, a large quantity of this valuable material was washed away by the flood waters which also inundated the machinery and the mill houses. As the bailiffs did not hold themselves responsible for the safety of the assets an enormous depreciation in the value of the business resulted from the large stock loss and from the major damage to, or total loss of, the equipment.

Wilson, Bartholomew and Company's mills on the opposite side of the river, also suffered material damage. On Saturday the strong river current dislodged several rafts of timber stored near the wharf and the mill's works together with the managers' residences were inundated. The floating swimming baths were another casualty having been forced on to the riverbank and partially demolished by impaction with the vast quantity of swiftly moving debris being carried downstream.

The small river steamer *Mary Ann Eaton*, of earlier mention, was undergoing repairs at M'Leigh's boat shed. On the Sunday it was overturned by the river's current and on Monday

it was swept away. The *Egmont* steamer, which had been secured to a position in the middle of the stream by two anchors, had to have her boilers maintain constant pressure so that the thrust provided by its steam-engine could be used to reinforce the drag provided by the anchors. The coastal vessels in port were moored on the other side of the river with the ketch *Alma* close alongside the upper story of Palmer's brick store.

Business, other than the portion relating to edibles, had come to a complete standstill. Many of the stores were closed, and the town had a very woebegone appearance. While Mr. Adams's house itself remained dry he had lost a considerable quantity of maize, and other standing field crops. Mr. Clements had a barn filled to the roof with maize, six acres of standing crop and his humpy, with all the possessions it contained, swept away in the flood. Mr. Wilson's sugar plant equipment and about 25 acres of cane were submerged, though fortunately his house remained dry and it became a refuge for about thirty flood victims. Mr. Barnes's house, several acres of maize, and all of his worldly goods were lost to the flood, whilst Messrs. Anderson and Glasgow had their dwellings and nearly completed barn, together with 35 acres of maize, a ton of seed potatoes, 14 pigs, horse, harness, rations, clothes and all of their possessions carried away. Mr. Blackburn lost four acres of crops and all his possessions; however, his hut managed to resist the force of the flood waters and survived the onslaught. Mrs. Sutherland, a widow, lost six acres of maize though her house and chattels remained secure. Another farmer, Mr. Bromily, lost the six hundred bushels of threshed corn stored in his barn.

On the Saturday, telegraphic communications to Brisbane, inland and to the north were all cut off and the telegraph line repairer was unable to carry out any restoration. After riding for some distance he was forced to return with the news that Graham's Creek had swollen into a broad river and, with every other creek also in flood, travel was impossible. With the roads closed to all traffic, several of the churches had to forego their regular Sunday's service due to the absence of their congregations and his Worship the Mayor, Mr. E. Booker, with his usual good nature and thoughtfulness, arranged to have a large, empty town store available for the accommodation of the flood-bound and displaced flood victims for whom he arranged a generous allocation of provisions.

The hospital was surrounded by water, and the dwellers in that area, known locally as *"over the creek"*, had to travel a distance of about four miles to reach the centre of the town, owing to the Lennox-street, Adelaide-street, Walker-street, and Sussex-street bridges being so inundated that not even the handrails were visible. Home gardens were swept away and the results of many months, and in some cases years, of toil were lost. The farmers on the Mary River, Tinana Creek, and the Upper Mary all suffered damage and the *"Old Township"* was completely swamped. The outflow from the Yullulah Reservoir was about six feet over the bridge on the Gayndah road with downstream cattle and horses drowned and the farm produce swept away.

Mr. Travis's boat and crew did a great service in saving a large amount of property from within the settlers' cottages before water entered their buildings. Others including Mr.

Lyons, his brother and others were also out in boats rendering assistance for the greater part of Monday night and there were many reports of people being rescued by the Customs boats on the Sunday and Monday nights. In one house, where the rapidly rising water had made an entrance, a woman and her young family were found peacefully slumbering in what would have been their last sleep but for the fore-thought of Mr. Sheridan, and the bravery of his men. The night was so dark that the bow of their boat could not be seen from the stern, and in places the crew had to feel their way, holding first to one sapling and then to another. In the darkness some victims were located only by their screams and this alone helped to ensure their rescue. The courage of some of the people at risk diminished as darkness approached and, in some instances, fusillades were discharged all through the night by settlers who had been isolated by the flood in their attempts to attract the attention of the relief boats.

Mr. Sheridan, by mobilizing the resources of the Customs and Harbour Master boats and men in the rescue operation, was occupied for all of the Monday night in rescuing a total of twenty-one of the people who had become isolated by the water that had flooded their homes. On the Tuesday morning, having been advised of some flood-bound settlers at Tinana Creek, he returned his crew and boat to the flood waters and located, at the delta formation of the Tinana Creek and Mary River junction, a flood-bound German family who were then relocated to a place of safety. While one of the Customs boats was engaged in rendering assistance to the people in the scrub Mr. Sheridan placed the other boat in a dray and took it to the *Prince's Ferry*. From there he journeyed to the water reserve, where he found that the river waters had backed up to the level of the water stored in the reservoir. Mr. Sheridan and his men then inspected the farmhouses situated on the riverbank at this locality only to find that many were submerged. He ascertained that all tenants from these houses had been saved and, in a few instances, the house contents as well. Following their inspection, the crew returned by boat along the river.

On the Tuesday a man, apparently in a state of intoxication, was observed riding the height of the flood in a small, flat-bottomed boat waving his paddles triumphantly as he proceeded seaward at the rate of about nine miles (15 kilometres) an hour. It was impossible to afford the unfortunate fellow any assistance as he was out of sight before a boat could be manned to intercept him. There was also news of an adventurous timber getter who had started from *Redbank* in a dugout canoe in pursuit of a runaway raft and who was quickly gaining on the latter when last seen. One poor fellow named Patrick Campbell, under the influence of drink, was larking on a log that was floating in a reserve and slipped into the waters never to emerge alive. At about 5 o'clock in the evening the townsfolk saw the steamer *Clarence* coming up river bringing news from Rockhampton and on the Thursday the river level fell more than five feet.

The telegraph line-repairer, who had started out along the Gayndah Road on the Friday, returned on Tuesday night after having endured great privations in his vain endeavour to restore telegraphic communication with the capital of

the Burnett (i.e. Gayndah). Having rejoined wires that had been snapped by falling branches in two locations he was brought up short at the Stoney Creek crossing twenty-three miles from Maryborough. The creek was running well in excess of bank height with no portion of the bridge being visible. His return was blocked by a small creek that had become impassable since his earlier crossing and, on retracing his steps to take shelter in a hut that he had observed near Stoney Creek, he was bailed up by the sudden rising of another watercourse that he had traversed a short time earlier. He was thus detained in uninhabited country between the two creeks without food or shelter, for twenty-four hours.

The colonists of this district were not the only sufferers of the inundation. The aboriginal inhabitants shared in the general calamity as they were prevented from obtaining their accustomed food supplies. The Collector of Customs, on his own initiative, wisely and humanely issued them with flour rations from the Government stores, there being no means of communication with Brisbane to obtain relevant instructions from his superiors.

Wallabies were thought to have disappeared from within the town limits though not so the possums. The flooding had caused these arboreal residents to share their elevated perches with myriads of snakes, centipedes, scorpions, wood bugs, ants, and other forms of unpleasant wildlife that covered the tree-tops in a seething, wriggling mass and a sickening stench of dead reptile, insect and fermenting vegetable matter filled the air within the scrub.

The records of the *Maryborough Chronicle* of the 10th of March provide the following details of the flood relief activities that had come under consideration at a special meeting of the Municipal Council. The meeting was held on a Wednesday afternoon, those present being the Mayor and Aldermen Adams, La Barte, Milner and Faulkner. A motion was carried appointing Mr. Booker, the Mayor, together with Aldermen La Barte and Milner as a committee to provide temporary relief to persons placed under distress by the flood. A second motion was then passed giving the Mayor authorization to telegraph the Government, on behalf of the municipality, to ascertain what manner of financial assistance the Government would be willing to contribute to the relief of the settlers who had been adversely affected.

It was understood that the Council would afford relief to needy flood victims until such time as the flood waters subsided sufficiently to enable labourers to be hired and employed in the repair of flood damaged roads and streets. This relief was to be provided mainly in the form of wages paid to those involved in the restoration of the damaged public infrastructure.

It was agreed that any financial assistance provided by the Government would be utilized to assist the farming population many of whom, it was feared, would be rendered almost powerless to restart their operations unless aided by a loan or gift from a dedicated fund. It was decided that the subject would be raised for full discussion at a meeting of the Council to be held on the following Monday.

Mr. Southerden was an early purchaser of an allotment in the Bundaberg township at an auction price of £5 5s. 0d. The allotments, of one rood in area, were auctioned at the Maryborough *Lands Office* in May 1870 at an average price of £4 9s 0d. There were approximately forty-five successful bidders including John Houston Cathcart, James E. Noakes, T. N. Milner and Mr. Gaffell (Gaffel).

In October 1870 the Commissioner for Lands accepted an application from Mr. George Greathead, under the Conditional Purchase Clause, for 80 acres of agricultural land on the Bingera run, County of Cook. At the same sitting Mr. Robert Strathdee's application for 100 acres of agricultural land and 540 acres of second-class pastoral land on the Bingera and Barolin runs was rejected with the land being declared *"not available for selection"*.

Also in October 1870 a meeting chaired by Mr. R. Palmer was held in Mr. Southerden's Bundaberg store to consider the acquisition of a national (i.e. Queensland Colonial Government) school. The meeting unanimously decided to collect enough subscriptions to erect a suitable school building and to engage a national schoolmaster. At the time a serious impediment towards financing the district's development was the extreme tardiness experienced by the arriving settlers in having their property boundaries surveyed, this being a prerequisite to the commencement of the farming activities required to establish their financial independence.

THE YEAR OF 1871

In January 1871 a situation had arisen in Maryborough that must also have occurred, with minor variations, in many other towns of the colony during their early stages of development. The Government had made no provision for temporary accommodation in Maryborough to provide detention for mentally ill patients who required ongoing supervision and this had caused serious difficulties for a labourer named Kinnane (or variously Kennan and Kinane). In January his wife, Winifred, was exhibiting signs of an intellectual aberration over a period of about ten days and, following that, had exercised conduct of such an erratic nature that it had become necessary for her to be kept under constant surveillance.

The poor man, having to earn his living by daily labour away from home, could not provide this surveillance and, as he had no means of paying for an attendant his employer, Mr. Walter Adams, procured a ticket for his wife's admission to the hospital, an admission that was refused by the resident doctors. Mr. Kinnane then took his wife to the lock-up and charged her with being of unsound mind. Owing to the nature of the unfortunate woman's condition she was not brought into court and the inquiry was held in the lock-up. The detailed evidence that was taken to determine her state of mind disclosed irrational talk and behaviour but nothing dangerous to herself or others.

It appeared that there was sufficient evidence to warrant the Police Magistrate dealing with the case, rather than to dismiss it, so that he had

before him the options of sending the woman to the Hospital, of keeping her in the lock-up, or of forwarding her to Brisbane. It was here that a difficulty arose. The Hospital managers refused to admit such patients into their institution; the lock-up had no provision for the safekeeping and treatment of the mentally ill and, to compound the problem, medical witnesses differed in their opinion as to the fitness of the woman to undertake the journey to Brisbane.

Dr. Brown testified that she was able to bear the journey, and Dr. Palmer testified that she was not. The Police Magistrate, to resolve this dilemma, adjourned the inquiry and requested procedural instructions from the Colonial Secretary. The Secretary in his reply directed the Magistrate to act on his own discretion but that the afflicted woman had to be given care under all circumstances.

The Magistrate then based his decision on the best option available to him at the time and ordered that a bed be placed in the lock-up for Mrs. Kinnane's safekeeping and comfort until such time as a more satisfactory provision could be implemented. In the hope of overcoming the government's resistance to providing the resources necessary to deal with emergencies of this nature Mr. Adams had the following 'Letter to the Editor' printed in the *Maryborough Chronicle*.

January 5, 1871

Sir,

It is a sad misfortune that a large town like Maryborough should be left without a place to receive persons that may have the misfortune to be afflicted with any diseases of the brain. In a warm climate like this we may expect to hear of many such cases and, in the full enjoyment of health, any one of us may, during our daily walks, be struck with the sun's rays at any moment of the day; and is it not hard to think that, should one of ourselves or friends be struck down, there would be no place to receive us but a common felon's cell? The very thought of such a place would alone suffice to drive the unhappy patient mad.

The cases that have of late been brought to the hospital and refused admittance ought to be sufficient to arouse the Government to motion. The Lunacy Act lays down that, on proof being tendered and on the oath of two medical men, that the person is a dangerous lunatic it shall be left to the discretion of the Magistrate either to commit him to goal, lunatic asylum or public hospital. It appears that the act cannot be carried out in Maryborough for the want of the necessary accommodation. If such be the case, the act is a dead letter, and the Government ought to step in and remedy so crying an evil. Have we not sufficient before us to arouse the dormant feelings of our present Government? Did not a week ago a man wander away and commit suicide? Then there is the unfortunate woman Kennan, within the week, afflicted with the same complaint; and if rumor speaks true, and I have every reason to believe that it does, there is another woman similarly afflicted in the neighborhood of the Waterworks. Surely this is enough to excite the Government to an act of real charity, and to cause a small building to be erected somewhere near the Hospital for the reception of such cases.

Walter Adams

The above events, in combination with Walter's subsequent letter to the editor of the *Maryborough Chronicle*, elicited enough public sympathy for the following letter to be directed to the editor of that newspaper.

Sir,

The public of this district should, in my opinion, regard with a good deal of satisfaction the letter that appeared in your issue of Saturday last signed by Walter Adams. What, may I ask, could be of greater moment to us than the subject in favor of which he speaks, namely the immediate necessity on the part of our Government for the establishment in Maryborough of a proper receptacle, or house of detention, to meet such cases as the melancholy one which he refers to in his letter?

It is hardly possible for one to realise the fact that an intelligent community will stand quietly by and see the poor woman in question admitted by two medical men on their sworn testimony to be of unsound mind and, at the same time, have evidence produced by her husband as to his inability to afford her the care demanded for the restoration of her health all but turned adrift on the world because, forsooth, Government has made no separate provision for such cases and the Hospital authorities refuse her admission on the grounds that her condition was not one which they are legally entitled to consider. Is the Hospital a public or a private institution? Common sense would most certainly accept Mr. Lyons's review of the matter in his statement before the last general meeting.

Whether it be legally correct or not I am not prepared to say, but I think Mr. Walker would find it difficult to convince the people of Maryborough that an institution supported by public money, and erected for public use, is not a public institution. Waiving the legality of the question I think the committee would have acted more humanely and more in accordance with the wishes of the public had they, in this case of emergency, admitted the woman Kinane. In conclusion, 1 would ask is it true that many persons who had not paid their annual subscriptions, were allowed to vote at the election of officers of the Hospital Committee? If so, there must be mismanagement somewhere.

Yours, &c

Humanitas

Later Winifred Kinnane, who had become convalescent under Walter Adams's provision of care, was to suffer a relapse and in February was again brought before the Police Magistrate. The evidence of the husband disclosed acts which showed her to be of unsound mind and, acting upon the evidence of Doctors Brown and Palmer, she was then committed to the *Brisbane Reception House* for treatment over a period of one month.

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In January 1871 John Cathcart, the manager of William Southerden's Quay Street store, made provision for a small area of the store to be set aside for post office purposes, thus making Mr. Cathcart Bundaberg's first acting postmaster and, by September, having had the office upgraded to allow for the issue of money orders, he had become Bundaberg's first official postmaster. Shortly thereafter, in January 1872, a direct mail service between Bundaberg and Maryborough was established followed by a Mount Perry service seven months later.

Commencing in June 1871 Parliamentary shenanigans of no mean order were to take place, against a background of disarray in the Palmer government. Those involved were the civic leaders, both within the government and within the opposition, the Maryborough electors and its elected representative, the Roman Catholic laity in Brisbane and a member of its clergy in Maryborough and, later, Walter Adams himself. A closer study of the debate indicates that the issue was very much of a political, not religious nature, and may have reflected the sensitivity to the numerical significance of the Irish Catholics on the electoral roll. The initial political turbulence was to result in an election where the sitting party was viewed in an unfavourable light and, as a result, was returned with only a small majority.

At the Maryborough end of the debate a Catholic priest of French nationality, Father Tissot, [Note 1] wrote a letter to the local newspaper editor supporting a vote in the oncoming election for the incumbent Irish Catholic candidate for the Maryborough electorate (William Henry Walsh) thus antagonising some of the Irish Catholic laity who were supporters of the ruling (Palmer) party's opposition and who purported to be afraid of an anti-Catholic political backlash. Walter Adams was later to defend the Maryborough priest's right to express a political opinion on the basis that a religious person was entitled to voice such an opinion when acting in the capacity of a private citizen.

One of the early indications of the destabilization that was occurring within Mr. Palmer's governing party was the proposal for an adjournment of the House for five months, as reported in the *Brisbane Courier* on Thursday the 8th of June 1871.

This adjournment was considered to be a Government manoeuvre to avoid holding an election, which would deliver it an unfavourable result. The resultant indignation was experienced both by the Government's opposition and by the public in general. The first opportunity for a protest demonstration occurred on the Friday following the announcement of the proposed adjournment and the opposition party availed itself of this opportunity with enthusiasm.

For a number of days placards had appeared throughout Brisbane announcing that those opposing the adjournment would be entertained at a grand banquet to be held on the Friday evening with an admission price of half a crown (2s. 6d. now 25 cents). Given the opportunity to attend a grand banquet for the price of half-a-crown, and with the potential for interesting speeches to follow, many citizens succumbed to this well publicised temptation and, consequently, an estimated nine hundred representatives of Brisbane's male population arrived to partake of the banquet. A further group of fifteen invited participants were seated along the front table on the far side of the Mayor.

Toasts were proposed to the Queen and to the Acting Governor by Mr. Francis, the leader writer of the *Courier*, and a toast to the (Legislative) Council, proposed by Mr. D. Griffiths, was responded to by Mr. Fitz, the only Legislative Council member present at the meeting, Mr. Charles Lilley, who was to deliver the speech of the evening, then rose to respond to the toast proposing the health of the opposition.

Mr. Lilley's speech concentrated on the Palmer Government's House adjournment issue and met with frequent interruptions many of which were occasioned by cheering from the floor. Mr. Lilley claimed that this acclamation would not cause him to rebel against the Government as he hoped that the Acting Governor would come to the Colony's rescue. He then raised the issue of the Parliamentary Speaker, and of the Speaker's attitude to railway financing policy, and worked the audience on this subject until Mr. M'Ilwraith, [Note 2] the then leader of the opposition, took over the running.

When the resultant clamour had subsided Mr. Lilley resumed his speech having claimed that there never was a time in the history of any community when it more behoved every man to rise and defend his liberties, peacefully if possible but, if not, at whatever cost deemed necessary to defend them. They were not just fighting for twenty-five miles of a railway line to Ipswich [Note 3] but for a liberal progressive policy namely the resumption of public infrastructure works, the encouragement of immigration and the M'Ilwraithian policy of requisition and realisation of the land's value to pay for both. These, he claimed, were the issues that they were fighting for, and those that the Government was resisting. Speeches by Mr. Miles, Mr. King, Mr. M'Devitt and several other Opposition members followed and they all condemned the policy of the Ministry, praised that of the Opposition, and proposed that payment for all public works should be borne by local taxation. The meeting concluded slightly before 12 o'clock. Following this meeting the Opposition presented the Acting Governor with a petition containing a request to have the House recalled.



Mr. Thomas McIlwraith

Further consternation was to arise on the 25th of July when the Colonial Treasurer, Mr. Bell, announced that the ruling party intended to relocate the seat of the Colonial Government away from Brisbane. It seemed strange for Mr. Bell to make this announcement rather than the Premier, Mr. Arthur Palmer, during his (Mr. Palmer's) electioneering stop-over in his electorate of Gladstone as it was normal for the head of Government to announce a previously undeclared policy of this magnitude and, in the Premier's situation, it would also have been much more effective if delivered in his own electorate.

It was claimed, somewhat cynically, that Mr. Palmer, by speaking as the incumbent Port Curtis member, could have informed his

constituents of Brisbane's rapacity, railway mania, and anti-squatting phase, and could then have declared that his Ministry was about to put an effective check upon the Brisbane establishment's activities by removing the seat of Government to a more central location. In addition, if he had proclaimed the high probability of Gladstone, in the Port Curtis electorate and with its beautiful harbour, being selected as the future capital his re-election to office may well have been guaranteed. Under these circumstances it was claimed that neither Mr. Sydney Dick Melbourne, a local solicitor and the nominee opposing the Premier in his electorate, nor anybody else would have a stood a chance of election and would probably not even have accepted a nomination.

The question was raised that if the Premier did not wish to make use of the announcement to assist in his own re-election, why did he not let the Minister for Works (the Hon. W. H. Walsh, the Member for Maryborough) be the first to publish the 'glad' tidings to his own electoral constituents? It was further claimed that this would have secured his electoral return and there would have been no need for the Roman Catholic priest of Maryborough, Reverend Tissot, to be involved in the matter. It was also stated that Mr. Thompson, or even Mr. Cribb, had a greater right to express the government's intention than had the Colonial Treasurer and that either of these could have made better use of the opportunity. If the planning had been made by Mr. Cribb and the Ministry before the commencement of the electioneering period, the question arose as to why it was kept under wraps for so long and why was it announced in this manner?

It was possible that the Treasurer, Mr. Bell, may have blurted out the secret without permission or he may have been executing a Ministry tactic to checkmate the Opposition and to divert attention from the issues that it had raised. It was pointed out that the removal of the seat of Government from Brisbane would provide another reason not to proceed with the construction of a railway service to Ipswich as, once the Parliament was removed from Brisbane, the Government offices could be relocated and trade would decrease.

Note 1: The Reverend Father P. E. Tissot had arrived in the colony with Bishop Quinn and was the first parish priest of Maryborough, arriving there in 1861. The Catholic diocese of Brisbane's material assets at that time consisted of four churches and four schools. Father Tissot's parish was one of the first in Queensland to extend an offer of accommodation to Sister (now Saint) Mary MacKillop's teaching nuns. The Reverend Tissot was to depart Maryborough, in July 1875, at the age of 75 years as Dean Tissot, to return to his native France and to retire to the Novitiate of his order at Livery near Paris. A public meeting, chaired by the Mayor of Maryborough and supported by other local dignitaries, was held to mark the occasion of the Dean's departure. At the meeting he was presented with a purse of sovereigns intended to provide for a degree of comfort during his return voyage to France. Dean Tissot died in Livery, aged 94 years, in August 1895.

Note 2: Thomas M'Ilwraith (McIlwraith), born in Ayr, Scotland on the 17th of May 1835, was one of the four sons of John M'Ilwraith, plumber and ship owner, whose wife was Janet née Howat. M'Ilwraith's education was relevant to his later career and included the study of bookkeeping at the Wallacetown Academy. He later excelled in mathematics which he studied at the University of Glasgow. Subsequently, having migrated to Victoria in 1854 and, whilst performing work for the Victorian government on its construction projects, he acquired a civil engineering

degree. John, his eldest brother, had migrated to Victoria in 1853 and had established himself as a successful businessman in that colony. During Thomas's stay in colonial Victoria he was a successful subcontractor, mainly in railway line, tunnel and bridge construction. He also entered into partnership with his elder brother John in the establishment of a lead mill in Melbourne and later, in the 1860's, he became a partner in the family's shipping line. His main business investments were, however, extensive holdings in the western Queensland pastoral industry. M'Ilwraith first exhibited an interest in politics when he ran, unsuccessfully, for the seat of Sandhurst in Victoria and was defeated by a protectionist candidate.

Thomas M'Ilwraith became a dominant political figure in colonial Queensland over the period 1870 to 1896. He was the Member for Warrego from 1870 to 1871, the Member for Maranoa from 1873 to 1878, the Conservative Party Member for Mulgrave from 1878 to 1886 and the Member for North Brisbane from 1888 to 1896. Over this period he was also the Premier of Queensland from 1879 to 1883, for a period of five months in 1888, and again for a third term of seven months in 1893. He was also the Queensland Treasurer from 1879 to 1882 and again from 1890 to 1893 and was knighted in 1882 to become Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith K.C.M.G. Sir Thomas departed Queensland for England in 1895 but remained a minister of the government until 1897. Over the period 1874 to 1895 he was to hold several other ministerial positions related to public works, mines and railways. As well as his intensive interest in politics M'Ilwraith, in common with most political representatives of his time, was an influential businessman. Sir Thomas died in London on the 17th of July 1900.

Note 3: The construction of a Brisbane to Ipswich railway line was then a very contentious political issue subject to much public debate.

The proposal to hold the five month adjournment of the House having been abandoned, and following the ensuing election, the re-election of the sitting Member for Maryborough, the Hon. William Walsh, enabled the survival of the Palmer government. As a consequence a meeting of Roman Catholic electors was held in the Brisbane Town Hall on the 25th of July 1871 to consider the action of the Rev. Father Tissot with regard to Mr. Walsh's re-election to the Maryborough electorate. The result of the vote in this electorate, together with that of Wide Bay, was considered to have been a critical factor in the survival of the government. The meeting attracted a large gathering from all classes of the Catholic population which constituted a significant percentage of the overall voting public at the time. Some details of this meeting are set out in the following passages:

The Mayor of Brisbane, Mr. Francis Murray, was called to the chair, and announced that the meeting had been convened by several members of the Roman Catholic Church to take into consideration the interference of the Rev. Father Tissot into the recently held election in the Maryborough electorate. He went on to state that it was desirable for the meeting to be composed entirely of Roman Catholics as otherwise it would be valueless as it could not then be considered an exclusive expression of the feelings of that body of the electorate. He therefore requested that the gentlemen of all other denominations present at the meeting be kind enough to retire. Those persons present who were not Roman Catholics then obliged the chairman by leaving the hall. At the completion of this exodus the Chairman declared that the meeting had been called in consequence of the

letter by the Rev. Tissot, as published in the Maryborough Chronicle of July 15:

July 14, 1871

Gentlemen,

The importance of the present political crisis demands that every man having the welfare of Queensland at heart should advocate the cause which he thinks best prompted by this feeling. I desire to solicit your support, at the ensuing election, for that candidate who has hitherto served us so faithfully. I would warn my own people especially against being led astray by publications advocating a policy which is opposed to their true interests. The policy of the present Government is one that commends itself to all who desire to see the colony occupy a high position, progress steadily and safely, without danger of largely increased taxation, and I trust that the gentleman who represents that Government in Maryborough, and who looks for your support, will not be disappointed.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble servant,

P. E. Tissot,

The Catholic Presbytery, Maryborough

The Chairman then called for the mover of the first resolution, Dr. Kevin O'Doherty, Note 1 who claimed that he had been requested to propose the following resolution:

"Resolved, that we, Roman Catholic colonists of Queensland, yield to no other class of the community in our desire to uphold in its integrity the free Constitution under which we enjoy the blessings of religious liberty, and we hereby declare that we shall at all times deem it our first duty to resist any attempt to restrict that liberty, come from what quarter it may."

Dr. O'Doherty's initial presentation was greeted with loud cheers. He went on to say that he regretted very much that an occasion should have arisen calling for a declaration of that kind from the Catholics of Brisbane. They were aware that the letter, which had just been read, was published in the Maryborough newspaper prior to the late election, and that letter had appended to it the name of their good priest, Father Tissot. It would be ridiculous of them to call a meeting of their body in this public manner to give an expression of their disapproval to anything that that good man had done.

He said that he had the pleasure of being acquainted with Father Tissot, and he could say that he did not believe that in this colony they had a more pious or apostolic priest than him (Hear, hear). Father Tissot being of French nationality was almost entirely unacquainted with their language, and he did not believe that he ever read a line in any colonial newspaper. That he could have taken such a part as this in their politics seemed to himself (O'Doherty) utterly impossible.

The fact that his (Father Tissot's) name had been thus made use of was only another proof to his (Dr. O'Doherty's) mind of the great inconvenience at all events resulting from His Lordship, their Bishop, having felt it necessary to leave the diocese during his absence almost entirely in charge of clergymen having slight acquaintance with their language, but little sympathy with their feelings, and who most probably were entirely ignorant of the mischief which might result to the Catholic body of the

colony from the publication of such a letter. (Hear, hear)

Now, it was the simple truth, as was stated in the resolution which he had read, that there was no class in the community that had the same interest as them in seeing that religious freedom was strictly adhered to in this colony, for he would venture to say at least ninety per cent of the Roman Catholics of Queensland were Irishmen born and there was no Catholic Irishman in Queensland who had not felt in his native land the curse accruing from religious intolerance. (Hear, hear) They had come out here because under their free institutions no man could dare to question their religious opinions, and they stood here on the platform of perfect equality with all colonists, no matter what their faith was. (Hear, hear)

But they must bear in mind that they constituted a minority in the colony, and any indiscretion, such as the publication of the letter, would naturally have the result that all such indiscretions have had in the neighbouring colonies and other places – the result of pitting against them the majority of their Protestant fellow colonists. (Hear, hear) He need not tell any old resident of Brisbane that many of their fellow colonists had not forgotten the prejudices which they had brought with them to the colony and would be only too glad to have a chance of combining against them.

They had not hitherto given them that chance and he said it with pride and satisfaction. They had thus acted, following the example of their good and wise bishop (Bishop Quinn), who had ever been remarkable, since his arrival in Queensland, for his endeavours to live at perfect peace with his fellow colonists of all denominations. He had no hesitation in saying that there was no bishop in Australia who was more respected or liked by his Protestant fellow colonists.

It appeared to him that the publication of this letter would have a most injurious effect upon the Catholic body in the colony unless they protested against it. (Cheers) If he were asked how it could act injuriously to them his simple answer would be that if it were allowed to be taken as a precedent in election times the result would be, at the next election, that there would be no single denomination whose clergy and pastors might not have letters in the papers abusing one or other candidate. They knew that the result would be to plunge them into the most bitter and absurd religious strife.

It was his belief that Father Tissot was not aware of the result that would accrue if they did not protest against a proceeding of this kind and it was on that account only that he had come forward when requested to protest in the most respectful manner against their clergymen interfering in these election struggles and interfering especially on the *wrong** side. (Cheers) There were about half a dozen of his co-religionist candidates for constituencies at the present election, and he was happy to say that, with one exception (that of Mr. William Walsh), they were all on the *right** side. He then moved the resolution which Mr. Donovan seconded, and it was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously. (* My italics)

Mr. Mooney moved the second resolution, one which he thought would speak for itself and did not require any further advocacy:

"That believing the interference of the Rev. Father Tissot in the recent election at Maryborough and the publication of a letter by him calling upon the Catholic electors to vote for a particular candidate to be at variance with the principles of religious freedom, we deem it to be our duty to give expression to our deep regret thereat and our disavowal of all sympathy with it." The motion was seconded by Mr. Rourke, carried unanimously.

Mr. Cahill moved the third resolution:

"That copies of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted by the Chairman to the Very Rev. Vicar General of the diocese. He would simply say that they could not express in language too strong disapprobation of the action which was taken by Father Tissot or his superiors. He thought it was the duty of every Roman Catholic in the colony to signify his disapproval of such conduct" (Cheers) Mr. Fahey then seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously. Following this resolution, a vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

The *Maryborough Chronicle*, on the 22nd of July, reported that the Rev. James J. Horan, Roman Catholic priest and curate of the Roman Catholic Presbytery, Maryborough was one of those citizens invited to a banquet held at the *Royal Hotel* on the evening of Thursday, the 20th of July, to celebrate the successful re-election of the local Member, the Hon. William Henry Walsh. No doubt the invitation to the good Father was in his position as the delegate for the aging Father Tissot. Reverend Horan, despite strenuous efforts to retain his services in the Fortitude Valley parish, had been transferred to Maryborough from this parish in March 1871 to act as a curate to the Rev. Father Tissot. The transfer was necessitated by the dramatic enlargement in Maryborough's Roman Catholic congregation. Other invited guests to the banquet included the Rev. H. J. Lavers, the Hon. B. B. Moreton, Mr. B. Cribb Esq. P.M. Gayndah, together with Captains Cottier and Smith. The Chair was occupied by Mr. Henry Palmer who was to propose the toast of the evening to *"Their member, the Hon. William Henry Walsh"*. Nearly all the old and influential residents of the town and district attended the banquet and the hotel's large dining room and the adjacent billiard room were filled to overflowing.

The speeches of congratulation delivered including one by Father Horan which followed a toast as proposed by Mr. Eaton to *"our other guests"* coupled with the name of Father Horan. In response Father Horan indicated that the honour was unexpected, and he felt unworthy to reply to such a toast and that his profession forbade him to enter politics. He then went on to say that:

"I must express my admiration that your late member has been again returned, against all kinds of political and other influences that had been brought against him. (Cheers) I had only once met with Mr. Walsh, at Brisbane, before he was a Minister of the Crown and when he was subject to all kinds of raillery and abuse from the Brisbane people but, as most of them were receiving public money, no wonder they made a noise. I hope to live long amongst you, and the more so because of the worthy manner that you have stuck to your member."

There was a further raising of the issue, with two articles on the subject being included in the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* on Saturday the 29th of July 1871. The first article was the Chronicle's report on the Brisbane meeting; the second this newspaper's strong repudiation of the Brisbane meeting's conclusions. Contemporary articles of support for Father Tissot also appeared in the *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*. A reproduction of the Chronicle newspaper's repudiation is given below:

"On the fourth page will be found a report of a meeting of Roman Catholic electors held in Brisbane, on Monday evening last, to take into consideration the action of the Rev. Father Tissot in connection with the recent election for this town. We feel confident that had the speakers at that meeting known all of the circumstances attending this election they would have as heartily approved, as they factually condemned, the conduct of our venerable and revered townsman.

It is an undeniable fact that Catholic emissaries from Brisbane and Gympie did attempt to influence the Catholic electors to give their votes to Mr. King, Note 2 and it was not until Father Tissot saw that insidious influences were being brought to bear on his people that he spoke out in favour of Mr. Walsh. He did not do it privately as a pastor; he did not do it from the altar as a priest; but he spoke out in an independent, honest way as in elector.

Those who know Father Tissot are aware that he is no busy politician to embroil himself in the strife of parties. He lives, beyond all men we have been acquainted with, a life of exclusive devotedness to the interests of his church and the service of his parishioners and we may be sure he would not have stepped out of the ordinary course of that quiet, even and useful life had he not felt strongly that the occasion was so momentous as to call for an expression of opinion on his part.

Father Tissot has ever been a warm friend and supporter of Mr. Walsh and in a manful, honourable way he wrote to the electors of Maryborough on what he conceived to be their duty at the present crisis. Dr. O'Doherty expressed his opinion that the publication of the letter would have a most injurious effect upon the Catholic body in the colony, unless they protested against it, in as much as it might be taken as a precedent by other clergymen and so lead to religious strife. But a careful reading of his words shows that what he most deprecates is not religious strife but strife for what he calls "the wrong side".

We should have heard no complaint of the Rev. Father Tissot if he had but advocated the policy of the late Opposition; indeed we suspect that the worthy doctor himself, if his memory will serve him so far back as 1867, will stand self-convicted in the eyes of a great many people, both in and out of Brisbane, of having actively sided and abetted an organized exercise of the same kind of influence he now depreciates but that was in the case of "patriotism" and "progress" and we all know that circumstances alter cases."

Just when it appeared that the matter could, and probably should, have been laid to rest there was a further raising of the issue. A letter was published in the popular press the content of

which is no longer available, and which probably appeared in the *Chronicle's* rival publication, the *Maryborough Mail*, on the 2nd of August. It was obviously offering criticism of the contents of Father Tissot's original letter as written on the 14th of July. Walter Adams's contribution to the debate was in response to this 'Letter to the Editor' and it was published in the 8th of August issue of the *Maryborough Chronicle*:

Sir,

I observe that your bi-weekly co-temporary of August the 2nd has, if not a novel, a new charge against the Rev. Father Tissot. In reading that fine piece of literature I understood by it that the writer inferred that if clergymen, to whatever denomination they may belong, used their moral influence in political matters such influence would be most dangerous and would degrade their sacred authority and, the more blameless his life and the greater his devotion to his duty, the greater is the power a clergyman can obtain and the more dangerous it becomes to the state when it is brought to bear in favour of any political party.

Now, Sir, that paper, not being to me so safe an authority as to warrant me to give my assent to its assertions without any proof, or with proof of questionable character, perhaps the worthy writer would explain how, with all influences brought to bear on political parties, the most dangerous is that of a minister of religion who is devoted to the wants of poor people, the most moral, the most enlightened and the most concerned in the welfare of their own country. I cannot understand why that a legitimate moral power, be it ever so great, becomes the more dangerous when exerted over men less educated, or how it would be safer for the state that uneducated men should lie under the sole influence of men void of any morality or, not responsible in moral matters, by their office or social condition. As instance the fact that many letters appear in the public papers with a fictitious name.

The writer says again that the influence a minister can gain over his flock is very great, whereupon he infers that such influence in political matters endangers the safety of the state then, I should infer myself, if the influence of the most moral of men should endanger the safety of the state that newspapers, whatever opinion they express or however well conducted, would be equally dangerous, or more so, and would have to be repressed on account of their power being so great especially when exercised over uneducated men - that is the most part of their readers.

There are so many points in that fine article that I cannot understand them all. Perhaps it is because I am not a scholar, a lawyer or a politician but, no doubt, the writer will dispel my doubts by better reasons than the ones quoted in that article, reasons substantial and plain, reasons not full of words void of sense, or of new and questionable assertions which would plunge me in deeper darkness. In order that he may not begin to prove what is out of the question, or that is not questionable, I remark that what I mean is not, on the part of clergymen of any denomination, a religious influence but a moral one because religion or dogmatical creed has nothing to do with secular matters but these same matters, for the welfare of the state and of poor people, are in great need to be carried out with moral principles at the present time.

Humbly yours,

Walter Adams

P.S. The writer must be aware, if not I now beg leave to inform him, that the congregation of which I have the honour to belong was about to hold an indignation meeting to counteract the one in Brisbane but, it having come to the ears of their resident pastor, he at once prevented it although they had the example of their Catholic brethren of Brisbane who, having met at a political meeting and without the approbation of their local pastor, went off on religious matters of the highest order and gave lessons of prudence to their wise and venerated Bishop.

In the August 15th issue of the *Maryborough Chronicle Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, and obviously in response to a follow-up 'Letter to the Editor' from the previously mentioned contributor, there appeared Walter Adams's second reply:

Sir,

Your bi-weekly co-temporary, applying to my letter of the 8th, wishes to make it appear that I cannot speak English.Yet perhaps I may be able to speak common sense without the aid of a fielbergiter's pen or the assistance of a spiritualist to guide it. It may be common to some writers, when failing arguments, to endeavor to write a thing down by abuse but that would be one of the basest subterfuges a man could resort to. It is not my intention to follow the writer in the bombastic style he uses, but endeavor to show him that the "purely secular influence" mentioned in answer lies in the fact that newspaper writers and public men rely on articles of a purely secular nature to support their appeals, whereas a clergyman, to whatever denomination he belongs "brings to bear an authority for which he claims a divine origin" is altogether out of the question.

A clergyman who will venture to speak on public matters will always rely on arguments of a purely secular nature, neither more nor less than newspapers or public men, and never on those of a religious kind, or on account of his authority as a clergyman, which would be no use and, in my mind, quite ridiculous. If the moral influence of a clergyman is augmented because he is a minister of religion, this very fact would be in favor of the public welfare, inasmuch as his special position binds him to be a moral man, and always to make good use of the power thus granted to his character.

Apologising for again troubling you

I am, Sir, humbly yours,

Walter Adams

Following this epistle, a relative peace appears to have descended upon the Maryborough political scene.

Note 1: Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty was by then an immigrant with an interesting background. He was born in Dublin in 1823 and commenced his medical studies there. He joined the *Young Irish League* and, for participating in a demonstration, was imprisoned, convicted and transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1848-49. Whilst there he was granted a conditional pardon and then relocated to Sydney and on to Brisbane. He was granted an unconditional pardon in 1856 and returned to Dublin to complete his studies for a medical degree. On returning to Brisbane he was elected, first as an M.L.A. and then, over the period 1877 to 1886, as an M.L.C. in the Queensland Parliament. In 1885 Charles Parnell invited him to return to Ireland to represent the Irish National Party in the House of Commons. He accepted the offer and sat in that House for a short period. On returning to Queensland he became a leading Catholic layman in the Brisbane area, a staunch supporter of Bishop Quinn (and was also on

record as having supported the Anglican Bishop of Brisbane) and a generous donor to the construction of Brisbane's *St. Stephen's Cathedral*.

Note 2: Mr. H. E. King was Mr. Walsh's opponent in the local election in the reporting of which the *Chronicle* and the contributors to its 'Letters to the Editor' appeared to have been decidedly in favour of Mr. Walsh's re-election.

In 1871 Walter Adams gave a clear signal that he had recognised an opportunity and challenge to the north. On the 28th of January he purchased three allotments in the fledgling town of Bundaberg at an auction conducted in Maryborough. He resigned from the Maryborough Council, and from his position as Chairman of the Works Committee, divested himself of his well-established business interests and of his property holdings all in preparation for his move to the Burnett. To mark the occasion, the citizens of Maryborough made a presentation to Mr. Adams in acknowledgment of his significant services to the development of the Maryborough district. The *Maryborough Chronicle* of the 16th of January 1872 gave the following description of the meeting that, with its accompanying presentations, was held to mark Walter's departure:

Our old townsman, Alderman Adams, being about to quit Maryborough to settle on the Burnett River, where he has made a large selection of land, it was judged by those who have long known him and watched his career here, that he ought not to leave the district without some recognition of his public services amongst us.

Mr. Adams has never shirked taking that active part in social and political interests which we hold it is the duty of every good citizen to do, and even those who may differ from his views give him credit for his energy and honesty of purpose. Accordingly, on Saturday afternoon, a few townsmen, who had taken the lead in the matter, met at the Council Chamber and Mr. Travis, on being called to the chair, said that it was very gratifying to him to be asked to preside on that occasion. They had met to express their high esteem of the person and character of Mr. Walter Adams. He had known him for many years, in fact he came here as a working man, and he had not only worked for himself but had worked heart and soul for the benefit of the community.

Mr. Adams had identified himself with every public movement, and he was sure that one and all would miss his valuable services. He was sorry to say they could not keep him longer; there was none that would wish him God speed with better feelings than he did, and he knew that one and all had the same good wishes towards him. Following Mr. Maurice S. Walsh's apology for the absence of Messrs. Sheridan and Palmer, who were at the Bay in response to an urgent call, he testified to the good services rendered by their departing townsman, who he would much miss as a public man.

Mr. M'Dermott, the Rev. Father Horan and Mr. J. P. Lyons, followed with speeches of a similar kindly and regretful fashion on Mr. Adams's departure. Mr. Travis then presented Mr. Adams with the following testimonial, beautifully written and adorned on parchment, their good wishes for the happiness and

prosperity of Mr. Adams, and for his wife, as a warm co-operator in every good cause:

"To Mr. Walter Adams,

We, the undersigned, residents of Maryborough, having heard with regret that it is your intention to remove from the district, desire to avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing our sincere regard for you, and to mark our sense of the loss we shall sustain by your removal. During a residence here of many years you have invariably identified yourself with every public movement calculated to confer a benefit on the community, and your zeal and energy have ever been employed, when required, in a good cause. Feeling assured that your high character will be appreciated, and begging you will accept the accompanying gift, we wish, wherever your lot may be cast, yourself and your family happiness and prosperity in your new sphere.

We remain, dear Sir, your sincere friends."

Mr. Adams replied:

"Gentlemen, after my seventeen years' residence among you, it is with feelings of gratitude and pride that I receive your magnificent testimonial and its accompanying gift. Of gratitude, because you and my fellow townsmen generally are so kind as to forget, at the moment of my departure, our many little differences on questions of public interest, and to bid me God speed in such a friendly manner.

Of pride, because I can hand them down as an heirloom to my children, to emulate their spirit of enterprise, to awake in them the laudable ambition of being useful to their fellow townsmen, and to implant deeply in their hearts the praiseworthy desire of becoming good and industrious members of society. There is nothing I hope for with greater earnestness than that they (my children) may attain these great ends, because by so doing they are sure to meet with that future happiness and prosperity which you so kindly wish them as well as myself.

Allow me then, gentlemen, to thank you most sincerely and gratefully for your beautiful testimonial and handsome gift, and also for the kind wishes for the well-being of my family and myself. I can assure you that, although my sphere of action may be elsewhere, my good wishes shall be with Maryborough and its inhabitants; my thoughts shall constantly revert to those from whom I have experienced so much real kindness, and amongst whom the best as well as the most happy days of my life have been spent.

I might add that should Maryborough ever require my humble services, they shall be as willingly and entirely devoted to it in the future as well as they have been in the past. The interests of Bundaberg, where I mean to dwell, and Maryborough, from which I am about to depart, are, and I hope ever will be, nearly identical. Therefore, in this promise of my services I combine the prosperity of both places.

Again begging to express my high appreciation of your kindness, I venture to assure you that your handsome present shall continually serve to remind me of the deep gratitude I owe you, and to preserve in my heart a sincere wish that Providence may always watch over Maryborough and its inhabitants."

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, which received an appropriate response, concluded the meeting. The gift, a handsome gold watch, and a brooch for Mrs. Adams were to await the engraver, and then to follow the recipient to his new home.

Walter's earliest selection in the Burnett was made in 1871 and was a homestead block of 140 acres that consisted of 10 acres of agricultural and 130 acres of second-class pastoral land. It was positioned on the north bank of the Burnett River in South Kolan. His next selection was in the *Gin Gin* district and was of 320 acres.



A settler's slab hut



Bourbon Street, Bundaberg in the 1870's

Chapter 5

Setbacks and Achievements

THE YEAR OF 1872

On the 28th of January 1871, Walter Adams purchased three allotments in the fledgling town of Bundaberg at an auction held in Maryborough. The population of the Bundaberg township would then have numbered about two hundred, and the population of the combined town and adjacent districts approximated five hundred persons. The number of females in this pre-residential population was a very small.

The settlement of agricultural and pastoral land in the Lower Burnett was well underway by the year 1868, the year in which the surveying of the future town's allotments had commenced. Initially, Bundaberg's allotments were auctioned in Maryborough, the first auction held in Bundaberg not taking place until August 1872. Mr. J. Y. Walker claimed the town's name was a hybrid construction, the 'Bunda' component being derived from the name of the local aboriginal clan which had adopted into its midst the surveyor, Mr. Edwards, who had been engaged to peg out the layout of the town with *Bunda* having become his 'nick' name. The *berg* [Note 1] may have been a corruption of either 'burg' or 'burgh' hence the name Bundaberg or Bunda's Town.

Note 1: An alternatively proposal was that *berg* could have been of Germanic origin as could be the prefix *bund* (meaning an assembly).

A proposal by the *Mt. Perry Mining Company*, operating under Mr. Vickery's direction, for the construction of a road from the Mount Perry mine to Bundaberg was opposed by William Henry Walsh, the owner of *Monduran* and the Member for Maryborough from 1865 to 1873, as he preferred the construction of a road that led the mine to his own electoral base in Maryborough. The construction of a railway line from Mount Perry to Bundaberg, to be held under private ownership, was also

proposed by the *Mt. Perry Mining Company* in 1872. Construction would have been under the 'land grant principle' but this was also opposed by William Henry Walsh who was then both Member for Maryborough and Minister for Works under the Palmer government.

In March 1872 Walter Adams selected a block of 240 acres comprising 75 acres of agricultural land and 165 acres of second-class pastoral land between the Burnett River and Mon Repos on the northern edge of the Woongarra Scrub. This property, that was to become his principal rural holding and future plantation, was named *Summerville*.

In January, 1872 the Acting Commissioner of Lands approved the allocation of 10 acres of agricultural land and 230 acres of pastoral land under conditional purchase in the Barolin Run, County of Cook to Mr. J. E. Noakes and the allocation of 150 acres of second class pastoral land of the adjacent surveyed area to his brother George Noakes. The holding of Charles Faulkner was between *Summerville* and the James Noakes property. In the following month the name of Mr. J. E. Noakes was added to the list of aldermen elected to the Maryborough Council.

The blocks of land adjacent to *Summerville*, as selected by Charles Faulkner and the Noakes brothers, consisted of holdings south of Walter's selection. These blocks were located further from the river and, following the clearing of the scrub, would have held a larger percentage acreage of the highly productive volcanic, scrub soil. Proximity to river transport might have been a factor in Walter's land selection and if so this consideration may have been suggested by his friend George Greathead who, in 1868, had set up the first regular coastal shipping service between Maryborough and Bundaberg. This service followed an earlier Maryborough to Bundaberg coastal service established in 1866 by the captain of the ketch *Enterprise*, William Collin, to transport timber from the Bundaberg area. Alternatively, the cost of land may have been a consideration in Walter's selection as Woongarra's prime, volcanic soil was more expensive and covered by dense rainforest that involved an additional expense of £10 per acre to clear. The *Summerville* plantation was cleared by its first Bailiff, Mr. D. Kennen, over the period February to June 1872 with Walter's sons, George Manus and James Walter assisting. By 1872 the captaincy of the *Enterprise* had passed into the hands of Captain Johnson.

At full development Charles Faulkner's Woongarra plantation employed 10 Europeans and 60 Islanders. It cultivated 372 acres, mostly under cane, and had crushing and milling equipment worth £4,000 that had a daily production rate of 8,000 gallons of juice which was later conveyed by seven miles of pipeline to the *Millaquin Refinery*.

In his anxiety to acquire an income producing business in his newly adopted district Walter proceeded to rent the *Burnett Hotel* from Mr. Campbell and announced his determination to be second to none in providing thirsty Bundaberg citizens with good quality liquor. This is Walter's first known venture into the world of the publican. It preceded the construction of the *Adams Hotel*, in 1872-73, on the corner of Barolin and Bourbon (now Bourbong) Streets and exemplified his adaptability to the conduct of business in general.

In May 1872 William Southerden transferred his Quay Street Bundaberg store's operation to Mr. J. H. Cathcart, who had previously been its manager, and redirected his energies towards Mount Perry mining ventures, auctioneering and brokerage activities. His interest in the mining ventures included the position of acting director for the *Normanby* mine and as chairman of the *Mt Clara* copper mine.

Walter Adams's first major construction work provided valuable infrastructure for the use of all settlers to the east of Bundaberg which, of course, included himself. In 1872 he, together with the other residents of the rapidly developing Woongarra Scrub, had to travel to town via a lengthy route: south-east of the town to skirt the Baldwin Swamp and Saltwater Creek waterholes, west to a causeway probably in the vicinity of the present Targo Street, then north to the township's centre. Walter's solution was to prepare a tender for the construction of a bridge across the creek at the Bywash where the discharge from the fresh groundwater fed Baldwin Swamp, then a great habitat for platypus and brown snakes, flowed into Bundaberg Creek. As it appeared that he was the only person in the settlement in a position to carry out the construction he prepared, and then submitted, a tender to the Government with an appended application for the funds necessary to commence the work. The tendering presented him with a quandary as the proposed bridge would be an asset not only to the community but also to himself and so he submitted a tender that he knew to be low and which he was assured would therefore be acceptable to the Treasury.

As all were keen to have the bridge constructed, he went ahead using his own funds. Unfortunately, a cash-strapped Treasury claimed that the cost was too high, and it took a considerable amount of time and effort for Walter to obtain a financial settlement of £329. The *Adams Bridge* was the first bridge built in the Bundaberg district and it was the one that did most to satisfy an immediate need. This early bridge was later to be replaced by the combined weir and bridge, located on the Bywash adjacent to the site of the Steindl and Fleming's brewery that was to open in 1883. This weir boosted the town water supply's capacity both by increasing the freshwater storage and by acting as a barrier separating the fresh and, in those days, spring-fed Baldwin Swamp water from the intrusion of tidal, turbid river water.

Walter's connection with his old town was reactivated in August, 1872 when a boiler explosion at a Maryborough sawmill killed three workers, left nine others severely wounded and rendered fifteen children orphans. A meeting convened by the Mayor of Maryborough to establish a relief fund for the families of the men who had been killed or maimed by the explosion was held in the Maryborough Court House. The meeting established a committee to collect and distribute aid to the needy victims. Approximately eighty persons throughout the lower Mary-Burnett River Districts were appointed to carry out the meeting's financial objectives. This list included the names of Messrs. William Southerden, Robert Cran, Henry Palmer, James Noakes, Walter Adams, Dean Tissot and Richard Palmer.

Walter Adams's selection of a homestead block of 140 acres on the north bank of the Burnett River located approximately 14 miles south-west of Bundaberg in South Kolan and another selection of 320 acres in the *Gin Gin* area were acquisitions that he later came to regret. There are no known records of his attempt to develop the Gin Gin district block and, in a letter to the Land Commissioner on 7th of October 1872, he sought to forfeit this holding's lease. By mistake the South Kolan lease was cancelled instead and Walter then sought its reinstatement.

Subsequent developments were to demonstrate that he would have been better off not going to this bother as the acquisition of the Kolan property was to result in an extremely costly and frustrating experience. This experience was also to be encountered, in varying forms, by many of the early settlers due to the serious, though given the existing constraints probably inevitable, lag in the official survey of their selections. Walter's letter of the 17th of March 1875 that was addressed to the Land Commissioner describes the nature of the debacle that was to follow. A copy of this letter is presented below:

Sir,

On the 25th of November, 1871 I selected a homestead selection for the purpose of actual settlement by myself and family on the Kolan run and, on the 18th of January following, left Maryborough and proceeded whither to settle upon said selection. Before leaving I was promised that my selection should be surveyed as soon as possible. I was also informed if I was to erect my buildings and make my improvements as near as possible to a marked tree that I should then be in about the middle of the said selection. After arrival on the spot selected, and with a great deal of trouble and delay I found the tree as described and commenced operations. After spending four months, from January to May, on the spot selected erecting a four roomed slab house at a cost of about £20, a stockyard at £30, besides felling five acres of the timber where the best of the land was located I was informed by the surveyor that, when the block was surveyed, my improvements would be out of the lease. **Note 1** *I was then left in a dilemma and, not knowing what to do, I left to reside in the town of Bundaberg and from that day I have had no official notice of its survey and, as you are aware on inquiry at your office, I was informed that it was not marked as surveyed on the map and neither has there been any official notification of it having been surveyed. Seeing now that nearly four years has elapsed since selection and that I have spent in improvements over £60 and that now the land is useless to me, having to shift my labor and capital elsewhere, I would beg that I may be allowed to transfer it for the selection lately forfeited by Symonds on the Barolin run being selection 307 portion (...?) and against the selection owned by me and where I am now working and have worked since it was surveyed although in doing this I shall lose my improvements on the other, yet I am prepared to do so, not for the essential value of the land mentioned but simply because it is adjoining the site of my other operations. I am emboldened to ask this transfer as I believe the present Government wishes to do justice to all bonafide selectors and I am sure they cannot fail to see that it would be a great hardship for me to lose my homestead and improvements without being able to take other in its place and letting the rent and survey fee go as payment – the improvements*

I am willing to lose (with) the land, through the delay, becoming useless to me.

I have the Honour to Be, Sir, Your Humble Servant,

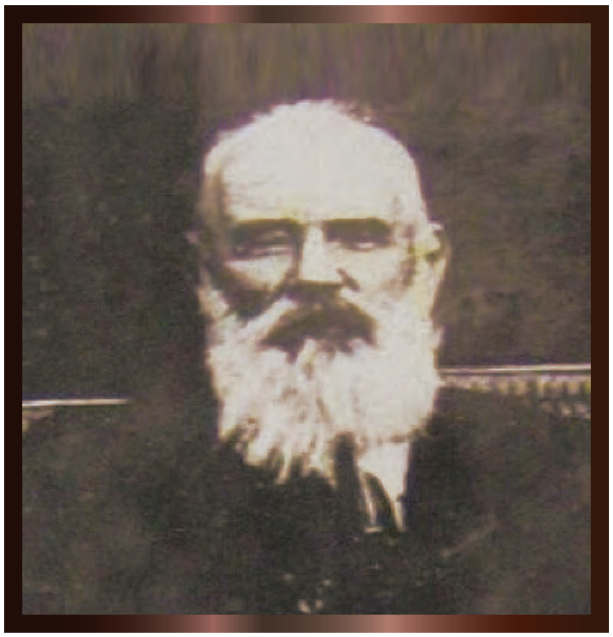
Walter Adams

The *"selection owned by me"* was Summerville. The *"selection lately forfeited by Symonds"* was Lot No. 207, not 307, selected by Frederick Lewis Symons and forfeited on the 19th of February 1875 which consisted of approximately 112 acres in a triangular block on the northern boundary of Summerville. Walter Adams was unsuccessful in gaining this Symons selection. However, his request to transfer the fees to Barolin was granted on 1st of June 1875. It was Joseph Gillen who was to successfully apply for the Simon(d)s land, and his *Certificate of Fulfillment of Conditions* was granted in 1877.

Note 1: Walter had indeed erected the house and yards on a property adjoining his own, one selected by John Nolan, and so he proceeded to seek the transfer of the lease on his Kolan selection to a recently relinquished block adjacent to his existing Barolin property.

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Alexander Walker was an early and prominent citizen of both Gayndah and Bundaberg. He was born in Garrock, Scotland in 1826 and migrated to New South Wales at 22 years of age arriving in Sydney in 1848 in the sailing ship *Emperor*. He arrived in the embryonic settlement that was to become Maryborough in the *James and Amelia* a small coastal vessel reputed to be only the second ship to enter the Mary River. Following a short period of station experience



Mr Alexander Walker

Mr. Walker relocated to Norton's Camp, shortly to become Gayndah, where he erected the town's fourth building, which was to become its first general store. Mr. Walker became the district's first postmaster, the proprietor of the *Gayndah Hotel* and the owner of two nearby pastoral stations – the *Mount Cyrus* and *Woodmiller* properties. In early 1862 he led an expedition to explore the Burnett River from Gayndah to its mouth, returning to Gayndah in mid to late February of that year. He was subsequently to acquire, and to stock, the *Bingera* pastoral runs formerly held by Mr. Marshall.

A contract was entered into in October 1872 to transport Mount Perry copper to the port of Bundaberg and the projected construction of a dedicated road from the copper mines to Bundaberg gave a significant boost in confidence

to the area. Agitation for the construction of this road had been led by Alexander Walker with Walter Adams contributing assistance by applying the experience gained whilst Chairman of the Maryborough Works Committee. Storekeepers no longer talked of selling out and relocating to Mount Perry and one storekeeper, who had covered his premises with multicoloured advertisements announcing his intention to clear all stock at any price, changed his mind and removed the unsightly posters. As there was no cross-river bridge at this time another storekeeper erected a branch store on the Mount Perry side of the river close to the newly constructed hotel. Bundaberg, in recovery from its prior depression, was on the way to renewed prosperity.

Consequent to the confirmation of the government's intention to construct the Bundaberg-Mount Perry road a meeting was held at the *School of Arts* to create a Road Board and to obtain nominations for the board's representatives. At the commencement of the meeting Mr. Adams elicited from the chairman, Mr. J. Steuart that, in the chairman's opinion, owners of property on both sides of the river were entitled to vote, and to be voted on, for Board positions. Acting on this information, Walter Adams proposed *"That Messrs. A. Walker, J. Steuart, R. Randall, J. Foley and himself be nominated as fit and proper persons to act in conjunction with the Government in expending the expected grant."* The motion was seconded by Mr. Coleman and carried. Following the provision of advice by Mr. Adams on the advisability of communicating with the relevant Government departments as a matter of some urgency the meeting concluded.

In November Mr. W. Southerden retired from his store-keeping business in Maryborough, sold the Kent and Richmond Street premises to the *National Bank of Queensland* and, in February, 1873, resigned from his representation of the Maryborough Council's North Ward.

In December 1872 it was reported from Maryborough that, while searching for fireclay, a discovery of copper ore had been made in the vicinity of *Yengarie* in what was known as Tooth and Cran's big paddock. The discovery was described as *"a fine lode traceable on the surface for a considerable distance."*

THE YEAR OF 1873

On the 3rd of January 1873 the first step was taken to formalize the district's civic development process with the establishment of a *Bundaberg Progress Committee*, its formation considered to be essential in the absence of a legislatively registered board or council. Its membership was John W. Steuart (Chairman), Walter Adams, George T. Bell, Samuel Johnston and Alexander Walker. The committee's purpose was to establish and maintain communication with the Colonial Government by liaison with its heads of departments and the relevant parliamentary representatives on all significant issues likely to affect the interests of the town and district.

At the first committee meeting, a ten-point list of the most urgent requirements was compiled. The listed requirements were:

(a) Roads [Note 1] to the Pilot Station at Burnett Heads, Gayndah and Maryborough;

(b) Telegraphic communications;

(c) Allocation of a fair share of immigrants with quarters for same;

(d) A punt to traverse the Burnett River;

(e) Beacons at the river mouth;

(f) A bridge to extend Bourbon Street over Saltwater Creek;

(g) Bi-weekly mail services to Maryborough and Mount Perry;

(h) The principal streets to be cleared of timber;

(i) The placing of roads under the control of a road trust; and

(j) Reserves for the hospital, cemetery, school, grounds for cricket and other recreation purposes, botanical gardens and racecourse.

The first *Bundaberg Progress Committee* had a short life; its last minutes being recorded in March 1873. However, prior to that date it had established priorities for the acquisition of the Bundaberg community's most crucial amenities. On the urgent list were projects that Walter Adams himself had agreed to undertake. These were the commencement of work on the town's most trafficked roads and the construction of a telegraph line from the township to the pilot station at Burnett Heads. In addition, he had undertaken the construction of the Bundaberg to Bingera road which could serve as the first stage of a road through to Mount Perry. These last two undertakings were completed in January 1875 and March 1873 respectively.

Note 1: Given the concepts and conveniences bestowed upon us by the 21st century the meaning of the word "road" in this context should be viewed with some caution. In the bush of the 19th century a "road" would be viewed merely as a conduit for the passage of travellers, or more appropriately goods, between settlements. In the absence of roads, whilst travellers may obtain passage either on foot or on horseback, goods required haulage either by packhorse, wagon or water transport. In 19th century Queensland the clearing of vegetation and the removal of solid objects such as tree stump, logs or rocks combined with basic grading, in order to create a means of passage between settlements for horse (and bullock) drawn vehicles, would be classed as 'road' construction.

The cultural side of the new town's development was an issue that was no longer to be ignored. The first annual meeting of the *School of Arts Committee* members took place on the 28th of January 1873 with Mr. R. Stephenson occupying the chair. The annual report was read by Mr. W. E. Curtis who had, in 1870, established a private school in the town, and the motion for its adoption was moved by Walter Adams, seconded by John Cathcart and carried. The results, as reported, were regarded as being highly satisfactory, especially from a financial point of view, with a positive balance of £55 which included an allowance for the purchase of books that had been ordered but not yet delivered.

During the preceding year the enlargement of the library's book hall had made room for installation of the bookcases needed to house the books on order and other acquisitions. Since the previous July the library had been well patronized with about 450 books being issued to borrowers. In addition to the books the reading room was supplied with the *Graphic*,

Illustrated Sydney News, *Punch*, *Home News*, *Saturday Review*, *Australasian*, *Sydney Mail*, *Queenslander*, *Maryborough Chronicle*, *Wide Bay and Burnett News*, *Mount Perry Mail*, *Port Denison Times*, and also the *Cornhill* and *London Society* magazines. The annual report thanked the ladies and gentlemen who had assisted in the organization of some very successful entertainments and the proprietors of the *Wide Bay and Burnett News*, *Maryborough Chronicle*, *Mount Perry Mail* and *Port Denison Times* newspapers for placing the library on their free distribution lists. The meeting then proceeded with the election of members to form the coming year's committee. Those elected were: President, Alfred H. Brown, Vice-president, Joseph Hughes, Honorary-secretary, W. E. Curtis with Committee members, Messrs. R. Stephenson, G. T. Bell, J. H. Cathcart, J. J. Phillips, and F. W. Long. The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the outgoing committee proposed by Walter Adams and seconded by Mr. F. Long.

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In March 1873 a telegraph office was established on Gin Gin's future town site as a component of the telegraphic connection between Mount Perry and Bundaberg that was completed in May of that year. By October 1873, the Gin Gin telegraph line had been extended north to Gladstone and then to Rockhampton and, by 1874, the line had been extended south to Maryborough, then to Gympie, and on to Brisbane by 1875. Bundaberg was now connected, not only to Brisbane, but also to London and to the world at large via the overland telegraph line to Darwin with its linkage to the British undersea cable network.

In the meanwhile, development on the north side of the river continued with two additional freight receiving stores under construction. This construction emphasized the need for a reliable cross-river ferry service the necessity for which was being felt more acutely with each passing week. With cross-river trade steadily increasing it was thought that an evaluation of the ferry's demand would have resulted in the issue of a favourable report to the Government by its representative, Mr. Bragg. Two parties, one of whom had held the lease of a Maryborough ferry for some time, had written to the Minister for Works undertaking to provide both the passenger boats and a punt provided that they were granted a license to run the service for five years and were awarded reasonable royalty payments.

Following the return to government of the Liberal Party in 1873, and of the subsequent replacement of Thomas M'Ilwraith by Mr. King as Minister for Works, a much more enthusiastic and pro-active railways policy was adopted. The focus shifted from M'Ilwraith's policy to construct the Transcontinental Railway under 'land grant' principles to the construction of numerous, smaller railway connections including those from Gympie to Maryborough and from Mount Perry to Bundaberg. However, government finances were then in a straightened condition and Mr. King was to resign.

The Bates family acquired farming land on the *Walla Run* to trial the farming of wheat in 1873 but later turned to cattle grazing. This decision may have been due, at least in part, to the presence of the Bingera Falls that were only navigable to commercial river traffic during times of healthy river flow.

Walter Adams, relying upon his Maryborough Council experience and on his conviction that *"the future of Bundaberg no man can predict"*, became a prime agent in securing the necessary reserves for public purposes while the most suitable land could still be obtained at affordable prices. Up to this time only the reserves for the race course, School of Arts and the national school had been secured and the pressing need for the cemetery's relocation made the acquisition of a suitable reserve of the highest priority.

The urgent need of a suitable cemetery reserve had again been brought to the fore by the recent burial of an old gentleman who had been interred to join the few others who had died, and been buried, in the fledgling township. The location of the then current, and controversial, cemetery site was on an allotment diagonally opposite the site of the present Anglican Church in Woongarra Street. The *Progress Committee* had included this and other issues in a general representation to the Government on the immediate needs of the district but the nature of the Government's response to the petitions had been one of both circumlocution and of the resort to red-tape. This had not been at all helpful in obtaining an appropriate cemetery site and raised the question as to why the local surveyor could not be directed to exercise his own discretion in selecting and in surveying a replacement site.

A minority of the townsmen believed that the existing burial ground was sufficiently distant from the town centre and that the town would never extend beyond it in their own, or in their children's, lifetimes. Never-the-less a trust was established and Walter Adams, in co-operation with Alexander Walker of *Bingera* station, selected the present General Cemetery site and then lodged a request for the reserve's dedication. A slight hiccup then arose with the need to challenge a Lands Office application, by the district surveyor John Charlton Thompson, for an agriculture block in a location that coincided with the site of the proposed General Cemetery reserve. This problem was overcome and it was to occur that, by chance, Mr. Thompson's wife Hannah was the first person to be buried in the new cemetery, the reserve's dedication being gazetted in September 1873.

Walter's attention was then drawn towards the establishment of a racecourse on the recently designated racecourse reserve held in trust with Alexander Walker, J. Hughes and R. Stevenson as its designated trustees. Walter Adams and Thomas Watson co-operated in the collection of £30 to cover the cost of surveying and clearing the course. The local surveyor's quote for a survey to mark the circle of the track was £10 and this expenditure would have left too little in the kitty to complete the remainder of the works. It fell upon Walter, John Foley, and Frederick Coleman, between 9 o'clock one morning and 3 o'clock that afternoon, to mark off the running ground for that which still remains the Bundaberg race course. Family lore maintained that enthusiasm for the clearing of the track had been obtained by the provision of suitable sustenance to the voluntary workers present at the end of the day's clearing. This sustenance was supplied by Walter's recently opened *Adams Hotel*. A *Christmas Races Committee* was formed in 1875 and the first, and very well attended,

Christmas races were held in December of that year.

Mr. Bradford, who had been appointed to superintend the erection of the telegraph line between Bundaberg and *Gin Gin*, arrived in Bundaberg as a passenger on the steamer *Queensland* to inspect the country in the vicinity of *Bingera* and to select the location of the most suitable Burnett River crossing for the telegraph line. The route to the north of the river had already been selected by Mossman and Maunsell and the line's erection was then proceeding along this route in a southerly direction from *Gin Gin*. From the south side of the selected river crossing's location the completed line would follow a route into Bundaberg as cleared by Walter Adams under contract.

With the workings of the alluvial goldfields at Gympie having given way to the hard-rock mining of the larger, well capitalised mining companies the attention of the smaller miners in the Mary River district switched to the copper rich area at Ban Ban between Maryborough and Gayndah. However, it was possible that there were other, undiscovered mineral resources that could be commercially exploited. Being well aware of the implications of the Industrial Revolution, by virtue of his Somerset, Hunter River and Maryborough experiences, Walter Adams was very eager to acquire for Bundaberg the same energy source that had supported the introduction of manufacturing industries in Maryborough ten years earlier. This consideration would have influenced his decision in early August to make an application to the Lands Office in Maryborough for a 140 acre mineral selection near Bundaberg over land that possessed coal bearing potential. Frederick Coleman, John Butler and James A. Murray applied for tenements in the same vicinity and in the same week.

From August 1873 to August 1874 George Manus Adams, Walter's elder son now eighteen years old, acquired useful, practical experience whilst acting as the *Summerville* plantation's bailiff.

THE YEAR OF 1874

In January 1874 Thomas M'Ilwraih was appointed to the position of Secretary for Public Works and Mines and, being a civil engineer as well as a professional politician, this seems to have been a very appropriate appointment. From Bundaberg's point of view the appointment boded well as, in the following month, the newly installed Secretary departed from Brisbane to visit the towns of Gympie, Maryborough, Bundaberg, Gladstone and Rockhampton.

In August 1874 Walter Adams wrote a 'Letter to the Editor' of the *Maryborough Chronicle* stoutly defending Bundaberg's claim to a wharf that would enable it to compete with Maryborough's existing wharf in the transportation of the Mount Perry district's imports and exports. The following letters give an indication of the degree of rivalry over this issue then in existence between the two townships.

Sir,

It would appear by your leading article of the 13th that your railway whistle was blown before the steam could be cut off, or you could never have worked yourself up in such a fright as to imagine

such engineering difficulties existed between here and the Mount Perry mines. Had you written on reliable authority, or personal inspection, you would have found the difficulty only existed in your fertile imagination. It would be best for them to bide their time and leave their claim to survey for, to convince a man against his will, he will be of the same opinion still. As to the Australian Steam Navigation Company Note 1 being afraid to risk their larger boats up our river, and your argument about one or two ominous groundings of the (ship) Queensland, it seems absurd and this could, with very little trouble, be proved. Was the captain of the Queensland, on a very dark night to miss the channel and try to cross a portion of Woody Island you would then have a similar case as when she struck on the sand bank here and, as to the mud banks, they are nil. Sand banks there are, as there are in the Mary, which cannot be got over at low water. It is not beyond the memory of man when that able seaman, Captain Knight, left Maryborough with the City of Melbourne, steamer, and seven days afterwards returned for provisions and afterwards (a similar incident occurred) with the Waratah steamer. No one will be so foolhardy as to accuse Captain Knight of trying to blast the interest of Maryborough, or question his seamanship, yet this happened on more than one occasion.

The Brisbane people raised a cry that large steamers could not, with safety, go to the Maryborough wharf and remunerate the Company, yet years of experience show that vessels of large tonnage can, with perfect safety, go to the Maryborough wharf and remunerate all concerned - as instance the Omeo. Maryborough being now established as a port, you deem to be walking in the footsteps of others in endeavoring to haul down everything that would not peculiarly advance its interest. No steamer has, as yet, been detained in the Burnett a single night, nor are they likely to be. Our port will prove itself to be, if not better than, equal to Maryborough.

I am, Sir, Yours Truly,

Walter Adams

To which the Maryborough Chronicle's Editor replied:

We have no doubt that, under the able championship of the writer, Bundaberg will develop into a port before which Maryborough will "pale its ineffectual fires." Meantime, we would remark that, for a place gifted with so much self-assertion, it is very early to begin petitioning the Government to deepen the river, and the necessity for doing so is rather inconsistent with the magni-eloquence of our correspondent on its behalf. Our river, too, wants deepening but we have had to develop our commerce without any such assistance during more than twenty years and Maryborough is assuredly not going to relinquish, without a struggle, her well-earned claim to be regarded as the entry port of the district and the ultimate terminus of its future railway system.

The Editor,

Maryborough Chronicle

Note 1: Normally referred to in the local press by its acronym A.S.N. Co. Its Bundaberg operations were initially based on the first north bank wharf as constructed by the Steuart Brothers.

In October 1874 the Colonial Government accepted the tenders for construction of the various telegraph lines listed below:

- Bundaberg and Burnett Heads, Mr. Walter Adams;
- Keppel Bay and Cape Capricorn, Mr. Joseph Martindale;
- Palmer and Cooktown, Mr. William Strickland;
- Charleville and Tambo, Mr. Bernard M. Flynn;
- Waterview and Lower Herbert, Henry Simmonds.

On the 29th of October 1874 Walter Adams was granted the conditional purchase of a lease on 157 acres 2 roods of second-class pastoral land at South Bundaberg in an area which is now bounded by the Bundaberg-Maryborough Railway, Thabeban Road, Walker Street and an extended Faldt Street. This block was Portion 32, Parish of Bundaberg, County of Cook and had been occupied from on or about July 1873. Records of the 14th of October 1876 indicate that James Adams, Walter's son, was appointed as the Selector's Bailiff responsible for the land's development with George, his elder brother, providing any further assistance that may have been required. The inspector's report contained what was probably Jim's first work reference being rated as *"generally useful and attends school"* and *"not employed elsewhere."*

Improvements as described in the *Letter of Fulfillment* were:

- About 150 chains split post and rail fence, two rails £135
- Stockyard three rails and cap with calf pen £15
- House weatherboard and shingle £24
- Two acres garden, stumped and cleared £20
- To a total value of £194, everything in good order.

This property was used both as the family's horse paddock and as a holding paddock for the working horses when on agistment. Hector Burkitt in a letter of 10th of June 1876 to his superiors at the Land Office enclosing the *Certificate of Fulfillment* expressed concern that his predecessor had been mistaken in classifying this property, together with the adjacent allotments, as Second Class Pastoral. He maintained that the land was in close proximity to the Bundaberg urban area, within one and one quarter miles of the nearest sold town lots and, as such, the greater portion should have been valued at £1 per acre and the remainder at fifteen shillings per acre under the provisions of the Act. He further argued that the presence of a two-acre garden indicated that its ground was suitable for cultivation and must be superior to Second Class Pastoral Land. Notwithstanding this stricture the deed was granted on the 10th of May 1877 and Walter may have received a bargain for his outlay of five shillings per acre.

In the scrublands following the land clearing, and after tree stump removal, the horse plough could then be utilized, there being no stump-jump plough in those days. Maize's edible grain, corn, was as important to the farmer of the 1870's as is dieseline to the farmer of today. It was virtually the only

source of external energy then available for use in agriculture, other than manpower itself, as it was horses (usually Clydesdales in Queensland) that performed the heavy work on the larger acreages. As ploughed or cultivated fields were devoid of any pasture to provide for their grazing these horses required an alternative food source, usually grain. An average Clydesdale horse had enough strength to raise a 550-pound weight one foot in one second, i.e. one horsepower (HP).

Maize, which had either to be grown or its corn seed purchased, would have provided the high energy food needed for these hard-working animals during the period of ploughing that preceded the planting. Some of the larger plantations had up to 100 working horses and it is probable that the *Summerville* plantation had from 12 to 15 of these working animals. In the off season the *Summerville* horses could be grazed in the large horse paddock, located to the south of the town and positioned mainly to the west of the existing railway line, far removed from the Woongarra's agricultural lands. Daily commuting between the south Bundaberg horse paddock and the *Summerville* plantation would not have been feasible and, in addition, adequate pasturage was not available to the draught horses whilst working on the plantation.

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Another Walter Adams acquisition was a homestead block of eighty acres of agricultural land on the south bank of the Burnett River, in the Parish of Takalvan, that had been selected by Charles Hedges on the 24th of June 1870 at the Lands Office in Maryborough. On the 24th of December 1870 Charles wrote to the Land Agent in Bundaberg to advise that the land had still not been surveyed and that he had appointed a local surveyor *"to mark out the land and also to mark out a selection of three hundred and twenty acres taken up and granted (conditional purchase) on the fourth of August 1870."*

In a Power of Attorney *"signed, sealed and delivered" on the 10th of November 1874, Hedges "by memorandum of agreement bearing (that) date herewith sold all his right title and interest in the aforesaid selection of eighty acres … at or for the sum of three hundred pounds Sterling and whereas the said Charles Hedges being compelled to leave Bundaberg for remote portions of her Majesty's dominions to wit England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland in furtherance of his private pursuits …. has deemed it desirable that Walter Adams, Publican of Bundaberg, should be appointed as the Attorney of him."*

To this day Charles remains as an enigmatic figure. A Charles Hedges arrived in Sydney on the 9th of February 1850 as a nineteen-year-old Church of England farm labourer from Chednor, Buckinghamshire who could neither read nor write, and who claimed to have no relations in the colony. However, the Bundaberg Charles Hedges left behind not only a property of significant value but also a photograph album (still in the possession of the author's family) containing photographs of Windsor Castle, Eton College and other locations in the Thames Valley. Included were photographs of the *Lodge…, Vineries … and Stables at Newnham*. Curiously, the home of Walter's daughter Ellen and her family, at 116 George Street Bundaberg was named *Newnham* though there is no knowledge of the use of this name in prior family history.

On the 4th July 1876 William H. Franklin, the Bailiff of Crown Lands in Bundaberg, carried out what appears to have been the first property inspection. He described the property's selector as one *"Charles Hedges, Gentleman, at present in England."* The property was Portion No. 5, Parish of Takalvan, County of Cook, consisting of 70 acres of agricultural land and 10 acres of second-class pastoral land and was used *"for the growth of maize." Franklin advised that "a man named Creavy ("Farmer") resides on the land in the interests of Walter Adams."*

At this time the relevant land holding appeared to consist of 37 acres of agricultural and 92 acres 2 roods of second-class pastoral land with the improvements to the holding being recorded as:

–	About 35 acres cleared,	£175
–	Weatherboard two-room shingled cottage with veranda,	£30
–	A large barn shingled with weather-board slabs,	£25
–	Lean-to and paling fence,	£15

The Crown Lands Bailiff concluded *"This selection is now I believe a freehold and held by Walter Adams."*

At a later date, in 1877, land for what is now Branyan Drive was resumed on the northern fringe of this property. Rather than receiving cash compensation Walter requested and, on the 10th of June 1879 received, the allocation of four acres on the northern side of the new road with the intention of building a house on the elevated land at the top of the riverbank, this location being above flood level. However other matters were to intervene and he sold the four acres to Robert Dyball, one of Bundaberg's early solicitors in 1884 thus leaving this building site, with its extensive outlook, to future development.

As confirmation of Walter's confidence in the future of Bundaberg, and of the ongoing value of its real estate, his purchases were to include at least an additional nineteen town allotments.

The Member for Mulgrave, Mr. Walter Scott, had made an application for the Government to include money on the Estimates for the erection of South Bundaberg's first town wharf at an estimated cost of £2,000. Mr. Scott subsequently received a reply stating that the currently available Government funds were insufficient to provide for such a purpose and that both the town's current position, and its future prospects, were such as to preclude expenditure of this nature both at the present and for the foreseeable future. It was up to Walter Adams by donning his contractor's hat to come to the fore. Whilst a customer in Mr. Cathcart's store he requested a sheet of tea paper, being the only writing material readily available on the premises, and proceeded to draw a pencil sketch of the desired wharf to which he then added a set of matching specifications. This he sent to Mr. Scott with an offer to take responsibility for the wharf's construction at a capital cost of £1,900. Having been guaranteed a favourable cost of construction the Government re-considered the matter, money was found and, in September 1874, a tender was accepted for the construction of the wharf which was later to be named *Queen's Wharf*. On its completion in 1875

the wharf was leased to the *Australian Steam Navigation*. Company which, in 1876, relocated the company's activities from flood-prone North Bundaberg.

Late in 1874 William Peel Mellefont who had learnt his trade as a printer in County Cork, Ireland set-up Bundaberg's first newspaper press in joint partnership with Henry Marcus and they expressed their intention to publish the *Bundaberg Star and Burnett Times* towards the end of 1874, although the first release was actually delayed until January 1875. Mr. Mellefont subsequently sold out to the ex-Maryborough Chronicle reporter, John Rowland, in 1877.

THE YEAR OF 1875

The season of 1874 and into early 1875 had been a period of drought, though the volcanic soils of the Woongarra had retained some residual moisture which had helped to preserve their growing capacity so that the production of healthy crops had been maintained. The five years preceding March 1875 were ones of favourable climatic conditions, ones that had provided Bundaberg's agricultural industries with a benign environment and relative prosperity. In the last week of February, the dry period came to a dramatic end with the weather exhibiting a violent shift to the other extreme with heavy rainfall accompanied by gales that flattened the crops and generated huge waves in the bay. Up to this time work on the formation and drainage of the town's new streets had received little attention so that they quickly became impassable quagmires.

The earlier flood of 1870 had been of considerable magnitude, but its devastation had been much less than that which occurred in 1875. In 1870 there were far fewer settlers and there was little accumulation of property vulnerable to destruction, the settlement of the district having scarcely begun. The estimated loss of the 1875 inundation was recorded as being £20,000 and was a serious blow to the newly established community. An even more sobering description of an earlier flood had been recorded in the *HISTORY OF BUNDABERG* by J. Y. Walker which describes an aboriginal assertion that their *"oldest inhabitants had seen the site of Bundaberg entirely under water."*

The flooding in the river at Bundaberg on Sunday the 1st of March produced the greatest river height to be attained in the five-year history of the developing township. This flooding is described in the following edited, and much condensed, version of the 1875 flood's description as detailed in Mr. Walker's book of 1890 together with some additional detail from contemporary newspaper reports.

The 1875 flood attained its greatest height on Sunday the 1st of March at 2 p.m., and commenced to fall at 7 p.m., with an estimated stream flow velocity of about ten knots and with the river carrying large amounts of debris. During the flood some timber-getters suffered severe losses with the breaking up and carrying away of their assembled rafts of harvested logs. Mr. E. B. Jeune's plantation was exposed to almost complete submergence, but did not experience lasting damage. The adjoining farm, originally selected by Charles Hedges and whose land title had recently been transferred to Mr. Adams, was completely submerged, the water having reached the wall plates of the house, and the crop was completely ruined. The

river bank opposite this farm was inundated by the rising flood waters and their expansion resulted in an overland flow that finally reached and then discharged into Splitters' Creek. The intermediate farms, their houses, outhouses, produce, fencing, cattle and horses were all swept away by this overland flow.

Henry Palmer's *Sharon* sugar plantation's houses and their adjuncts were carried away. The plantation experienced heavy crop losses and the floodwater's velocity had severely eroded the plantation's topsoil. Richard Palmer's *Millbank* sugar plantation also suffered severe losses, estimated to be valued at £3,000. The sugar in store was said to have exceeded seventy tons, and of this only a few hundredweight was saved. The plantation's machinery was severely damaged, the mill's boiler being lifted from its bed leaving its associated machinery twisted and buckled. The working men's huts were carried away, as was a large punt that had been tethered at the wharf. Samuel Johnston's sawmill was flooded up to the roof of the main building and the mill's stacks of sawn timber were lost. As this was the town's only sawmill its stoppage was to cause great inconvenience.

In the Bundaberg township the river adjacent to the Customs House rose to a height two feet below the top of the high bank. This related to measured heights of 32 feet 6 inches above low-water level and 24 feet 6 inches above high-water spring tide level. All North Bundaberg, and the lower land in South Bundaberg, were under water. The A.S.N. Company's wharf and store were lost and a new Government wharf, under construction by the firm of Thompson and Lapham, on the river's south bank was badly damaged. Although the ferry house had been washed down the river Messrs. Gillen, the licence holders of the ferry service since 1873, took a considerable risk, owing to the high velocity of the current with its accompanying debris, in maintaining the service throughout the flood when they had been obliged to camp under a tarpaulin in a punt moored to a tree growing on the river bank. All of the buoys and beacons between the town and the river mouth had been swept away but, following a post-flood inspection by the Harbor-master, Mr. Hughes, steamers navigated the unmarked channel.

At Bingera, where the river narrows and is bounded on either side by high banks, the river rose many feet above normal stream levels, ultimately overflowing these high banks, and inundating hundreds of acres of the lands under cultivation. Further downstream, and a short distance above the location of the future Bundaberg Refinery, it was estimated that the river had expanded to a width that was in excess of two miles. The densest settlement had taken place on either side of the river, from *Bingera* to *Rubyanna* and it was along this stretch of the river that the greatest losses were experienced. Messrs. Pringle of Bonna, then regarded as being the model farm of the district, lost 100 acres of mature maize plantings and two large barns which resulted in an estimated loss of from £1,200 to £1,500.

The overall result of the flooding was that ripening grain and stored corn were ruined, settlers' homesteads and barns containing crops ready for market were swept away by the flood waters, livestock and settlers' lives were lost and, when the flood waters had finally receded from the devastated areas, there remained an

odoriferous slime. As previously mentioned, the overall damage to Bundaberg's infrastructure, as a result of this flood, was estimated to be £20,000. Serious flood damage resulting from this weather system also occurred in the catchments of the Mary, the Pine, the Brisbane, the Logan and the Clarence Rivers, in Oxley Creek and in the Hunter River District. As these were all large maize producing districts the flood damage had caused a significant rise in the colony's price for corn. This provided some relief to the depleted value of Bundaberg's yearly produce and it was then supplemented by a late winter crop that could not be grown in the cooler, southern districts.

The Gin Gin Post Office, which opened on the 15th of March 1875, provided a nucleus around which the township of Gin Gin was to develop. It was located on a site that had previously been part of the sprawling *Gin Gin*, later *Gingin*, cattle station that, for a time, was owned by three times Premier of Queensland Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith. It is a matter interest that three sometime owners of Gingin station were later to become premiers of Australian states. The premiers concerned were William Forster, who was to become a premier of New South Wales, whilst Arthur Palmer a one-time partner of Mr. M'Ilwraith in *Gingin* station who entered politics as Member for Port Curtis in 1866 and Thomas M'Ilwraith who entered politics as the Member for Maranoa in 1868 were both to become premiers of Queensland.

It was also in 1875 the Land Commissioner produced a report that declared *"the supply of agricultural land is quite exhausted"* and recommended that the Gin Gin holding be reduced to 15,500 acres to make more land available for agricultural purposes. It was at about this time that Alfred Brown sold the *Gin Gin* station's land title to Thomas M'Ilwraith.

The Tooth and Cran sugar refinery at Maryborough had been equipped with the latest available technology and the installation's operation was proving to be both successful and reliable. The technology that it employed was of so much interest to the Bundaberg cane farmers that a petition had been delivered to the refinery's owners by these farmers and by others with an interest in the sugar industry, who sought the establishment of a similar mill in the Bundaberg area.

The establishment of a Primary Public School in Bundaberg had been delayed by two years due to financial difficulties. However, in 1875 and in response to the third application submitted enough funds were obtained by public subscription to enable the school's establishment. A further problem then arose as there was no Government official in the town available to supervise the building's construction. This difficulty was overcome by the appointment of Walter Adams, John Cathcart and an employee of the Lands Office, Mr. Beard, as volunteers to undertake the supervision. In the following year Walter Adams was also responsible for the promotion, and subsequent establishment, of the Provisional School which became the Burnett Heads State School. His enthusiasm for this project was no doubt heightened by the presence on *Summerville* of the Chase family as Lucy Chase, the daughter of the plantation's bailiff, was one of the first pupils to be enrolled.

The years from 1873 and into the 1880's had a considerable impact upon Bundaberg's church affairs, public and church funded education and the Adams family itself. When the Adams family arrived in Sydney on the *Victoria* in 1849 its religion was recorded as being Church of England. Walter subsequently became a Catholic no doubt influenced, in no small measure, by his wife Mary (nee Shannon) from County Clare. Before a Catholic Church building was constructed in Bundaberg the clerical needs of the small number of local Catholics were served by the visits of Father O'Brien in commuting from the older settlement of Maryborough. Father O'Brien, who had been the first Catholic priest to be ordained in Queensland, was then acting as assistant to the aging Dean Tissot who was soon to retire. A framed oil painting of Dean Tissot survives as a relic of Walter and Mary's 118 George Street residence which was located just to the east of the present railway line. The portrait, which is now located in the church of the Dean's old Maryborough parish, was gifted to Walter by Dean Tissot as a token of appreciation for the support that Walter had provided to the Dean during Walter's residence in Maryborough. This support was most evident during the somewhat confected, but stressful, political stoush that had taken place in both Brisbane and Maryborough in 1871.

Prior to the construction of the *Adams Hotel* in Bourbon Street the Catholic mass had been celebrated by Father O'Brien in private homes and, following the construction of the hotel, the celebration was transferred to the hotel's dining room. The hotel had been constructed in 1872-73 on the corner of Barolin and Bourbon Streets and was a one-story wooden structure with veranda and stables. In October 1885, it was demolished to make way for the present two-story brick *Metropolitan Hotel*, completed in April 1886, and which was equipped with a billiard room and three Bourbon Street shop fronts in 1887.

Father O'Brien's ministrations were to be replaced by those of Father Constantine Rossolini who was subsequently to become Bundaberg's resident priest. This capable and energetic pastor came from Italy and initially had responsibility for the Gayndah, Mount Perry and Bundaberg areas. In his early visits to Bundaberg accommodation was provided by the *Adams Hotel*. No doubt his eventual appointment as Bundaberg's resident priest would have been a relief to the pioneer priest who previously had responsibility for an area where the 'roads' would have been more appropriately described as, often impassable, bush tracks. As the parish priest servicing Gayndah, Mount Perry and later Bundaberg Father Rossolini became a close friend of the Adams family and collaborated with Walter on many church, school and secular affairs over the following two decades.

The purchase of three adjacent allotments, each of one rood, located at the corner of Barolin and Woongarra Streets, was made on the 2nd of March 1874 at Government auction at a price of £2 per allotment, with Walter Adams, C. Rossolini and James Drinan acting as *"Trustees for the Roman Catholic Church"* under Walter's signature. Mr. Drinan was an early settler, a sugar-cane pioneer and a winemaker of Electra who was appointed as a Police Magistrate in 1876. Later generations of the Adams family, in their internal discussions, maintained that Walter had donated the funds for this purchase.

While quite possible, it seems more likely that Walter, Father Rossolini and possibly Mr. Drinan were the joint contributors.

It is notable that Lots 1, 2 and 3 of Section 8, the ones that had been chosen for the location of the church and its associated presbytery, were the first to be offered at the Government's auction of all of the Section 8 Lots and these particular allotments attracted no competing bids. Following the auctioning of these lots to the church trustees the remaining forty-six lots attracted normal bidding. Though an effective public relations campaign no doubt preceded the auction, the results speak highly of the co-operative and constructive nature of Bundaberg's citizens at that time.

A Church Building Fund had been established in 1873 and was drawn upon to erect a small, wooden church structure on the Barolin Street site which was dedicated and then opened by the Rev. Father O'Brien in October 1875. This structure was dedicated as *St. Mary's Church of the Holy Rosary* and was soon to be replaced by a 48 foot long by 24 foot wide structure at a cost of £300 (as described by J. Y. Walker) built on the same site. The earlier structure, Bundaberg's first church with its arched, Gothic window openings, was relocated to the Fitzgerald Street Catholic cemetery for use as a chapel. Father O'Brien's death occurred in the house of Father Rossolini on the 12th of June 1878 while on a visit related to school affairs, in company with Mother Mary (now Saint Mary) MacKillop. He was buried in the *Holy Rosary* church grounds with the burial being relocated to his Maryborough parish in 1881.

In February 1875 Walter Adams announced his discovery of a coal deposit and a company was promptly formed *"to work the coal seam discovered in that locality by Mr. Walter Adams."* His letter described the seam as being about six inches thick at the surface, increasing to ten inches at a depth of four feet, and at ten feet penetration had widened further to sixteen inches of thickness. Walter and Mr. Boreham brought a sample of this coal, which weighed about seventy pounds, into town on a Wednesday. The sample was successfully tested in Mr. Thomas Child's blacksmith's shop where Mr. Child, upon clearing his fire of the imported coal, put in a portion of the sample which Walter had provided and then proceeded to weld two pieces of iron together as cleanly as could have been done with the best of the Newcastle coal.

At a meeting held the same night at the *Adams Hotel*, it was resolved to have a report on the mine prepared by an experienced miner named Mr. Woodward who, in the company of Mr. Desmond the local surveyor, visited the scene of the discovery on the following day. With the prospect of additional employment in the district, and with the potential for an increase in the value of local properties, the editor of a local newspaper remarked that *"Mr. Adams deserves the thanks of the public for his energy and perseverance."*

Mr. Woodward's report proved so favourable that, at an adjourned meeting, held the same evening, it was resolved to form a company, of up to twenty-five shareholders, with a working capital of £400, contributed by twenty of their number at the rate of £20 each; £5 cash and the balance in calls. The greater portion of the

available shares was taken up immediately, and a further meeting was fixed for Friday the 10th when the share list was to be closed.

Directors were appointed, consisting of Messrs. Adams, Hill, Ford, Buchanan and Mellefont, with Mr. Cathcart being appointed temporary secretary. One hundred and nine acres of prospective land were taken up, with operations programmed to commence in about a week. It was anticipated that the proposed Mount Perry railway line would pass within two miles of the prospective mine site and hence a short spur line would be all that was required for the access necessary to transport the mined coal. If the anticipated Mount Perry railway construction did not eventuate, the laying of a tramway spur line about four miles long could have been constructed to bring the coal within reach of the Burnett River's water transport.

Following the evident abandonment of the company's presumed, non-commercial coal seam in the Bingera vicinity Bundaberg's demand for the delivery of cheap industrial energy was not to be satisfied prior to the construction of the Howard to Bundaberg railway line which would enable the large scale, economic delivery of coal from the Burrum. In their early periods of production future industrial consumers of coal in the Bundaberg area, such as the Cran's Millaquin refinery and Mr. Fleming's gasworks, would have been reliant on marine transportation of coal supplies from the Burrum via Maryborough or from the more distant Newcastle district.

The Brisbane Courier on the 18th of October 1875, referring to a listing in the previous *Saturday's Government Gazette*, proclaimed that Walter Adams had forfeited the rights to his prospecting selection *"in the district of Bundaberg 140 acres."* Clearly not all projects undertaken by our early settlers would prove to be profitable and, in this case, there appears to be no further records of activity on Walter's coal prospect.



By April 1875 contributions to the subscription list for the construction of Bundaberg's first Church of England were sufficient to allow for the calling, in May 1875, of a contract for the construction and supply of a church of timber construction having dimensions of 50 feet by 26 feet, and complete with seating, built on a Quay Street frontage. The construction was completed in March 1876, at a total cost of £356. An agreement between Mr. Brown and Mr. Barns, acting as Secretary for the Committee, had determined that the land title should, on the completion of building, be transferred to the corporation of the Synod. This transfer, made out to the then Committee Secretary Mr. A. M. Goodwin, was implemented by Archdeacon Glennie on the 3rd of September 1878. A regular minister, the Reverend William Morris, was appointed in October 1878.

Later developments were the addition of a detached belfry-tower in September 1881 at a cost of £80, with a second enlargement of the church being undertaken in 1882 at a cost of £160. This building was moved to a site near the current *Christ Church* at the north eastern corner of the Maryborough and Woongarra Street junction in 1899. By 1890, the congregation was considering the construction of a new

Christ Church, of brick and stone construction, to be erected at a cost of approximately £7,000. Although the plans and specifications for this church, of English Gothic design, were prepared by the architect Mr. J. H. Buckeridge in the 1890's construction was not to commence until the 1920's, the church being opened in February 1927. Supervision of the work was initially undertaken by a Bundaberg architect, Mr. F. H. Faircloth, but he died during construction and the Diocesan architects, Atkinson and Conrad, completed the supervision.

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And also in April of this year Richard Ruddell established *Ruddell's Soap Factory* in Woondooma Street. Starting from small beginnings, as a tallow supplier in 1874, Mr. Ruddell had developed his business into the largest soap manufacturer in Queensland, distributing carbolic (antiseptic) and kerosene (bath) soaps over all of Australia.

The Reverend W. McNaught of the Primitive Methodists was appointed to Bundaberg on the 12th of August 1875 and he conducted the first regular services in the *School of Arts* building. Land for their own church building was purchased in Walla Street where a small wooden church was erected the capacity of which was almost immediately rendered inadequate by the increasing congregation. Reverend W. McNaught was replaced by the Reverend E. Fuller who, in turn, handed the ministry over to the Reverend J. Williams in 1878. The Rev. Williams devoted himself towards the attainment of a new church and offered to make the first £100 donation to encourage its construction. Within one month of his generous offer construction had commenced and, within a further six months, a new church was built for £250. A parsonage was later constructed on the Walla Street site.

In September 1883 an amount of £275 was contributed to establish a Wesleyan Methodist Church in Bundaberg. However, the construction was deferred, and an existing building was rented as a temporary measure. The early services were conducted in the *Victoria Hall* by the Rev. F. Dewsbury from Maryborough and by the Rev. W. H. Harrison. Temporary premises were utilized whilst the Wesleyan congregation was being organized under the ministrations of the Reverend Mr. Harrison. Construction of the wooden Wesleyan church commenced in September 1885 and the building was completed at a cost of £500. It received a formal opening in December. A parsonage was later acquired for an additional £300.

Following Methodism's Jubilee, which occurred in 1897, the Primitive and Wesleyan Methodists agreed to unite and to form a permanent Methodist union. This was finally achieved in 1904, following the usual complications that seem to attach themselves to such an event. In April of that year the separate congregations were united on the Barolin Street site. Prior to the union the membership of the respective congregations consisted of 105 Wesleyan and 108 Primitive Methodists. In 1925 a decision was made to construct a substantial brick church to replace the original wooden structure. This was constructed by C. J. Vandenberg with its opening and dedication taking place on the 7th of August 1937.

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It was in 1875 that Bundaberg obtained a valuable, new public facility called the *Pioneer Schoolroom* which was adjacent to the *School of Arts* and had a considerably greater seating capacity than the *School of Art*s venue. The *Pioneer Schoolroom* provided the facility to hold larger public indoor meetings, Sunday school attendances and public entertainment.

THE YEAR OF 1876

In 1876 Walter's daughter Mary Ann married John Henry Edma Bertheau and Mr. Bertheau then undertook the management of *Summerville* plantation. John Henry was later to relocate his activities to his own farm in the Childers district and his family was to have a long association with cane growing in that area.

Horace Burkitt, Commissioner for Crown Lands at Bundaberg, in his May 1876 report valued the *Summerville* plantation with all of its improvements as:

–	All land cleared and under crops,	£100 0s. 0d.
–	15 acres of scrub felled,	£37 10s. 0d.
–	About 20 chains of fence, split post, sapling rails,	£10 10s. 0d.
–	Two slabbed piggeries,	£6 0s. 0d.
–	Two constructed water holes,	£8 0s. 0d.
–	Two thatched log barns,	£20 0s. 0d.
–	One slab and shingle cottage,	£14 0s. 0d.
–	40 acres under maize,	£200 0s. 0d.
–	All to a total of	£396 0s. 0d.

Mr. Burkitt noted, at the time of his earlier visit in June 1875, the place "had all the appearance of a well worked maize growing farm" and on the 10th of June 1876 a Certificate of Fulfillment of Conditions by Selector under the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868 was granted by Queensland's Colonial Government. A condition of the approval of a lease under the Act was continuous and bona fide occupancy of the selection by the Selector or his Bailiff. The early Bailiffs were:

From February to June 1872, D. Kennen - with the two sons of the selector (George and James Adams) assisting clearing;

From June 1872 to August 1873, a bailiff called Mr. Digby;

From August 1873 to August 1874, George Manus Adams; and

From September 1874 to July 1876, Thomas Chase.

Thomas Chase arrived in Maryborough on the *Great Queensland* on the 9th of October 1874 and entered Walter's employ on, or shortly after, his arrival at Bundaberg. His family was comprised of wife, Ann (née Steel) and children, Mary Ann, Mark, George, Thomas, John, Eliza, Ellen Jane, Frederick, Henry, Lucy, Jane and James. The children ranged in age from twenty-two to three years. A thirteenth child, Richard Burnett, was born in 1875. Thomas was born at Kingston, Surrey, in 1821 and Ann at Millford, Southampton, in 1829. They had been married at Portsea, Hampshire, in July 1852.

The importance of some religious institutions lay, apart from their provision of social contacts and family support, in the secular education that they were willing to provide. This was particularly relevant in the case of the Irish Catholic immigrants, occasioned by the lack of access to education and other privations in their home country under the English governance.

Walter Adams's understanding of the value of education for all had been evidenced by his assistance to the fledgling town in establishing Bundaberg's Public Primary School so that when the Sisters of Saint Joseph, whose founder was Sister (now Saint) Mary MacKillop, arrived in Bundaberg in 1876 he was very appreciative of their coming. The sisters soon obtained the locals' respect with their valuable contribution to the children's education largely due to their competent teaching of academic subjects. The teaching was initially conducted in the recently erected 48 by 24-foot second wooden church. Prior to the sisters' arrival in Bundaberg the Augustinian parish priest of Maryborough, Dean Tissot, who had also been in residence during Walter's time in that town, had offered the Josephites both his support and the use of his presbytery as housing, with his own accommodation to be relocated elsewhere – another acknowledgment of the value then being placed upon education.

There are two recorded occasions of Saint Mary's visits to Bundaberg. The first of these visits occurred between March and July 1878, and the second coincided with her visits to the St. Joseph's Queensland communities in 1879. During this visit Walter Adams loaned the then Sister Mary one of his buggies, the loan being recorded in one of his subsequent letters to her written in 1880. As both of Walter's pastors, friends and close associates, namely Dean Tissot and Father Constantine Rossolini, were known to be some of Saint Mary's greatest supporters amongst the clergy in Queensland it would have been remarkable indeed if Walter had not also been a firm supporter and such was the case. Even without this stimulus it is likely that Walter Adams's commitment to universal education would have made such an association virtually inevitable. It is likely that the then Sister Mary's extended stay in Bundaberg over the four month period in 1878 was occasioned by a combination of factors including the very strong and reliable local support that provided her with relief from the stresses occasioned by a somewhat antagonistic attitude emanating from the bishop's Brisbane office, her demanding programme and her indifferent health.

Unfortunately relations between Bishop James Quinn of Brisbane and Saint Mary MacKillop finally broke down completely, largely due to unmet expectations on the part of the sisters and to the lack of support and co-operation on the part of the bishop. On hearing of Bishop Quinn's intention to dismiss the sisters from his diocese, one thousand and sixteen contributing signatories were gathered in a petition that requested the bishop to allow the sisters to continue with their charitable works. There appears to have been no written response to this petition from the bishop. However, the Catholic newspaper was to print a copy of the petition together with a letter of explanation from Bishop Quinn and an editorial in which it was claimed that some person was fostering a spirit of schism and rebellion against their ecclesiastical superiors. It was further claimed that those who had signed the petition were

'plotters' and *'renegades'*. Under the prevailing circumstances Walter, very much disturbed by the ongoing events, would probably have felt quite comfortable being positioned under the *'renegade'* banner.

The Josephites in Bundaberg were the last of the Queensland communities to receive the news of their pending ejection from the diocese. Father Rossolini had hoped that the bishop would allow the sisters to remain in his parish but, on the 20th of June 1880 and reportedly with his face *'as pale as death'*, he announced to Sister Teresa his notification of the appalling news emanating from the bishop's office. This was despite the very strong representations by Father Rossolini and his close friend Walter Adams who, along with many other parishioners, were greatly disappointed, if not appalled, by such an unfortunate turn of events. The 'Joeys' during their short stay in Bundaberg had obviously made a very favourable impression upon the early residents, Walter and Constantine very much included, and they had earned a great deal of loyalty in return. It seems strange now that concentration on the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic to the children of an almost exclusively immigrant population should engender such disapproval from the colony's religious hierarchy. It was probably Bishop Quinn's predilection for the inclusion of the teaching of music and arts that initiated Walter's somewhat caustic comment on this subject, as recorded in a letter to Sister Teresa (Maginnes):

> *"If you allow me to tell you that henceforth and forever the rising generation are to be ladyes and gentlemen, (having) no common education like you could impart. But music by the real they will teach, therefore the future of Queensland will be great and musical. The people will be too proud to work and when they get hungry they will go to the pianno for a musical feest. … ."*

Bishop Quinn's requirement could have been regarded as somewhat elitist as the parents of most of the sisters' pupils, many of them refugees from desperate times in their countries of origin, would not have been able to afford the expenses entailed in meeting the costs of such a luxury as an artistic and/or musical education for their children. For the Josephites to include arts subjects in their syllabus it would have required significant expenditure by either the parents, the Sisters and/or the parish on extra equipment, space and training. It would seem that no funding for the inclusion of subjects of an artistic or musical nature was forthcoming from the bishop's office and hence the justification of this expenditure would have been virtually impossible under the prevailing conditions.

On the 11th of July 1880 Walter Adams read the following address of appreciation to the Sisters, who were prepared for their departure on the following day.

To Sister THERESA and other Sisters of the Order of St. Joseph,

Dear Sisters,

We the members of the congregation of St. Mary's Bundaberg, having learned with regret that you are about to leave the colony, take this opportunity of expressing our sincere sorrow for your removal from amongst us. During the last four and a half years you have labored hard in the good combined causes of education and religion and we feel deeply the loss we shall sustain by your

removal, but be assured, dear Sisters, that we find consolation in two things: the first being that, before Almighty God, we shall be held blameless for your departure from where you were so much needed, such departure being neither the fault nor the wish of the congregation, and the second that you are about to go to a colony where your zeal, piety and good works will be appreciated by all from the highest Ecclesiastic to the lowest of the laity. Dear Sisters, the loss will be ours and that of our families and we feel it tenfold, yet we pray Almighty God to spare you all to prosecute the good work for which you have left the world for, like Mary of old, you have chosen the 'better part'. We, therefore, beg you will accept the accompanying gift, and we wish you all a speedy and pleasant journey to your new home.

Signed on behalf of the congregation,

Walter Adams and Others

The *'gift'* was a donation of £37 - the local report – or of 40 sovereigns – the Sister's records – an amount of considerable value at that time.

Walter's sense of loss at the Sisters' departure can be well understood when his demonstrated commitment to education of both a secular and a religious nature is considered. His recognition of the value of a basic education may well have its origin, and would certainly have been reinforced, by the inability of his wife (who migrated to Australia as a young Irish immigrant towards the end of Ireland's *Great Famine*) to either read or write. Walter's very strong feelings as to the injustice that he felt had been inflicted on the Sisters were shared by many others in the Bundaberg and Brisbane districts whose dealings with the Sisters had been both productive and harmonious. Following the sisters' departure Walter Adams maintained contact by correspondence with Sister Teresa and Mother Mary. In this he may have received encouragement from his daughter and ex-pupil of the Josephites, Maria, who was both an enthusiastic supporter and an admirer of the Sisters.

Following the withdrawal of the original Josephite Sisters under Mother Mary, Bishop Quinn provided replacement sisters acting under his own jurisdiction and later, from 1882, under that of Bishop Robert Dunne. The original replacements were Sister Joseph (Margaret Wynne) and Sister Julian (Jane Brown), both of whom were to depart the convent in 1881. Still later, in July 1897, the Bundaberg convent was to come under the management of an Irish order of nuns, the Sisters of Mercy. While the replacement Sisters continued the work in a creditable fashion, and whilst the Bundaberg convent continued to flourish, the feelings engendered by the loss to the parish of the pioneering Sisters of Saint Joseph carried on over several generations. However, it is an ill wind that blows no one any good and the Josephite Sister's, under Mother Mary MacKillop, relocated to New South Wales where they received a very warm welcome from Archbishop Vaughan on their arrival in his Diocese. Walter made the philosophical observation that, under the prevailing circumstances, it was probably for the best.

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In 1876 Mr. R. H. Datsun indicated that the farms above the Bingera Falls were producing 30,000 bushels of maize a year and

when the river flow was limited, a not unusual occurrence, the transport of timber and grain was by dray as of necessity. The dray operators were charging 1s. 9d. per bag to cart grain to Bundaberg which, given the grain prices of the time, made its production uneconomical to the upriver farmers. Over the following two years the price of the grain delivered to Bundaberg averaged 1s. 3d. a bag. Taken in combination, these prices indicated the potential advantages of a hinterland railway line.

The catastrophic collapse of the world's copper market prices in 1876 had the potential to provide a major setback to the Mount Perry railway construction proposal but, never-the-less, Mr. King's policies were revived and Maryborough's acceptance of Bundaberg's claim to the Mount Perry line, in return for the construction of its own line from Gympie, had the effect of removing a major obstacle to the undertaking of the works.



Oceanic Transportation

Chapter 6

The Mount Perry Railway Line

In February 1876 Thomas White established a newspaper in Bundaberg with the all-encompassing title of *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail and Farmers and Miners Journal, Mulgrave, Burnett and Wide Bay Advertiser*. Mr. White was reputed to be of a generous but trouble prone nature having a theatrical background and to whom living with controversy was a not unfamiliar experience. Having established Maryborough's first newspaper the *Wide Bay and Burnett Times, Maryborough, Gayndah and Northern Ports Advertiser* in 1860 he very shortly thereafter, in 1861, relocated his business to Gayndah under the banner *Burnett Argus Gayndah and Central Queensland Advertiser*. Following a further relocation and a brief, and unprofitable, sojourn back in Maryborough Thomas again relocated, this time to the then thriving mining town of Mount Perry to set up the *Mount Perry Mail and Burnett Advertiser*. Whilst there he was a vigorous supporter of Bundaberg's claim to act as the port of dispatch for Mount Perry's production. Subsequent to a somewhat lively time whilst in Mount Perry Mr. White then relocated to Bundaberg to establish the aforementioned *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail and Farmers and Miners Journal, Mulgrave, Burnett and Wide Bay Advertiser*. Following an equally controversial time during his Bundaberg sojourn Thomas sold the Mail to Mr. A. M. Goodwin in 1878. Thomas White died at Bundaberg in 1890, as reported by Mr. Loyau.

On the 19th June the *Bundaberg Star* published a series of letters, received in response to communications initiated by Walter Adams, acting as the honorary secretary of the *Progress Committee*, regarding the Mount Perry line's construction. Letters in reply that promised co-operation with, and support of, the *Progress Committee's* endeavours to acquire the proposed railway line were received from Mr. W. Scott, the local Member, from Mr. William Gill Bailey, the Member for Wide Bay, who had been

present at the Committee's meeting and from John Douglas, the Member for Maryborough.

On the 22nd of June 1876 the *Progress Committee* requested delegates from Mount Perry to co-operate with the Committee in lodging an appeal to the Government. The intent of this appeal was to request the inclusion of an amount, not to exceed £3,000 per mile, in the Government's Financial Estimates for the construction of a railway line from Bundaberg to Mount Perry. On receiving a favourable response from Mount Perry, the committee organized a public meeting to be held in the *School of Arts* on a Wednesday night.

As reported in the *Maryborough Chronicle* of Tuesday the 27th of June the Wednesday night meeting was convened in a room crowded to capacity and with Mr. William Bligh O'Connell being nominated chairman. Captain Datson, of the *New Moonta Mine*, was the first to move a resolution: *"That in the opinion of this meeting it is imperative that the Government immediately take measures for the construction of a line of railway from Bundaberg to Mount Perry, believing that any further delays are calculated to prove ruinous to the whole of the mining and a large portion of the agricultural interest of this district, and of the colony."* Captain Datson then augmented his motion with the following observations: *"The people of this district naturally felt sorely disappointed and, much discouraged, and had good reason to complain of unjust treatment. The procrastinating policy of the Government has been the means of the temporary closing of many mines to the detriment of the whole colony for, had there been a cheaper mode of transit, those mines would be now in operation, finding employment for hundreds."*

He went on to claim that a businessman, speaking to him on the day of the meeting, had advised that his business could not rely upon the supply of produce from farmers in the large scrub, through which the requested railway was to pass. This lack of reliability resulted from the major difficulties being experienced by the scrub farmers in transporting their produce to Bundaberg. Owing to the poor state of the road between the scrub and Bundaberg the transportation expenses encountered in conveying a crop from farm to market were virtually equal to the full sale price of the crop itself, even when the crop was a good one. He also said that he could not resume his seat without commenting upon Mr. Palmer's recent speech in Parliament.

That gentleman (Mr. Palmer) in the last Parliamentary session had severely taunted the previous Government as being unfaithful to the districts of Maryborough and Bundaberg, but the same gentleman now doubted the policy of giving the districts a railway that he claimed would be of little use to them. Such utterances as these, coming from a man of Mr. Palmer's political standing, showed not only political hypocrisy but also a want of the knowledge that he, as the leader of the Opposition, should have acquired. Captain Datson's motion was seconded by Mr. Mirls and carried unanimously.

The next motion as proposed by Mr. Walter Adams was: *"That this meeting believes a line, such as would be required, could be constructed for £3,000 per mile, and such line would be acceptable to the inhabitants. They also deem it advisable to call for tenders both in the colony and in America."* He then proceeded to refer to the remarks made by Mr. William Gill Bailey, the

member for Wide Bay, when passing through on a recent tour of the district. Whilst on tour Mr. Bailey said that he would like to see an American principle trialled in which tenders were called to establish an economical basis for the construction of railway lines. Mr. Adams believed, after reading the report as tendered by the committee in the last Parliamentary session, that the construction of the line could be effected for £2,000 per mile and, in submitting his resolution, he wished to see the construction undertaken following a call for tenders not only in the colonies but in the various cities and entry ports of America. That wish was strengthened by the remarks of honourable members in the House of Assembly, during the Maryborough to Gympie railway debate, when it was openly avowed that the line could be made for £2,000 per mile.

Later in his presentation Mr. Adams quoted from the speeches of Messrs. James Foote, the Member for West Moreton, of James Morgan, the government's Chairman of Committees, Mr. William Bailey, the Member for Wide Bay and others and expressed a hope that both sides of the House would assist in providing the region's agricultural selectors with something that would do much to benefit the whole colony. He then resumed his seat amidst a great deal of applause. Mr. J. Rowland seconded the motion and followed on in the same strain and at great length. His comments were also applauded throughout their delivery and the motion was carried by acclamation. Mr. S. Johnstone moved the third resolution: *"That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be sent to Walter Scott, Esq., and to the members for Maryborough, Gympie, Wide Bay and Burnett, and a further copy to the Minister for Works."* This motion was seconded by Mr. B. Thompson following his own delivery of a very lucid and forcible address. The chairman's vote of thanks then terminated the meeting.

Six months later, on the 26th of December, 1876, an agitation meeting was called to denounce the action of the Upper House in its rejection of the railway legislation but, perhaps dissuaded by the inopportune arrival of a heavy thunderstorm, there was a disappointingly low attendance of approximately thirty persons and these seem to have held more of a passive interest in the subject rather than a desire to denounce the rejection by the Upper House. The meeting's chairman was Mr. Samuel Johnston, of the *Waterview* saw-mills, and Mr. E. Tanner, Messrs. J. Rowland of *The Bundaberg Star*, Mr. Datson and Mr. Adams were all in attendance to address the meeting in which the following resolutions were proposed and passed:

(a) That it is desirable for the welfare of the colony that the Upper House be made elective; and

(b) That this meeting condemns the *Legislative Council* for their obstructive policy in throwing out the *Railway Bills*.

The Reverend Edward Tanner, when he had officiated at the Gayndah marriage of Walter and Mary Adams in 1854, was the Rector of St. Paul's Church, Maryborough, a ministry that he was to relinquish, to resume again at a later date, and finally to permanently retire from it in June or July 1875. Mr. Tanner, in relinquishing the St. Paul's ministry, settled

on *The Grange* plantation in the Woongarra in 1877 from which base he was to become a prominent contributor to Bundaberg's early civic and political activities.

The work of clearing the native timber from the town's streets had commenced, as had the work of repairing district roads, including the road to the Woongarra Scrub farmlands. The seasonal weather was very favourable with sharp thunderstorms delivering plentiful daily rainfall and there were abundant signs of the potential for a splendid end of season crop. It was conjectured that, if only the price of maize was to rise, the prosperity of the local agriculturalists would be ensured for some time to come and that this would, in turn, greatly improve the district's prospects. The one disadvantage of the plentiful rainfall was the diminution in the storekeepers' and publicans' Christmas trade.

On Wednesday evening the 16th of December 1876 Walter Adams read a paper on *"Potato Culture"* to the members of the *Mulgrave Society* and a prize of five shillings was offered for the best sample of potatoes on exhibit. He was endeavouring to prove that, under the prevailing market conditions, growing potatoes would be more profitable to the farmers than growing maize. In support of his argument he presented the statistical material that he had assembled, together with cost and selling price data, that he had acquired from his own growing and marketing experience. Unfortunately, neither the paper's presentation nor the offer of the prize had attracted to the meeting many of the farmers who had the most to gain from their attendance and this lack of attendance proved very discouraging to the dedicated society members. Other speakers at the meeting delivered papers dealing with their own experiences in the cultivation of different types or varieties of cereals.

At the time the local market for maize was very depressed with buyers expressing little interest, even at a price of 1s. 9d. a bushel, so that the ship *Tinonee* transported a trial shipment, exceeding 700 bags of the district's maize, to the port of Rockhampton. However, the prospect of a profitable return from that market was also in doubt.

By 1876-1877 the Burnett maize growers, in addition to the low price of maize, were suffering from three additional impediments to their standards of living and to the development of their industry. These impediments were high freight charges, irregular shipping accommodation and exorbitant, uncertain commission charges. A maize consignment of 472 tons that had been consigned to Cooktown, then the northernmost port of Queensland, exemplified the nature of the excessive commission charges. The cost of the maize ex Bundaberg, plus freight and commission charges to Cooktown, less sale proceeds, gave an overall loss of £156 16s.10d.

An additional problem that then arose was due to either the avarice, or poverty driven short-sightedness, of growers who had shipped consignments of maize that were unripe, insufficiently dried and/or imperfectly dressed in attempting to obtain a premium price for early to market grain. A few bags of green or moist grain in a consignment would cause overheating in the closely packed hold of a ship and this heating could, over a few days, destroy

the whole grain consignment. This practice gave the Bundaberg maize such a bad name that it had become impossible to sell other than at auction.

Mr. George Skyring, who had opened a butcher shop in Bourbon Street in the early 1870's, and who been a large buyer of maize in 1876, convened a well-attended meeting of the local farmers in January 1877. Mr. Skyring was regarded as being an outstanding horseman in a country of good horsemen and, more notably perhaps, was recognized for the assistance that he had given to needy and/or financially stressed settlers, even to the extent of opening a store specifically to provide them with rations. He had lost nearly £1,000 on the previous season's commercial maize transactions, due to the honourable fulfilment of his pre-commitments to the growers, and this demonstrable integrity had earned him the gratitude of the struggling farmers. At the meeting he proposed the establishment of a local market that would buy only sound maize on the shoot and allow a limited margin for all charges. He also gave an assurance that he would personally assume the responsibility for all risks associated with the shipment and sale of that season's crop.

This proposal commended itself to the farmers who then accepted all the proposed conditions and, consequently, the maize buyers returned to the market. At a later date a co-operative association of Wide Bay and Burnett maize farmers was formed to establish local markets that would both protect their special interests and sell their produce. In combination, these activities helped to provide much needed stability to the local maize industry.

THE YEAR OF 1877

The original planting of maize in the virgin soils of *Summerville* had produced two harvests per year, each of very high yield, and the market price per bushel had also been quite high at six to seven shillings. However, in 1876 the maize price plummeted to a low of one shilling per bushel and this catastrophically low price coincided with a crop failure due to weevil attack. The time had clearly arrived for the local farmers to consider diversification and, as a consequence, Walter Adams had experimented with crops of both wheat and sugar cane and had met with some success with both types of crop. Encouraged by this success Walter sent samples of the produce from both of these crops to the *Paris Exhibition* of December 1877.

The Annual General Meeting of the subscribers to the Bundaberg *School of Arts* took place on a Tuesday night in February 1877 to review the committee's report and balance-sheet, to elect officers and to conduct any relevant, general business. The meeting was well attended and Walter Adams, in moving for the report's adoption, congratulated the subscribers on the flourishing state of the institution. Notwithstanding the indifferent financial climate then prevailing in the district the Society had a positive bank balance exceeding that of any previous year by an amount of £21 4s. 6d.

The Annual Report recommended that the Government be asked to pass a bill that would delegate power to the trustees authorising them to lease, or to sell, surplus *School of Arts* land. The cash resulting from this activity was intended for use in constructing a replacement

for the dilapidated, existing building that could no longer meet the town's requirements. The building proposed for construction was to become the imposing *School of Arts* building now resident in Bourbon Street.

The committee did not wish to mislead members and Walter told the committee that there were grave difficulties to surmount before a bill that would achieve this purpose could be passed through the Houses of Parliament. When reading a report in *Hansard* he had discovered that the government considered their proposed bill to be a private one and, to dispose of some of their land, an institution in Maryborough similar to their own had to pay a fee of between £40 and £50 before being allowed to undertake any sale or lease. Hence, if the incoming committee could not sell or lease without the passing of such a bill, it would be folly to proceed. On the other hand, it was obvious that something must to be done to obtain a more suitable building if the institution was to progress. A motion to adopt the annual report was seconded by Mr. J. Lamb and carried unanimously.

The election of officers then took place following the payment of subscriptions by several of the attendees who wished to qualify for the voting. Mr. Adams moved that Mr. W. Scott, M.L.A. be President, but was informed that as the post was only open to subscribers and, as Mr. Scott's subscription was not current, he was ineligible to stand. Mr. Alexander Walker was then proposed but was also found to be in the same predicament. Mr. A. Mirls said he would like to see a local man who was known to have the town and its institutions at heart as President and he therefore proposed that Mr. Walter Adams be elected to the position. No other subscriber's name being put forward, the chairman, Mr. J. C. Walker, declared Walter duly elected. Mr. D. F. Johnston, of Kolan station, was then elected to fill the position of Vice-President, with the remaining positions being filled by ballot.

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On the 22nd of February 1877 the *Brisbane Courier* printed the following report of the visit to Bundaberg by the Premier, the Hon. George Thorn on Thursday the 8th of February:

"As soon as the townspeople had been made aware of the Premier's intention to visit Bundaberg they appointed a deputation, comprising some of the leading townspeople, to acquaint him with details of the town's public works requirements. A large number of people were at the wharf when the Premier disembarked from the *Lady Bowen* just before five o'clock. At 8 p.m. the deputation waited upon the Premier at the *Custom-house Hotel* and Mr. J. C. Walker was called upon by the Police Magistrate to open the discussion.

Having delivered an excellent introductory speech Mr. Walker then pointed out to the honourable gentleman the numerous benefits to be derived from the construction of a Bundaberg to Mount Perry railway line. He referred to the large amount of fine agricultural land that it would open up to settlement; to the rich and almost inexhaustible number of copper prospects that only required the construction of this railway to attract the thousands and tens of thousands of pounds of private investment that would be provided for their development;

to the impetus immigration would receive as a result of these developments, and to the many indefinable outcomes from which the community at large would benefit. Emphasis was given to the justness of the township's claim, which Mr. Walker regarded more as a right than as a favour [Note 1], and he then requested the honourable gentleman to provide the deputation with clear-cut advice as to the Government's intentions with respect to the Mount Perry railway line. Mr. Datson, an experienced miner, then followed and supported Mr. Walker's claims. He expressed his firm conviction that at least a dozen extra mines, of a similar nature to Mount Perry's existing major mine, needed only the construction of a railway line from Mount Perry to a shipping port to initiate their full development.

The Premier, in reply, said that the Government fully intended to introduce the *Railway Bill* during the first week of the Parliamentary sittings and that the measure would be similar to the one brought forward in the previous session with a few additions. He expressed his opinion that the Bundaberg to Mount Perry line was the weakest of the railway construction proposals being considered by the Government and it was the one that was least favored both by the Government's supporters and by the Members of the Opposition. As an individual submission he considered that it would stand no more chance of passing the Legislature than he had of flying to the moon. The Premier maintained that it was of little use reading the newspapers to obtain the true opinion of the House on this matter. Anything said by the leader, or any prominent member of the Opposition, against the Mount Perry line was seldom reported in the Brisbane papers, and most especially not in the *Courier*, which had a policy of consistently withholding information of this nature. He believed that the railway, once in place, would assist by greatly increasing both the local population and settlement of the district and, for this reason, he had included the line's construction in the Government's railway policy. The members from East and West Moreton and others, in all about seventeen in number, were opposed to this line and it was with very great difficulty that they had been stopped from vetoing it in the previous session. He thought that the House was to meet later in April though he could not ensure that the *Railway Bill* would be one of the first measures to be introduced.

Messrs. Bell (the Bundaberg shipping agent) and O'Connell were then called upon to speak about the necessity that existed for the dredging of the river. Mr. Bell dealt with the subject most exhaustively and said the large amount of produce exported from the Burnett fully entitled Bundaberg to have the Ministry give serious consideration to the undertaking of this dredging. In the previous year no less than fifty thousand bags of maize had been shipped seaward from the wharf and, with the exception of two or three navigation lights and a buoy, nothing whatever had been done to improve the river channel. The Premier said he would confer with the Colonial Treasurer on the matter and see that Mr. Nesbitt was sent to Bundaberg to report on the best means available for river improvement. He thought that, for his own part, if £100,000 were expended on improving the river channel the very first flood would refill it and restore it to its previously pre-dredged condition. However, he promised to consider the matter.

Messrs. Colley and Rowland then pointed out to Mr. Thorn the very unsuitable quality of the water currently being provided for the town's domestic water supply while, at a very short distance from the town, there was a never failing source of excellent spring water called the Bywash. The conservation of its flow by means of a small weir at the *Adams Bridge* location would enable it to be used as the source of supply for the town's residents and they thought that a sum of about £2,000 would be ample to provide for the spring's utilization. Mr. Thorn thought, going by what he had seen, that the town already had water of an excellent quality, far better than in many other towns in the colony. Governments were always desirous of maintaining the good health of their inhabitants, but he thought that very little expense would be needed to provide for the conservation of this water. He considered that only a few ship-tanks and a hydrant were all that was needed and that the whole job could be done for £100. At any rate he promised that Mr. Smith would prepare a report to determine what measures could be undertaken.

Mr. G. Skyring drew the Premier's attention to the state of the goods-shed on the wharf. Its capacity was quite inadequate to house the outgoing maize consignments, and the open sides and ends of the structure ensured that the grain became wet with any shower of rain, thus making the shed unsuited to the purpose for which it had been erected. He was quite willing to spend £600 to build his own wharf if the Government would give him a lease of from fifteen to twenty-one years on the land needed for its construction. The Premier promised nothing here as he considered that the A.S.N. Company should use its own resources to provide such a facility.

The next issue raised concerned the condition of the roads leading through the Woongarra scrub. Walter Adams explained, very lucidly, how difficult it was to travel on these roads in unfavourable weather. He detailed the number of farms that were serviced by these roads whereupon the Premier ordered an extra £300 to be allocated towards their maintenance. The Premier also informed the delegation that he had telegraphed Brisbane to have the wooden bridge across Saltwater Creek constructed forthwith to promote East Bundaberg's development.

Mr. Gladwell wished to know if the Premier would grant a police quarters with lock-up and a post-office at North Bundaberg, as these were really needed by the north's population. Mr. Thorn thought the suggestion idle, frivolous and absurd and he failed to recognize any necessity for amenities of this kind. He did not see why a constable was required on the north side of the river as he considered that the town proper was a more suitable location and, on the subject of post-offices, he then went on to indicate his opposition to petty post-offices claiming that the less of them there were the better. He would therefore not grant any of the requests as proposed by Mr. Gladwell.

The next subject to be introduced was on the acquiring of rights to lease out land belonging to the *School of Arts* so that the proceeds could be used to pay for the erection of a new building. Mr. Thorn said the dedicated land could be used for nothing other than for *School of Arts* purposes. If they wanted a new building he saw no reason, or difficulty, in the way of obtaining one. The Premier observed that there seemed to be a lot of liberal gentlemen present in the room who would surely not object to subscribing

a respectable amount and, if this was done, he guaranteed that the Government would provide a three-fold subsidy. People should not expect that the Government do everything for them. *"Help yourselves and let us see that you are in earnest and then, undoubtedly, you will be assisted."*

There had been widespread confusion over the status of early grazing leases in the Branyan area that had been issued in the 1850's with sometimes vaguely defined, unsurveyed and/or overlapping leases and of leases where the conditions for retention had not always been met. Agricultural land was of considerably greater value than grazing land which was why the Woongarra Scrub's volcanic soils had been so highly prized. With these scrub lands largely cleared for planting, and with no more of this land available for settlement, attention was diverted to the lightly timbered country closer to the Barolin sea front.

With the above issues in mind, Messrs. Tanner and Skyring introduced the vexed question concerning the use of the seafront land, currently dedicated to grazing in the Barolin selections between the Burnett and Elliott Rivers. They wished to know by what right the brothers Alfred and Arthur Brown now held this grazing land, and why they had dared to fence it off, as agricultural land was being eagerly sought after in the district and yet here was the best land on the Burnett being kept from them by *'unlawful'* owners.

Their ire was further aggravated by the advertisements that had appeared threatening prosecution if they dared to destroy the fence that the Brown brothers were having erected. The Premier said that, as the matter was subjudice, nothing could be done until the decision of the Privy Council became known. He made it clear that this decision would soon be known, and then all the outstanding matters could be settled. **Note 2** Until then the present occupiers of the land were the owners, pending the Council's determination of ownership.

Some other questions were asked, one being on the Government's intended response in the event of the Legislative Council again not passing the *Railway Bill*. This elicited the following response: *"We shall see; such a contingency has been partly provided for already." Walter, on behalf of the deputation then thanked the honourable gentleman for his kindness and courtesy and the delegation withdrew."*

The *Lady Bowen*, with the Hon. George Thorn on board, left for Rockhampton the next morning. Following the Premier's visit, the public was left somewhat disappointed with respect to the railway's prospects. Prior to the visit the citizens of the district had assumed that 'their' claim was well recognized by the government and that the portion of the *Railway Bill* relevant to their district's 'wants' had been destined to pass both Houses of Parliament with little impediment.

Note 1: Mr. Walker's assessment was a very optimistic one. The eventual construction of the Bundaberg to Mount Perry line coincided with that of the Maryborough to Gympie goldfield line (in 1881) with the latter, now a component of the main northern line, proving to be an infrastructure work of much more durable and frequent usage. Both constructions were influenced by the logical consideration of the government to use the limited financial resources available for rail construction to

connect the revenue producing mineral fields with marine exporting facilities.

Note 2: The orderly breakup of the large and often ill-defined pastoral leases into the much smaller agricultural holdings was finally enacted by legislation following the Privy Council's ruling.

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On the 29th of April the steamer *Tinonee* delivered a bag of seed wheat that was intended for trial plantings in the Bundaberg area. It had been consigned by Walter Hill, Esq., Brisbane to Walter Adams, following his application for a trial sample of wheat's seed stock, as Mr. Adams had been very active in encouraging local farmers to cultivate a crop to acquire practical knowledge as to the suitability of the Bundaberg district for wheat's production. It was considered that wheat should be given a fair trial to determine if it could be grown east of the ranges and if so, as an agricultural product, it would have the potential to provide the district with much-needed crop diversification.

By May Mr. Hill's consignment of four bushels of trial wheat, plus an additional bushel that had been procured at Walter Adams's expense, had been distributed amongst twenty-seven local farmers who were expected both to undertake the trial planting and to give their account of the resulting crop's yield. If the trial proved to be a success it was anticipated that the all-pervading maize could be relegated to the position of that of a secondary grain crop. By June 1877 particularly healthy patches of the trial wheat shoots were visible in the fields.

A Mr. McCann had informed towns-people that he had grown wheat at Splitters Creek some years previously, with highly satisfactory results, and that he had never seen a better sample of the grain than that produced in this locality. A successful completion of the trial, then underway, would persuade many of the maize growers to switch to wheat crops. There were high hopes that hundreds of acres of the crop, then under trial, would soon be planted and that this crop's successful harvest would reward the pioneering growers. The local *Agricultural Association* had extended the date for its next agricultural produce display from the 23rd of August 1877 to the 1st of January 1878 so that the early wheat growers could exhibit their samples at what was to be the association's first wheat grain competition.

The twenty-seven volunteer farmers who had planted the trial seed wheat forwarded by Mr. Walter Hill to Mr. Walter Adams for local distribution had a wheat crop that, by mid-June, had reached a height of up to six inches and its condition looked first rate.

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Many Bundaberg inhabitants had taken the occasion to visit the Maryborough Agricultural Show of 1877 where a North Bundaberg resident had been awarded the silver *Mulgrave Cup* for the best Queensland made agricultural implements on exhibit at the show.

The Government confirmed that the location selected for the proposed construction of the first, wooden Saltwater Creek Bridge was to be at the eastern end of Bourbon Street. This decision was well received as there had been public concern that a less suitable site may have been chosen even though the Government's

allocation of £2,000 towards this project had been made six months previously. The contractor, Mr. Bragg, whose competence was recognised by those familiar with his previous work in the district, now had the authority to commence the bridge's construction which took place in August 1877.

In the Saturday's edition of the *Government Gazette*, issued prior to the 7th of May 1877, George Skyring and Walter Adams were appointed trustees of the Bundaberg racecourse reserve whilst Theodore Mirls, William Sheldon, J. F. Boreham, and R. H. Datson were appointed as supplementary trustees.

By mid-June the sugar cane crop was looking remarkably healthy and this augured well for the coming harvest. Following seven months of growth the yellow sugarcane was fully eight feet in height, having exhibited a very satisfactory growth rate. Prior sugar cane plantings in the district had produced over two tons to the acre of sugar, with no moth or rust infestation, and the local farmers were anxiously awaiting the result of Robert Cran's visit concerning the proposed sugar mill as much good land was currently occupied by an uneconomic crop.

By the end of June, the most commonly asked question was, *"Shall we get our railway this time?"* as the chief topic of conversation concerned the probability of the £100,000 vote for the initial funding passing the Assembly. The majority of the townspeople were of the opinion that the Parliament would pass the measure and they considered that the political opposition to the Mount Perry – Bundaberg line was very small; the minority thought otherwise.

A town meeting, one of the largest held for some time, took place in the School of Arts on Monday the 16th of July 1877. The meeting was held to discuss, as the main issue, a request for the Legislative Assembly to enter a sum of money on the estimates for the erection of a new Bundaberg Post Office. Walter Adams was called to the chair, and his opening remarks included a hope *"… that the meeting would give each speaker a fair and impartial hearing, and if not agreeing with what is said to try to suggest something better."*

Mr. George T. Bell, Bundaberg's shipping agent, was then called upon, and on rising indicated that he had strong feelings on the issue that he was about to address. Mr. Bell spoke at length on the subject and declared that had no hesitation in saying that the reason given for rejecting Bundaberg's application for an adequate post office building was a pure shuffling of issues by the head of the Queensland Works Department. He spoke at length on the deceptive conduct of the Postmaster-General, Mr. C. S. Mein, in dealing with the rejection and indicated that the Postmaster-General had been made aware of their indignation. He pointed out that the proposed petition would show that, up to the month of April 1877, the increase in the combined number of letters, papers, and book packages was 6,542 more than in the month of July 1876 and that a tabulated statement to this effect had already been sent to the Postmaster-General. The sitting member, the Hon. Mr. W. Scott, on presenting the letter, had wired back to say that the Postmaster-General still refused to approve the requested office. Mr. Bell then moved that a petition requiring that £2,000 be put on the supplementary estimates

for the construction of the new post-office be referred to the House.

Mr. J. C Walker, in seconding the motion, said he could quite endorse the remarks of the previous speaker. A new post office, as the department knew and as the petition would point out, was badly needed and why Ministers had such an aversion to granting such a just boon to Bundaberg was above his comprehension.

He pointed out that Bundaberg had over 700 inhabitants none of whom could even obtain a postal delivery. Anyone fortunate enough to come into town when the small post office, that had been constructed in 1875, was open and who only wanted a penny stamp had to pay four pence for it and, if they came from a distance, they frequently had to spend the night in town just to obtain the stamp. This state of affairs had been described in a representation to the proper quarter by a petition sent through their Member, Walter Scott, some twelve months ago. In his answer Mr. Scott sent a reply to the following effect: *"Petition put in and I got a favourable answer, I will fully report to you next mail."*

But since then, although keeping the matter under close review either the mails had been at a standstill, or Mr. Scott could not have seen the Postmaster-General, for his report had, perhaps mercifully, never come to hand. Mr. Walker hoped that this current meeting would have the desired effect and bring not only the Post-office but also the requested North Bundaberg accommodation (of a petty post-office?). A motion proposing the forwarding of a second petition was moved and seconded and was then carried unanimously by those attending the meeting.

Mr. J. Rowland then raised the issue of a safe domestic water supply. In moving a petition for an improved water supply he pointed out that there was a spring of pure water near the end of Tantitha Street (from the Bywash) from which over 40,000 gallons of clear water per day flowed to waste. He asserted that the only equipment needed to harvest this flow was an intake pump delivering to an elevated storage tank from which the carters could obtain their cargoes of water for distribution to their customers Mr. R. H. Datson seconded the resolution to obtain this equipment which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Diamond followed and proposed that a petition be sent to the Colonial Secretary, asking that the sum applied for by the Trustees of the Cemetery, namely £250, be granted as without this sum there could be no possibility of the cemetery trustees meeting the cost of the ongoing expenses. The motion was seconded by Mr. J. Higgins and was carried with cheers from the attendees.

A new and enlarged *Progress Committee* was then elected, the old committee's two-year term having expired. The new committee consisted of James C. Walker, President, Walter Adams, Vice-President, Andrew M. Goodwin, Secretary, with John Rowland, Alexander Walker, Henry J. Ford, George T. Bell, G. J. Young, Samuel Johnston, J. Diamond, Richard H. Datson and Frederick Smith as the other committee members. Following a vote of thanks to its Chairman the meeting dispersed.

The local political agitators were dropping hints concerning the choice of a replacement candidate for the next election as Mr. Scott was considered to have exhibited little interest in his Mulgrave electorate. Some were in favor of having a local man represent them and this idea was gaining ground, fostered by the indignation at Mr. Scott's neglect of local issues. When Mr. Scott then announced his intention not to seek re-election it provided Thomas M'Ilwraith with the opportunity to campaign as his replacement in the Mulgrave electorate where he would have much better access to political influence and capital in an area where he already maintained significant financial interests, including his *Gingin* cattle holding and his investment in the *Mount Perry Copper Mine*.

Rainfall had only been enough to slightly replenish the waterholes and the residents were eagerly waiting for the completion of the new town water supply. The water reserve had been surveyed and then cleared by Mr. Bragg; the town's water supply tank was in place and the installation of the delivery pump at the Bywash intake, that would enable the water-carriers to undertake their loading and distribution, was to take place in the following weeks.

Local trade was still very depressed; publicans were closing their bars through the slow periods and a prominent storekeeper announced an intention to relinquish his business. The closing of two of the town's public houses, whilst making their erstwhile patrons disconsolate, pleased the increasing numbers of Good Templars. The want of private enterprise and self-help in the district was then under debate as it was considered, in some quarters, that there had been entirely too much dependence on the Government for the construction of rural infrastructure. An example was given of a local man who, on taking up a selection only one chain from a main road, tolerated losses, annoyance and procrastination while waiting for the Government to construct his road extension rather than enlisting his neighbors to join him in undertaking the work for their own direct benefit.

A situation in New South Wales was referred to where it was observed that a traveller could ride along fine selectors' roads for twenty miles and never see a section of road that had been funded by Government money. Some were to advocate that the colony could only develop its full potential if the current attitude was to be discarded and some of the American self and mutual help principle infused, a proposition that Walter Adams would, no doubt, have heartily endorsed. Some degree of self-help was indicated when it was announced that Bundaberg exhibitors were to contribute to the *Paris Exhibition* with Mr. W. Hill indicating that Walter Adams would be both collecting and providing exhibits and that Mr. R. Ruddell would be manufacturing samples of his celebrated soap especially for the occasion.

Two evenings in mid-November delivered good thunderstorms and these provided a considerable amount of extremely useful rainfall. The resultant rapid grass growth had greatly improved the condition of the grazing livestock in comparison with the very lean condition that it had exhibited a few weeks earlier. However, the storms did not have general distribution and the districts of the Upper Burnett were still experiencing severe drought.

The *Mount Perry Copper Mine* ceased its operations in October 1877 following financial failure due to low copper prices and high production costs. There was an expectation in the district that the mine would not be re-opened prior to the completion of the proposed Mount Perry railway line which would provide a much more economical linkage from Mount Perry mines to the port of Bundaberg.

In our time, following the agricultural revolution in plant genetics, improved fertilization and farm mechanization that has caused crop production in India and elsewhere to increase by a factor of about nine since the 1880's, the consequences of the disastrous droughts of the 1870's in India are difficult to imagine. In 1874 India experienced a famine in which approximately one third of the then population of Bengal died of starvation and its allied diseases. On this occasion the results of the drought were mitigated, to some degree, by the construction of granaries, the instigation of relief works and the distribution of free food supplies. However, during the catastrophic drought of 1876 a calamitous decision was made at the official level by the English viceroy, Lord Lytton, **Note 1** to rely upon the local resources to feed the starving population. Over the period 1876 to 1878 the combination of drought and human error resulted in severe crop failure, a massive famine and the death of an estimated 5½ million people on the Indian sub-continent.

On Sunday afternoon the 18th of November 1877 a public meeting was held in the *School of Arts* building in aid of the *Queensland Indian Famine Fund*. The attendance was low but all those present seemed to be fully convinced that the time had arrived for Bundaberg to make its own contribution towards the accumulating fund. In the absence of the Police Magistrate the chair was occupied by Mr. J. C. Walker who had originated the district's version of the scheme. Excellent addresses in favour of the fund were delivered by Messrs, Lamb, Goodwin, Adams, and Bell and it was unanimously agreed that *"a branch fund should be established here, and that we aid the sufferers as much as our means would allow"*. The ministers of the Primitive Methodist and Congregational churches also promised to donate the moneys from one of their daily collections to the fund.

Note 1: It is highly probable that the Brisbane suburb of Lytton, initially a pilot station site, and Bulwer Island, home to the Port of Brisbane, were named after Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron Lytton, the father of Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Earl of Lytton and viceroy of India. Edward Bulwer-Lytton had previously held the role of Secretary of State for the Colonies from June 1858 to June 1859. He had utilized a prolific, and profitable, literary career to finance his somewhat extravagant lifestyle and his best-known introduction to a literary work is (perhaps unfortunately) *"It was a dark and stormy night …" from his novel "Paul Clifford"*.

By December the maize marketing situation in the district had undergone a profound improvement with virtually no stocks remaining unsold and with the steamship *Queensland* transporting the small amount of remaining stock to southern markets. The excellent quality of the sugar crop had resulted in a highly successful crushing and this had allowed the Palmer brothers to ship out one hundred and fifty tons of sugar. Samuel Johnston's sugar exports had added a further significant tonnage to this amount.

It became evident that a much more intense storm season, with heavier than normal rainfall, had been experienced. Fortunately, no wind, lightning or hail damage had ensued, and much more tolerable temperatures followed. With this change in the weather pattern past fears were banished and the farming activities exhibited a vigorous response. The maize plantings were ongoing and existing crops had acquired a much healthier appearance. The rapid growth of grass, including the couch grass in the town's thoroughfares, greatly improved the condition of the local horses and cattle as a result of their access to the best grazing conditions that had been experienced over the past twelve months.

Tenders had not yet been called for the Mount Perry railway but a reply received from the Engineer-in-Chief in response to a request from a public meeting, asking for notification of the scheme's approval, indicated that tenders were soon to be called. An imminent visit from the Colonial Treasurer was anticipated at which it was expected that he would give his own opinions as to the railway's progress. The *Progress Committee* also intended to make use of the opportunity presented by the Colonial Treasurer's visit to obtain his views on their proposals for river improvements, as these also came under the jurisdiction of the honourable gentleman's department. Most of the local population held a firm conviction that the provision of improved conditions of navigation in the Burnett River would greatly assist marine traffic and consequently encourage an increasing service.

On the 11th of December Bundaberg's quota of exhibits for the Paris Exposition left via ocean steamer for Brisbane. Despite Walter Adams's best efforts to encourage local participation in the promotion of the district the limited number of exhibits that had been collected was a disappointment. A small bag of sugar from Farquhar and Dunn's mill, a sample of arrowroot, two packets of wheat and a cedar-box with a glass top displaying Ruddle's prize soap were all that Walter could muster. Several others who had volunteered to provide display samples failed to meet the deadline for the dispatch of their exhibits and this added to the disappointing result.

Rainfall was again becoming sparse, but the growing maize appeared to be in good condition and some of the crops were within a month of harvest. The local price for maize was seven shillings per bushel which exceeded, by a factor of four, any price that had been obtained in the recent past.

During the period December 1877 to January 1878 Thomas M'Ilwraith purchased the *Mount Perry Copper Mining Company* from the liquidators and reappointed Captain Israel Bennett as the mine manager who was then instructed to arrange for the recommencement of mining operations. It was hoped that the reduced transportation costs that would result from the utilization of the Mount Perry railway line for the provision of supplies, working materials and for the transportation of the copper ore would reinstate the mine's profitability.

THE YEAR OF 1878

The first Agricultural Exhibition to be held in the Bundaberg district was staged by the *Pastoral, Agricultural and Horticultural*

Association in June 1878. In the lead up to the exhibition all indications were that it may prove to be a failure as little observable enthusiasm was demonstrated on the part of either the citizens or the exhibitors. However, late on Wednesday night the country people, with their exhibits of stock and produce, began to arrive and all through the night the streets echoed to the noise of the carts and wagons bringing all sorts of agricultural produce to the town. Early on Thursday morning spectators sprinkled the esplanade, eager to view the stock exhibits as they arrived, and by 10 a.m. there was a crowd on the promenade that was much bolstered by the country attendees. Agricultural produce was exhibited in the immigration barracks building with the stock being judged in the yard behind. Owing to space restrictions many of the stock entries including hackneys, plough horses, blood and draught entries had to be judged on the open promenade. Judging began at 9 a.m. with a listing of the recorded exhibitors being:

Equine Entries:

All-aged blood stallion – Mr. A. H. Brown;

Colonial breed blood entrie – Mr. Sheldon and Mr. White;

Best blood mare – *Petunia*;

Best three & under four-year-old colt – *Young Chancellor*;

Heavy draught horses* – Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Arthur H. Brown, Mr. West, Mr. Sheldon and Mr. (name unrecorded);

Two-year-old stallion – Mr. Alexander Walker;

Two and under three-year-old fillies – Mr. Jones and Mr. (name unrecorded);

Best blood fillies: *Maid of Athens*, *Lady Constance* and *Primrose*;

Plough horses – Mr. Pringle and Mr. Sheldon of *Rubyanna*;

Buggy horses and stallions – Mr. Nugent Brown;

Special prize, draught stallion producing the best three progeny of three years old and under – Mr. R. G. Gilbert's *Silver Cap v Duke* from *Barolin*; and

Arabs: two entries by Mr. Johnstone.

(*The reporter lamented the fact that Suffolks and Clydesdales were always exhibited together and pointed out that, though the Clydesdale would always win such a competition, he regarded the Suffolk a better all-round performer for Queensland conditions.)

Bovine Entries:

All age Durham bulls – Mr. W. Brown of Barolin, Mr. A. Walker and Mr. Rendall;

Yearling Durham bulls – Mr. T. M'Ilwraith of *Gingin*;

Short-horn cows – Mr. G. M'Pherson;

Short-horn heifer – Mr. T. M'Ilwraith and Mr. G. M'Pherson;

Hereford bulls – Mr. A. H. Brown and Mr. J. Broom;

Yearling Hereford bull – Mr. A. H. Brown;

Hereford heifer – Mr. A. H. Brown;

Best bull, any class, owner of less than 100 head – Mr. Rendall; and

Dairy cows – Mr. M'Pherson.

Porcine Entries:

Boar – Mr. Sheldon;

Sow – Mr. Davidson and Mr. S. Budge.

Poultry Entries:

Spanish – Mr. Dunn;

Brahmas – Mr. Walker;

Couchin Chinese – Mr. Gammie;

Bantams – Mr. Gammie;

Geese – Mrs. Barns; and

Ducks – Mr. Thomas Watson and Mrs. Barns.

Farm and Dairy Entries:

Best variety of Sugarcane – Mr. H. Palmer with Black Java variety;

Sugar Samples – Mr. H. Palmer and by a Polynesian maker entered by Mr. A. Dunn; and

Two bushels of maize – the A. H. Brown prize to Miss. Wood.

Agricultural Produce, all Sorts:

The Larkin prize to Mr. R. Kendall.

Jam Entries:

Mr. Kendall and Mrs. C. L. Barns.

Impliment and Machinery Entries:

Mr. Smith; and Mr. Child's ploughs.

At the *Progress Committee's* 5th of July 1878 meeting the following were elected as the new (and as events transpired, the last) committee members: Messrs. J. C. Walker – President, W. Adams – Vice-President, T. Manchester, J. Rowland, S. Rowe, M. Duffy, J. Lamb, G. J. Young, D. M'Conville, G. T. Bell, R. Kendall and A. M. Goodwin – Secretary. Up to this time Bundaberg's funds for the town's public works had been obtained by the activities of the *Progress Committee* at public meetings and by petitions to the Colonial Government or to its visiting Ministers. At an earlier committee meeting the issue of council incorporation had been raised and, consequently, a public meeting was arranged to discuss the desirability, or otherwise, of the town's incorporation. At this public meeting, held in the *School of Arts* building on Monday evening of the 15th of July 1878, Mr. John Lamb moved, *"That the time has arrived for incorporating the town of Bundaberg and that the same be proclaimed a municipality early in January next."* Mr. Rowland seconded the motion; the arguments that he presented in support being based on his perception of the excellences of the impending *Local Government Bill*.

Under the then current legislation, the *Municipal Institutions Amendments Act* of 1864, town councils had been given the responsibility for the *"care, construction and management of roads, public streets, bridges, ferries, wharves, jetties and public thoroughfares."* Walter Adams pointed out the absurdity of attempting to work under an act which was not then in existence and produced figures to demonstrate that incorporation was not in the interests of Bundaberg in its current state of development. He went on to introduce a counter resolution *"That this meeting stands adjourned for two years"*.

The logic behind Walter's speech was based upon the following calculations: During the previous six years the town and district had enjoyed an endowment allowing for an average expenditure of approximately £1,400 a year on roads, bridges and other public works whereas, if it were to adopt incorporation, their funds available for expenditure on works would be severely reduced. To arrive at this consideration, it was assumed that there would be 170 houses on Bundaberg's combined north and south riverbanks each paying rates of £1 per annum (not considering the many houses that would not pay rates of even 10 shillings per annum) that's £170. Unimproved properties would contribute a further £50 giving a total of £220 in revenue from rates. When the government endowment of £440 was included a grand total of £660 would result. However, the elected councillors to be would require a respectable chamber for their meetings and, if they could obtain a suitable place for £26 per annum then Walter thought that would be very reasonable. In addition, they would need a town clerk at say £50 per annum. Then there were other expenses including assessors at £5, rate collector and inspector of nuisances £20, town surveyor £100, safe and seal £20, stationery and advertising £20. These items alone came to £241 and had to be deducted from the gross revenue, leaving a much-diminished amount for the six elected aldermen to expend on the works listed above. Mr. Adams's resolution was seconded by Mr. Duffy. A second amendment by Mr. R. Thompson, *"That this meeting stand adjourned to the second Monday in January next,"* was put and defeated. When the original amendment was put to the meeting every hand in the body of the hall went up in unison. The chairman declared this amendment carried to a background of many cheers and much relieved laughter.

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On the 26th of September, having been nominated by Alexander Walker, Walter Adams was appointed the Chairman of a meeting in support of the election of Mr. M'Ilwraith, now the leader of the opposition, and the Chairman started the proceedings by requesting that the candidate receive a fair and impartial hearing.

The electoral campaign had actually commenced months earlier when the Mount Perry citizens had passed a resolution favouring Mr. M'Ilwraith as the Member for Mulgrave. Edward Tanner who, in the previous election nearly three years earlier, had indicated his intention to stand for election in order to combat the *'Barolin selections'* and to advocate white immigration from Victoria, then entered the campaign. A fierce 'war' was to ensue between the *Mail*, a staunch supporter of Mr. M'Ilwraith, and the Star which extolled Mr. Tanner's virtues. Having previously signed a requisition in Mr. Tanner's favour George Skyring was then to present himself as a third candidate.

Mr. Tanner used the opportunity of his meeting at the *Pioneer Schoolroom* on the 31st of October to upbraid the Barolin squatters and those who differed from his views. His friends blocked all queries with noisy interference and the meeting broke up in considerable confusion with no vote of confidence having taken place. The indignation experienced by other attendees at the meeting, in reaction to the actions of Mr. Tanner's supporters, would have inflicted

a considerable amount of damage upon his electoral prospects.

In a farewell to his Maranoa electorate supporters Mr. M'Ilwraith had explained that his major reason in transferring to the Mulgrave electorate was to avail himself of the extra time that travel from the Mulgrave electorate would provide in fulfilling the duties of Opposition Leader and of Premier of Queensland, if he was elected to that position. At the 26th of September's Bundaberg campaign meeting Mr. M'Ilwraith explained that his other reason for transferring to the Mulgrave electorate was to meet a request that he had received as current leader of the Opposition. Mr. M'Ilwraith then expressed his belief in the importance of railways to the colony's development and followed with a broad outline of his railway policy [Note 1]. He also expressed his views on the *Land Act of 1876* and upon the South Sea Island v white labour question in which he advised the Government to repeal the *Polynesian Laborers Act*. He also indicated that he occasionally changed his mind when there was a good reason to do so.

At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Bell proposed that Mr. M'Ilwraith was a fit and proper person to represent the Mulgrave electorate and the motion was seconded by the Rev. Gammie. An opposing amendment was proposed by Mr. Rowe and seconded by Mr. Lamb. There were 25 raised hands supporting the amendment versus 32 for the original motion with an allegation that some attendees had raised both hands. For the two weeks prior to the day of the election Mr. M'Ilwraith confined his electoral campaign to meetings in Mount Perry, the Bundaberg area and to George Greathead's barn to Bundaberg's south.

The election results as recorded on the 25th of November were (with some votes still outstanding): M'Ilwraith - 411; Tanner – 247; Skyring - 16. This outcome had given Thomas M'Ilwraith a marked majority notwithstanding the exclusion, at that date, of the voting results from the Maryborough, Kolinga and other, minor polling locations.

Note 1: M'Ilwraith's Land Grant Railway Policy was based on the highly successful funding procedures that had first been adopted by the *Illinois Central Railway*, opened in the late 1850's, to create a linkage between the water-borne transport systems at the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers with the developing commercial centres of Chicago and Rock Island. Government allocated land along the route of the railway line was developed into standard sized plots for sale by the development company and the money thus raised was applied to the railway line's construction. Additional benefits of this policy were that the purchasers of these plots would both contribute to the region's overall development and would generate their own freight and passenger custom which would enhance the railway developer's revenue. Following the American Civil War, the same procedure was adopted to fund the construction of transcontinental railway lines connecting the United States' east and west coasts.

The long-awaited moment had finally arrived. The Mount Perry line's construction over the period 1879 to 1884 by the contractor *J. and A. Overend and Company*, following the signing of the contract in November 1878, invigorated the whole Bundaberg district as railways were great initiators of employment and, apart from the direct engagement of navvies and miners for rail-line and tunnel construction, timber getters and millers were required to produce the large

number of sleepers required in the laying of the track.

THE YEAR OF 1879

By 1879 the traffic through Gin Gin had increased to such an extent that two public houses had been established in the emerging township to meet the increasing demand.

Bundaberg plantation owners had been slow to avail themselves of the benefits of the Pacific Island labour force, the effectiveness of which had been well demonstrated by the plantations of the north in the planting and harvesting of sugar cane. However, the arrival of the first boatload of this labour in Bundaberg ushered in a year of transition, away from the extremely variable profitability of the maize market, into that of commercial sugar production. The economics of Pacific Island labour had been well documented for at least fifteen years in other sugarcane growing areas of Queensland and experience on the cane crop's behaviour had been gained by a sufficient number of the Woongarra plantation owners, including Walter Adams, to demonstrate its potential commercial viability when planted in the rich, volcanic scrub soils. It was evident that the ability to engage Pacific Island labour would create the commercial conditions necessary to produce sugarcane crops over a large enough area to justify the construction of a large capacity crushing mill in the Woongarra.

A public meeting was held in the *School of Arts* on the 20th of May to consider the desirability of lending additional weight to earlier submissions that had been made to impress upon the Government the necessity of extending the unfinished railway line, then extending out from the town's railway terminus, in North Bundaberg, towards Mount Perry. The meeting was well attended and Mr. R. C. Barton was voted to the chair. Walter Adams made a well-received opening address and he then read from a petition that had been prepared for signature in anticipation of the receipt of the meeting's approval. The mention of Mount Perry occurred frequently in the document and a telling point was made of the fact that the section of railway line so far constructed was of little use to the residents of that mining centre, which remained beyond the existing railway line's reach. Mr. Lamb warmly seconded the adoption of the petition. A motion to endorse and to distribute the petition was adopted with a unanimous vote and it was signed by a considerable number of supportive citizens. Copies of the motion were forwarded to influential people throughout the extended district and it was expected to achieve a favourable result. It was anticipated that, within a fortnight, the motion would be ready for transmission to Mr. M'Ilwraith, who had become leader of the Opposition on the 24th of April, 1878, for his presentation to the Assembly.

Man proposes; God disposes. Whilst history tells us that the transport of copper ore from Mount Perry's mines was never to be a major contributor to the Mount Perry's railway line's usage, the line managed to play a significant role in the development of the inland agricultural and pastoral areas and in the delivery of the timber getters' product to the Bundaberg sawmills.

The development of the Queensland colony's major gold/copper venture began operations

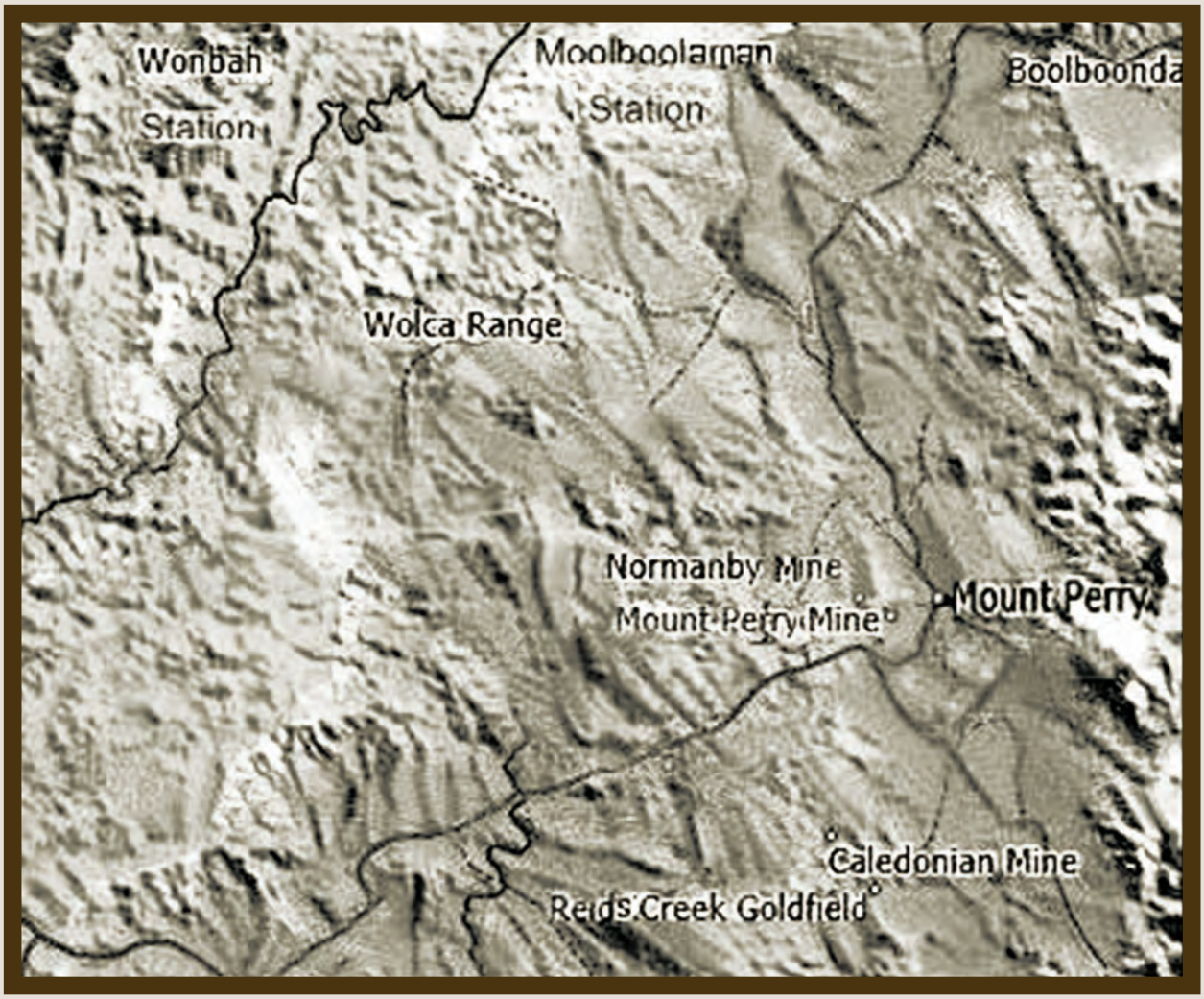
in 1882 at Mount Morgan, approximately 275 kilometres north north-west of Mount Perry. Here mining was to continue for the following one hundred years, up to the year 1981. Over its operational life, this mine was to yield approximately 260 metric tons of gold, 37 metric tons of silver and 387,000 metric tons of copper and was, at one time, the largest operational gold mine in the world. By comparison the output from the Mount Perry mines was 0.775 tons of gold (with no records of production prior to 1900), 22.15 tons of silver (with no records of production prior to 1895) and 23,411 tons of copper.

The weather was then fine and cold with light frosts and an equitable daytime temperature. The condition of the district's cane crop held great promise, with excellent financial returns being anticipated. In the coming season there would be two new sugar mills constructed, one to be located on Mr. Jeune's *Branyan* property and the other on Mr. Johnston's *Waterview*. The condition of the maize crop was, however, not so promising and in some areas the crop was barely worth harvesting. However, the general farming population had, year by year, still managed to increase its overall prosperity.

Homesteads in the farmlands had been improved with more household comforts added and, in each year, an additional area of scrub or native bush had given way to the extension of cultivated land. The rich volcanic Woongarra soils continued to give handsome returns whilst utilizing a relatively small amount of labour and, although prices were low, the high productivity of the crops made up for any deficiency in their sale price. Up to this time the planting of the maize crop had continued as, despite its disadvantages, it was the crop that could be grown with the least trouble and expense. The district's commercial trade was improving with sound business transactions and with the number of food and clothing stores increasing to meet the expansion in the number of customers entering these stores to purchase their goods.

In this year the Member for Mulgrave, Thomas M'Ilwraith, was elected Chairman of the *Bundaberg Hospital Committee*. Under his leadership the committee undertook activities both to obtain public support, and to attract donations, in order to call tenders for the construction of the town's first hospital which was completed in February 1881. In 1879 Doctor Sugden, Bundaberg's long-standing Health Officer, had been appointed as the surgeon of a temporary hospital. He was replaced in the following year with the appointment of Doctor Thomas H. May to the position of Bundaberg's Medical Superintendent. Doctor May was to remain in the Bundaberg district and to maintain a close association with the town's hospital over many years.

And also in 1879 a replacement for the inadequate wooden *Telegraph Office* in Targo Street (built in July 1876) was constructed, with Mr. John Kelly as Postmaster and Mr. H. E. Young as Telegraph-master. The new, and much larger, Bundaberg Post Office was located on the north-west corner of Bourbon and Barolin Streets, on the site of the existing post office, at a cost of £587. Mr. H. E. Young the Telegraph-master had previously been housed in a small office in Targo Street. Mr. Young died in July, 1878 and in May, 1879 Mr. Charles Smith was appointed as Post and Telegraph Master to take charge of both the Post and Telegraph offices.



A Map of the Mount Perry Area

The Post Office was then in operation at its new location, but the telegraph facilities remained in the original Post and Telegraph office building that also retained its accompanying officer's residence. Upon Mr. Smith's retirement Messrs. R. S. Stiller and W. O'Connor were appointed Post and Telegraph Masters respectively.

John Houston Cathcart ceased conducting the post office business from his *Post Office Stores* in October 1875. In 1876, he developed a serious medical condition and resigned his position as a Justice of the Peace in July. In November of the same year he appeared before the Supreme Court regarding the insolvency of his estate, an insolvency that many regarded as having been due, at least in part, to his philanthropic activities. He died in July 1877 at the early age of thirty nine years and the industrious and popular pioneer's funeral procession was over a quarter of a mile in length, a remarkable turnout when considering the town's then population, and with all of the town's business premises being closed for the day. During his presence in Bundaberg Mr. Cathcart was considered to have been identified with every progressive and beneficial movement. For a relatively short time he had carried on a prosperous business in competition with Bundaberg's first storekeeper Mr. H. J. Ford's establishment on the river's north side. Following his death his former store's building on the corner of Quay and Targo Streets burned to the ground in November 1887. Prior to the fire the stocks of the business had been purchased by Fredrick Buss and his son-in law William Henry Williams.

The *Mulgrave Pastoral, Agricultural and Horticultural Association Society's* second annual show opened on Wednesday the 9th of July 1879 on a fine and cloudy day and its presentation was generally considered to be a success. There were 230 exhibits in all, and some of their classes gave a very favourable impression of the district's capabilities. The quality of the sugar cane exhibits was judged to be superb and that of the maize and farm products very good. The cattle and horse displays were weak and the agricultural department's display was not extensive, but what there was displayed some excellence. The showing of manufactured and miscellaneous articles was considered moderate to fair, but the horticultural industry was poorly represented.

The *Progress Committee's* term of two years had not been quite completed before local incorporation was forced on the district by the *Divisional Boards Act of 1879* under which the whole of the colony, outside existing municipalities, was subdivided to meet local government purposes. The boundaries of the several new Boards were published in the *Government Gazette* in November 1879. The incorporation into divisional boards marked the demise of local progress committees, their function having become redundant. The *Bundaberg Divisional Board* was constituted and gazetted in March 1880 and the civic administration of the agricultural and grazing lands adjoining the town were then divested from the Bundaberg town administration and became the responsibility of the newly constituted *Barolin* and *Kolan Divisional Boards*.

Chapter 7

An Alderman of Bundaberg

Over the Decade 1880 to 1890 Some Significant Occurrences in the Home Country Were:

- The cholera microbe was identified by Robert Koch which confirmed the accuracy of Dr. John Snow's 1849 prediction, as described in his book *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera*. A legacy of this identification was the widespread adoption of effective sewage and drainage works and a greatly reduced death rate;
- Progression in dry-plate photography, combined with advances in photographic techniques in general, considerably increased the popularity of this medium;
- The ideas and philosophy of Marx were reaching a wider audience;
- Agitation for Irish home rule, the parliamentary impact of Charles Parnell and the effect of Irish Australian, and Irish-American articulation of Ireland's grievances;
- The killing of General Charles (Chinese) Gordon in Khartoum precipitated a war in the Sudan;
- The colonisation of Africa and the formation of the British East Africa Company;
- Rudyard Kipling's India;
- Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee of 1887;
- Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes debut in *A Study in Scarlet*;
- The Whitechapel murders of Jack the Ripper; and
- London's five weeks duration labour dock strike led by Ben Tillett.

THE YEAR OF 1880

Walter's daughter, Matilda Jane, married Thomas Riedy, a native of Newmarket-on-Fergus, County Clare, in 1880. James Adams and Thomas were the first to work as teamsters on the Colosseum Mountain, initially called Mount Walsh after William H. Walsh an early owner of *Monduran* cattle station. Tom became well established in the sawmilling and timber industry in Bundaberg and was the proprietor of two hotels. Thomas Riedy and his family later relocated to Wondai.

The first *Bundaberg Divisional Board* was gazetted in March 1880 with Messrs. F. L. Nott, Chairman, J. Gillen, C. F. Jensen, A. G. Hamilton, J. F. Boreham, J. M`Shea, J. Lamb, W. B. O'Connell, and J. Gill as its members and with Mr. R. Thompson being appointed as clerk. Following their gazettal the district's boards set to work to expedite the requirements of the *Divisional Boards Act of 1879* so that they could then concentrate their resources on their high priority public works. In Bundaberg the ongoing works to clear the streets of tree stumps and to improve the town's sanitary conditions were expedited following its Divisional Board's appointment.

Following its tender evaluation meeting the *Bundaberg Divisional Board* was forced to call fresh tenders for the position of valuator when the person initially accepted for the position proved to be unable to meet his conditions of contract. The Board also disapproved of the Government's selection for the proposed site of the new Bond Store, and advised the Minister for Works accordingly. It was considered that building it in the nominated position would ruin the appearance of the town's river frontage. A telegram from the Minister, Mr. Macrossan, in reply notified them that their request could not be accommodated.

The *Barolin Divisional Board* held its meeting on a Saturday afternoon and Mr. E. B. Jeune, of *Branyan*, was unanimously elected chairman for the current year. In response to the calling of tenders for the positions of clerk and valuator several applications were received and that of Mr. R. Thompson, at £80 a year, as a clerk providing boardroom and office, was accepted as was Mr. W. H. Atkinson's tender of £40, as valuator. Members of each of the board's sub-divisions were formed into finance committees to represent their respective districts. It was resolved to apply to the Government for a grant of £500: £350 to repair the Maryborough road, which was in a very poor condition, and £150 to renovate the *Adams Bridge* which, following wear and the passage of time, required extensive renovation.

The *Kolan Divisional Board's* meeting was held on a Tuesday with Mr. John Forrest of Gin Gin being appointed chairman. The Board decided to merge the offices of clerk, valuator and road inspector into one position and issued circulars advertising the position and inviting tenders. As the circulars were issued at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, with a closing time of 9 a.m. on Wednesday, only four applicants provided tenders and two of these tenders were declared to be informal. Complying tenders were received from Mr. J. I. Gammie, who tendered £200 per annum, and from Mr. H. G. Franklin, who's tender of £220 per annum allowed for the provision of a boardroom. Mr. Gammie's offer was accepted. Following a disagreement at the evaluation

meeting, the board decided to exclude the public from the tender evaluation process. This gave rise to a suspicion that favouritism was being exercised and, consequently, the board was to receive an unfavourable local Press.

During the years 1877 and 1878 discussions were held with Robert Cran with the view to establishing a central sugar mill in the Woongarra. Probably due to the large amount of finance that was required to be raised, approximately £160,000, no immediate activity followed.

In April 1880, *John Walker of Walker and Company* Maryborough visited Bundaberg to inspect, select and negotiate the acquisition of a suitable site for a substantial sugar mill adjacent to the Woongarra farm lands. In negotiations with the planters he indicated that he was prepared to erect a mill provided that his stipulated conditions were met. These included a legal guarantee for the provision of cane from a minimum area of 200 acres being supplied to the mill over the full crushing season. He was negotiating for the purchase of 200 acres of Woongarra land and, although he did not wish to cultivate his own cane, in the event of non-fulfillment of the minimum supply agreement, he would be compelled to do so to recoup his £8,000 outlay.

In the last season, from the 405 acres of cane harvested and crushed, 1,008 tons of sugar had been manufactured at an average of two and a half tons of sugar per acre, an amount that would meet the mill's financial requirements. Under the then prevailing conditions it was estimated that Woongarra's standing crop would realize a return in excess of £28,000. Unfortunately, John Walker's land purchase negotiations fell through leaving his conditions unmet.

In August 1880 the growers' hopes for the mill construction were revived following a visit by Robert Cran and his engineer Mr. Thomas. Following this visit, Robert Cran Snr. departed for England to acquire the *Millaquin* mill's machinery.

The third annual show of the *Mulgrave Pastoral, Agricultural and Horticultural Association* opened on the 17th of June 1880. The cattle display was poor, and the number of agricultural and horticultural exhibits meagre, though the industrial section was 'fairly filled'. Probably due to the lack of participation by local exhibitors, there were to be no further Mulgrave district shows held prior to 1890.

THE YEAR OF 1881

John Henry Edma Bertheau, Mary Ann's (née Adams) husband and Walter's ex *Summerville* bailiff, acquired his first land grant, one of 124 acres, on the Gregory River near Childers in 1881.

The annual election of the *Bundaberg Divisional Board*, which was held in February 1881, produced the following results: Messrs. F. L. Nott (re-elected chairman), Nugent Wade Brown, A. M. Goodwin, M. Duffy, J. M'Shea, C. F. Jensen, J. Gillen, J. F. Boreham and J. Gill. The first real-property valuation initiated by the new board gave the annual ratable value of

town properties as £6,075. Experience gained in administering the *Bundaberg Divisional Board's* finances had made it apparent that Bundaberg would be better administered under the *Local Government Act of 1878* rather than under the *Divisional Boards Act of 1879* and so, shortly after its election, the Bundaberg Divisional Board petitioned the Government to have the town declared a Municipality under the *Local Government Act*.

The Borough of Bundaberg was gazetted in April 1881 and the first municipal poll, which was held on the 7th of June under the *Local Government Act of 1878*, had *"caused some genuine excitement."* There was no agreement as to who the successful candidates might be, and popular opinion miscalculated the result with a rank outsider eventually topping the poll. Eleven out of the thirteen original nominees proceeded on to the election with the two withdrawals, John Gillen and James M'Shea, recognizing the probability of defeat. The final nominations as recorded by the Returning Officer, Mr. H. Burkitt, were: Walter Adams, publican, Bourbon and Barolin Streets, Patrick O'Brien, publican, Targo Street, Frank Isambert, contractor, Targo Street, Christian Gaffell, produce merchant, Bourbon Street, Joseph Wright, builder, Walla Street, William B. O'Connell, farmer, Frederick Coleman, hotel-keeper, Quay Street, Richard Ruddell, soap manufacturer, Walla Street, John Gill, carpenter, Toonburra Street, John Rowland, printer, Bourbon Street and John Boreham, saddler, Bourbon Street.

To meet the Colonial Government's requirements voters eligible to participate in the Council election were limited to those on the Queensland Parliament's electoral roll, with a further limitation that only leaseholders and freehold landowners could vote. Now the great majority of ratepayers were listed on the electoral roll under the six months residence qualification and were thus excluded from voting in this election. Under these restrictions there remained only 55 persons eligible to vote for the remaining eleven candidates which gave a ratio of only five voters per candidate. It was estimated that these 55 voters constituted only one sixth of the number of electors eligible to vote for the preceding *Bundaberg Divisional Board*, and the number of electors then on the *Divisional Board* roll was considered to be a much more realistic one in providing an accurate estimate of the electorate's base.

The successful candidates, together with their number of votes, were: Richard Ruddell, 31, John Rowland, 28, Christian Gaffell, 27, W. B. O'Connell, 27, Walter Adams, 25, and Frank Isambert, 25. A review of the election results indicated that, with one exception, those elected were considered to be men who would make sensible decisions, ones that would be of benefit to the whole town. No one could have anticipated the fiasco that was to follow.

The number of votes cast by the 55 eligible voters, when distributed between the successful candidates, totalled 163 which indicated that each eligible voter had cast votes, on average, for three candidates. It proved to be extremely unfortunate that the very restricted number of voters, together with the associated politics, would seem to have dissuaded many of the town's public-spirited elders, those who had guided it through its infancy, from nomination.

To compound the problem, the choice of six aldermanic positions to form the full council proved to be an extremely inauspicious decision, partly because of its small size, but largely because six is an even number. The signs of things to come were displayed in the public utterances of successful candidates made shortly after the election. Mr. Gaffell launched the first salvo when he announced that this was his proudest day and that he did not belong to those who had retarded the progress of the town. Adams had done that and he was not fit to be an alderman. Following Mr. Gaffell's address Walter Adams said it was not the proudest moment of his life because he had not been elected by the voice of the people. He promised he would challenge his aldermanic colleagues to resign with him as soon as a representative voters' roll was completed so that all the ratepayers could vote to determine who should be their genuine representatives.

The tone was now set, and worse was to come, as the warring parties were evenly split, three against three: Gaffell, Isambert and Rowland v Adams, O'Connell and Ruddell. It had even required three meetings to elect Richard Ruddell, the poll leader, as Bundaberg's first mayor on 18th June. In July, however, by a rare, unanimous vote it was agreed to petition the Government to increase the number of councillors to nine.

With unabated acrimony the six-member Council ground on until the 5th of October 1881 when it was to suffer its most serious deadlock. During an evaluation of tenders, called for the formation and paving of the town centre's road, the evenly divided council could not reach agreement on the standard of construction required. This resulted in a walkout by Messrs. Rowland, Isambert and Gaffell. The limits of the ratepayer's patience had finally been reached. As a result, the Mayor was petitioned to hold a meeting of ratepayers to determine their opinion with respect to a satisfactory resolution of the obviously untenable situation. This meeting, which was duly held in the Victoria Hall, was well attended. A resolution by Mr. W. E. Curtis *"That this meeting request that the Council take no further steps in street-making until after the next election"*, was seconded by Alderman O'Connell and carried by an overwhelming majority. The Victoria Hall meeting's message was heeded and the existing aldermen, then under the mistaken belief that a representative roll had been compiled by the government, resigned as a body on the 2nd of November 1881.

However, in taking this action they were doomed to disappointment as the procedures necessary to finalize the revised roll were still incomplete and, as a result of their precipitous action, the second poll would be held under virtually the same conditions as had applied on the first occasion, though with a minor variation in the number of voters. All of the retired aldermen offered themselves for re-election and, following the election, held on the 26th November, the successful candidates to the second Bundaberg council were: John Lamb, William O'Connell, Joseph Wright, Frederick Nott, Richard Rowland and Walter Adams. John Lamb, the candidate with the greatest number of votes (42) was unanimously elected mayor at the first council meeting, which was held on the 29th of November. This council displayed relative competence for the two months of its existence.

THE YEAR OF 1882

By early February 1882 the official list of rate-payers eligible to vote in the Bundaberg electorate had at last been revised and this resulted in a significant increase in the number of potential voters from the original council's 55. This revised number was influenced by a population increase and should, therefore, have been in excess of the previously estimated *Divisional Board's* roll of 330 – say to 440 persons or thereabouts. The subsequent, and third, Bundaberg election incorporated the previously proposed, and highly desirable, modification of the ratepayer representatives to the uneven number of nine aldermen. This election was held on Thursday the 9th of February 1882 and, of the fourteen nominees, the elected candidates were: Walter Adams, 183 votes, William O'Connell, 173, John Lamb, 163, Michael Duffy, 155, Frederick Nott, 143, Richard Ruddell, 141, Andrew Goodwin, 126, William E. Curtis 121 and Joseph Wright, 121. The five unsuccessful candidates were William H. M'Cann, John Bertwistle, Frank Isambert, Albert Dean and J. R. Woodall.

On the 18th, Walter Adams, who headed the poll, was elected mayor. The rate payers now believed that Bundaberg had a representative Council, one consisted largely of those who were really the civic 'elder-men' of the settlement. With commendable energy this council set itself to redeem the time necessary to recover the leeway lost by previous mischance, to zealously and efficiently perform their legitimate functions and to restore the somewhat smudged escutcheon of aldermanic dignity. Walter Adams was re-elected mayor in 1883 and remained on the Council until his election to the Legislative Assembly.

Realising that current income was inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the growing town, and rejecting a policy of patchwork street improvements, the new Council resolved to make application for a loan of £4,500. The opponents of this loan were defeated by a substantial majority and, in October 1883, a further loan of £2,500 was raised to complete the Bourbon Street construction.

Early mayors of Bundaberg were appointed following the council election dates as listed below. Where there was no council election the date is the date of the appointment to mayor by the aldermen.

Mayor Ruddell – 18th June 1881;

Mayor Lamb – 29th November 1881;

Mayor Adams – 18th February 1882;

Mayor Adams – for a second term on 10th February 1883;

Mayor Curtis – 9th February 1884; resigned in December of that year with Mr. A. M. Goodwin as Acting-Mayor in June and July during Mr. Curtis's absence;

Mayor Goodwin – 3rd February1885;

Mayor Duffy – 6th February 1886;

Mayor M'Conville – 5th February 1887;

Mayor Duffy – on or prior to 9th February 1888 with Mr. Rowland Acting-Mayor in October and November;

Mayor Powers, the resident partner of the legal firm of Morton and Powers – 6th February 1889;

Mayor Goodwin – for a second term on 5th February 1890;

Mayor J. C. Walker – 3rd February 1891; and

Mayor Rowland – late January or early February 1892.

Robert Thompson was Bundaberg's Town Clerk over an uninterrupted period from 1881 to 1892.

In addition to his position on the Council other civic positions held by Walter Adams about this time were: President of the *School of Arts Committee*; president of the *Agricultural and Pastoral Society*; trustee of the Racecourse Reserve; member of the *Botanic Gardens Trust*; member of the *Bathing Company Committee* (which had supervision of the public baths constructed by Mr. E. Crowe for the Council in 1881 at the creek end of Tantitha Street); and, in 1882, the inaugural president of the *Bundaberg Chamber of Commerce*.

Early in 1882 the partnership of Thomas M'Ilwraith and Mr. John Forrest installed the plant and machinery for the *Avoca* sugar plantation that they acquired in late 1880. Owing to an unfavourable growing season their first harvest and crushing produced disappointing results.

At a meeting convened by Mr. A. C. Walker as far back as the 7th of March 1878, a committee comprising Alexander Walker, Walter Adams, Edward Tanner, Andrew Dunn, John Nott and Richard Jones had been formed to promote the construction of a central sugar refining venture in the Woongarra district. Initially the lack of risk capital, followed by the necessary negotiations, investigations and preliminary works had caused delays but, by January 1882, the machinery for the proposed crushing mill and refinery had finally arrived from England allowing *Millaquin's* eagerly awaited construction to proceed.

The machinery for Walter Adams' *Summerville* plantation satellite juice mill arrived in August 1882. Other satellite mills [Note 1] were purchased in this year for plantations in the Woongarra including one by Mr. Fredrick Buss. Mr. Buss had been born in Kent in 1845 and had moved to Queensland in 1861. He arrived in Maryborough via Gympie and obtained employment in Mr. William Southerden's store. He subsequently relocated to Bundaberg where he acquired the *Bonna* and the *Pemberton Grange* plantations in 1880. In 1886 he established the drapery store of *Buss and Turner* in partnership with his brother George and Mr. Turner. In the same year two employees of the drapery branch of the company, Michael Joseph Reddan and William Mellor left the company to form their own Bourbong Street drapery business of Reddan and Mellor.

Note 1: Unlike the Tooth and Cran's Maryborough installation, that had the planters' produce delivered as cane stalks or in tanks mounted on river barges, Woongarra's satellite mills delivered their produce to the Millaquin refinery as a juice by the use of positive displacement (piston) pumps discharging through

approximately 20 miles (33 kilometres) of dedicated pipelines from the satellite mills to *Millaquin*.

Bundaberg's first privately constructed hall, the Victoria Hall, had been erected in Targo Street and was available to be hired for meetings, for entertainment and to meet the requirements of large gatherings in general. An early user of this hall was the Presbyterian congregation which used it for their services over the period October 1881 to August 1882. It was purchased in 1888 for £1,150 by Mr. George Shorrock who then had it enlarged and embellished. Following several further business transformations, it became the well-known *Old Curiosity Shop* in Targo Street. Also in 1888 the Queen's Theatre, an impressive brick structure with a plastered finish, was constructed in Woongarra Street. This theatre could be hired for such events as public meetings, stage productions, dances and balls and, following the turn of the century, picture shows. A later development was the leasing of the *Queen's Theatre* for the showing of moving films by Birch and Carroll.

Meanwhile, in or about 1908 a Catholic priest, Father Mimnagh, had a large, two-story hall of wooden construction, the Austral Hall, built on the Woongarra and Maryborough Street intersection's south-east corner. The hall was altered in 1910 to make it suitable for stage and moving-film presentations. Birch and Carroll later leased the *Austral Hall* for their moving-film presentations and extended their operations to the open-air *Olympia Theatre* constructed in 1910. Still later was the acquisition and extensive restructuring of the *Paramount Theatre* on the northern side of the eastern end of Bourbon Street by Mr. Douglas Rattray in 1926 and the relocation of the *Austral Hall*, by the Catholic Church, to the north-western corner of the Barolin and Woondooma Streets intersection in 1928 to make way for the construction of the more ornate *Wintergarden Theatre* by *Birch, Carroll and Coyle* Limited on its original site. A long serving and popular manager of this theatre was Mr. James Flanagan.

A meeting in the *Victoria Hall* was held on the 24th of October 1881 where Mr. R. Hamilton proposed, and Mr. R. Cran seconded, that a congregation of the Presbyterian denomination be formally established in Bundaberg. At the first congregational meeting, held on the 3rd of January 1882, Messrs. R. Hamilton, Ruddell, Callaghan and Aiken were nominated as elders, and a committee of management was appointed consisting of twenty members, with Mr. J. S. Meiklejohn, of the Commercial Bank, being appointed Treasurer and Mr. J. Y. Walker, Secretary. A roll that listed about seventy members was then established.

Alexander Walker, of *Bingera*, had obtained a potential site for the future Presbyterian church which was then held in trust by himself with John Steuart of *Woondooma* and James Henderson of Tantitha as co-trustees. However, this site proved to be unsuitable and it was replaced by half an acre of land in Maryborough Street that was regarded as being more appropriate for the purpose. This land was purchased in December at a cost of £250 and action was then taken to obtain plans and estimates for the erection of a suitable building.

The original plans as submitted by Mr. L. Scott were modified to accommodate a

congregation of two hundred and fifty at a cost less than £500. The final design was for a hardwood church building 61 feet long by 31 feet wide with 10-foot-high walls. Mr. Scott's tender of £476 for the construction of the church building was accepted. Following construction, the formal opening took place in August 1882, the church having by then been provided with seats, an organ and fencing at a cost of £190. The total cost, including land and incidentals came to £1,003. The opening service was conducted by the Rev. Principal Colin M'Culloch with Rev. J. Sterling appointed as the first minister.

Later developments were the purchase of a site for a manse in 1889, at a cost of £200, and the construction of a £600 residence on this site in July 1890. *St. Andrew's Church*, located at the north western corner of the Maryborough and Woongarra Street's intersection, was designed by Mr. L. L. Powell and was constructed in 1932. This impressive structure was built on the land that had been purchased in 1882 and held in trust by the three previously mentioned senior members of the congregation on behalf of the Presbyterian Church in Bundaberg.

The opening of the Gin Gin Provisional School [Note 1], on the 26th of June 1882, occurred seven years after the opening of the Gin Gin Post Office on the 15th of March 1875.

Note 1: Where the provision of a National (present day State) School could not, in the judgment of the Colonial Government be justified based on the anticipated student attendance, a Provisional School was an alternative. In this case parents in the school's catchment area were expected to finance the building's construction. In either case the parents were expected to meet some of the teacher's salary.

At the July 1882 opening of Parliament the Premier, Thomas M'Ilwraith, who was opposed to the engagement of Melanesian labour, introduced amendments to the *British India Labourers Protection Act of 1862*. There had been virtually no enactment of the provisions of this act over the previous twenty years and the need to amend its provisions, and to engage Indian labour, was immediately opposed by the leader of the opposition, the Hon. Mr. Griffith.

The steamer *Devonshire* arrived at the Burnett Heads in October, 1882 with a consignment of labourers from Ceylon, imported at the instigation of some of the local sugar plantation managements. The arrivals *'excited a perfect furore of excitement and indignation'* and so, to avoid scenes of violence, they were landed at Burnett Heads for distribution between the several promoters of the enterprise who had then to arrange for conveyance of the imported labour to their intended fields of employment. However, the execution of this conveyance was not to be as, *'the working man rose in his wrath, marched to the Heads and with unseemly violence boxed all the lots'*, and so the unfortunate Ceylonese were marched to Bundaberg and given protection in the yard and outbuildings of the *Queen's Hotel*. Riotous scenes and collisions with the police ensued, with one 'respectable' citizen being arrested. His share in the proceedings *'was mulct in a penalty of £5'*. The Ceylonese labourers were later to receive employment allocations of sorts, but the experiment could not be regarded as being in any way successful and was never to be repeated in the Bundaberg district.

THE YEAR OF 1883

An issue of a contentious nature was to arise in January, relating to the subdivision and sale of allotments on locations at the river mouth and on the bay front adjacent to the southern side of the Burnett (River) Heads, with a view to the creation of a new township. The proponents of the scheme were somewhat provocative in their presentation by suggesting the virtual demise of *'Old'* Bundaberg and the relocation of domestic and commercial activity to their *'New'* Bundaberg location. Bundaberg's then current Mayor, Walter Adams, was the owner of a 240 acre block directly adjacent to the proposed development and would have derived a considerable financial benefit from this holding had the development proceeded. Nevertheless, his position as Mayor, his own commitment to the development of the *'Old'* Bundaberg and his loyalty to his associates in maintaining the *'Old'* Bundaberg's development prompted him to dispatch a 'Letter to the Editor' opposing the methods being adopted to promote the *'New'* Bundaberg scheme.

Judging by the way in which the New Bundaberg proponents were to draw out the resulting correspondence via news media and by its calculated, personal nature this approach may have been a deliberate strategy to obtain free advertising for their project. If so, the tactic was extremely effective when judged by the results at auction of the extremely large number of allotments in their subdivisions. Though the subdivided land in question was very successfully auctioned in the early 1880's there appears to have been no subsequent civic infrastructure development and significant settlement on the New Bundaberg and Barolin Marine township allotments did not occur for many years. Some details of the relevant reporting together with copies of the 'Letters to the Editor' follow. This article in the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* of Friday the 5th of January 1883, (From an Occasional Correspondent), to which Walter Adams responded, appears to have initiated the media campaign, if such it was:

> *"The hotels were crowded with visitors during the Christmas holidays, and amongst them we noticed members of the Barolin Syndicate and some of their friends. The principal topic of conversation here, especially where the members of the Barolin Syndicate were present, has been the probable removal of our (Bundaberg) township to the (Burnett) Heads, at the site called New Bundaberg. The Syndicate seem thoroughly in earnest, and are firm in their belief in the new township, whilst the mortgagees, who have advanced money on (Bundaberg) town allotments and also the large (Bundaberg) land-owners, are scared at the idea, and attempt to ridicule the possibility of any such occurrence. There is no room for ridiculing the idea, for it is admitted that the site and position are exceptional, and that the town would never have been placed at the head of navigation if the Barolin Lands had been open to the public. The facilities the site affords to residents in the Woongarra Scrub will alone be enough to establish it as a township of some importance. The chart shows a depth of 26 feet at low water alongside the proposed wharf at New Bundaberg and, as the bar is very narrow, there can be very little doubt that ocean-going steamers will be able, before very long, to load and unload at the new township."*

It was evident that the 'Occasional Correspondent' was promoting New Bundaberg not as an adjunct to Bundaberg but as a replacement for the existing township. The Bundaberg Mayor's response was published in a following edition of the same newspaper on Friday the 12th of January.

Sir,

I see by your impression of the 5th inst. that an occasional correspondent has thought fit to vilify and slander a large number of the inhabitants of Bundaberg. Although he is only an occasional (correspondent) if he had, in good faith in what he wrote, asserted the place to be called New Bundaberg and put in his name one should likely have found the letter (actually article) published above his first effusion to your valuable journal. One should also very likely have found that, if not one of the syndicate themselves, he was an agent of theirs; who knows but it may be an auctioneer.

Now the people here have no objection to the syndicates putting up their property, as their long advertisements and flowing lithographs tend to bring Bundaberg itself under notice, but they do object to be libelled and while the syndicate keeps within the range of a legitimate puff they may blow their own trumpet as hard as they like. Now it comes within the range of my knowledge that the principal topic of conversation about New Bundaberg was among the members of the syndicate themselves, and when the probable change was mentioned it was by a member of the said syndicate; the people here knowing all about the locality of the proposed new township and its surroundings do not give it a thought for one moment and the syndicate and their agents had better not create a discussion upon it. The letter (article) I refer to has been indiscreet, to say the least of it.

Your correspondent writes: "The syndicate seem thoroughly in earnest and are firm in their belief in the new township." So they may. This we do not dispute, but when he continues, "Whilst the mortgagees who have advanced money on town allotments here and the large landowners are scared of the idea (of the New Bundaberg township development) and attempt to ridicule the possibility of any such occurrence." The fact is, the people here do not wish to ridicule anything, neither is it my wish to say anything about the suitableness of the site adopted for the township. But what I want to know is, where are the mortgagees to be found who are scared? Or, who are the large landowners? It may be your correspondent, as he seems (to be) in everyone's confidence; or your correspondent may have borrowed money on his town residence (if he has one), and the mortgagee wants his money and, because it may not be convenient to pay, he (the mortgagee) is put down as being scared. Allow me, therefore to tell your correspondent that, so far, his writings are a gross libel on the town for there are but few indeed that cannot call the land their own and those that have property in the market will not come down one penny and property here has a firmer tendency every day. A case in point – a month ago I sold an allotment in a back street for £200. Fourteen days after the same allotment was sold for £300, and on Friday last the adjoining allotment, with a house on it worth not more than £100, was sold for £700 cash; this gives your correspondent the lie at once.

I wish no mistake to be made, there is plenty of water opposite the site of the proposed new township, and so there is at the wharf at Bundaberg, 26 feet at low water. One of our (river) flats has 9 feet

of water at low springs (tide), the others will soon be the same, while on the (river-mouth) bar they cannot boast of near that; therefore, what can come over the bar will be able to come up to town as well as to New Bundaberg. I may mention 'en passant' that vessels drawing 15 feet have come up to the wharf before any dredge came into the Burnett River. I trust, therefore, that the syndicate with their agents, will rest satisfied with letting off their surplus gas on their own property without interfering with and libelling their neighbors. I shall then remain their sincere friend and well-wisher.

Walter Adams

Bundaberg, January 8, 1883

The subsequent, and long drawn out, war of attrition in the form of 'Letters to the Editor' was about to commence. Some excerpts follow, the first from a representative of the *Barolin Land Company*:

Sir,

We notice in your issue of today a letter from Mr. Walter Adams, Mayor of Bundaberg, taking exception to some remarks made by your (unnamed) Bundaberg correspondent about the proposed township of New Bundaberg. Although we do not accept the responsibility of all the remarks which your special and occasional correspondents may choose to make about proposals, we are bound to confess in this particular instance that your correspondent – whoever he may be – has very faithfully reflected the public opinion in Bundaberg.

Regarding the proposed township which is attracting so much notice, not only in Bundaberg but also in Maryborough, Gympie and in their districts, we have always been inclined to listen to Mr. Adams's remarks with attention, and we are willing to grant that no better authority exists in Bundaberg upon the value of property there than Mr. Adams. But if we compare the statement in Mr. Adams's letter of today to the effect that the people of Bundaberg do not give the new township a thought for one moment and that the syndicate and their agents had better not create a discussion upon it, … but in the face of a warning like this made by the Mayor and the Chairman of Commerce, and made with no uncertain sound, he can scarcely expect us to believe that the inhabitants of Bundaberg do not wish to give this project one moment's thought. We have no desire to puff the township of Bundaberg; we invite inspection and we feel certain that we shall continue to receive the same verdict that we have up to the present received upon all sides, namely that the projected new township is probably in one of the finest positions upon the coast of Queensland, having as it does the immense advantage in a climate like ours of being within 10 minutes' drive (by horse drawn coach or similar) of the open sea, and of fronting a noble river with a depth at low tide of 26 feet with no flats to impede navigation. … In conclusion, we are glad to hear that Mr. Adams feels so confident in the firmness of his Bundaberg property, a view which some others, notably your correspondent, do not seem to share. But can Mr. Adams deny the fact that the whole of his Bundaberg property is at the present moment in the market for sale? We do not think Mr. Adams will eventually have any cause to regret the sale of that back allotment in Bundaberg which he so proudly refers to. There are many persons still living in Maryborough who remember investing their money in 'Old Maryborough'. In those days there were far-seeing men like Mr. Adams who

sounded a note of warning. We know the fate of those that heeded … .

(For) The Barolin Land Company.

To which Walter Adams, following an expression of disagreement with the representative of the Barolin Land Company re navigation in the Burnett River channel in his reply, was to continue:

> *The letter in your impression of the 13th, signed the Barolin Land Company, in reply to mine of the day previous … .*
>
> *The Land Company want to know if I can deny that all my property is in the market for sale – to this I say yes, I do deny, and so can their auctioneer, who only yesterday asked would I sell.* [Note 1] *It is, with some people, no use to contradict one statement to bring out another (both) glaring and untruthful; but to show that I am unbiased in the matter, and that it is not in my interest to condemn the so-called New Bundaberg; I have 240 acres alongside it* [Note 2] *and therefore, if it is such a wonderful place as represented by the owners, I must benefit by it also. Time is the revealor of all truths, and the first land sale of the so-called New Bundaberg will prove what the people here think of it.*

Following further discussion on the Burnett River's navigability the letter went on to say:

> *… . Now, Mr. Syndicate, about your shifting 'Old Maryborough'. Behold, I tell you a mystery. After the old Albion had left the Maryborough wharf for Sydney, a 100 ton boat, mind, and three months after it had to send a boat up (the Mary River) for provisions, and after similar incidents it was thought, by those wise men you write of, that they must have deep water. The Government was memorialised, a town was surveyed, and they called it, not New Maryborough, but Bingham. (Refer Chapter 3) At the time of the sale there was great excitement, the bidding was brisk, and would you believe some quarter acres brought £100. Ask those wise men where is the town of Bingham now and if they are ashamed to tell, then history will echo where. The last part of my secret is, do not vilify Bundaberg but take warning in time, for we know the fate of Bingham, and yet we don't blush that history may yet repeat itself in the lifetime of a younger man than*
>
> *Yours sincerely,*
>
> *Walter Adams*

The news-paper war on the New Bundaberg and river mouth bar affair was to continue particularly with regard to access by sea traffic. It should be recalled that, in the days of the New Bundaberg proposal, sea traffic was all important as the slow bullock, or draughthorse, teams provided the only other means of transporting bulky or heavy goods throughout the Colony. We now know that the main coastal railway line was to reach Bundaberg in 1888 and this connection would make the existing Bundaberg town site considerably more attractive to commercial activity than one such as New Bundaberg, situated as it was at a location removed from direct railway line facilities.

The *Maryborough Chronicle* of Monday the 19th of February 1883 describes the results of the first auction of the New Bundaberg allotments. Unsold allotments were later put up for sale at a follow-up auction held in Maryborough on

the 16th of March 1883. A listing of the participants in the Bundaberg auction is given in Appendix 3.

The *Victoria Hall* was filled on Wednesday the 14th of February, with intending purchasers and those curious to see how the properties, so well-advertised by the *Barolin Land and Tramway Company*, would sell. Before commencing the sale the auctioneer, Mr. Curtis, explained that his instructions were to pass any allotment not promptly bid for up to the reserves and to reserve several other blocks for the next sale in Maryborough. He also explained that, immediately after the sale by auction, all the unsold New Bundaberg allotments would be withdrawn for later auction at Maryborough, but that the allotments at the Barolin Marine township site would be open for selection at the reserve price for one week after the auction.

The bidding for the lots in New Bundaberg was very spirited, as the auctioneer knocked down the allotments as soon as the bidding flagged. The bay side Barolin Marine lots did not sell so well as the Bundaberg bidders seemed to regard the reserve prices as being too high. It is possible that, if the reserve prices had been lower, every allotment may have been sold. The company seemed unconcerned at the objections to their high reserve prices, and it expressed a determination either to retain its fixed prices or to keep the land.

The large Barolin Marine blocks together with the farms attracted no bids, intending buyers preferring to deal later and in private with the Company. Large blocks of 360 acres at £6 5s. 0d. and 100 acres at £7 per acre were sold to Mr. A. P. Barton following the auction. The Company retained a reserve for a tramway through the development and for the coastal frontage. It also thought that eighteen pounds per acre was too low a price for them to consider the sale of the small suburban scrub blocks at the Barolin Marine Township.

The number of lots purchased at this auction, the names of the buyers and the amounts of their respective purchases are given in Appendix 3 together with a locality plan of the New Bundaberg proposal (on the southern river bank just upstream of Burnett Heads) and of the Barolin Marine subdivisions (on the bay front just south of Burnett Heads).

A ten pounds per acre offer for a block of 1,100 acres, opposite the Hummock plantation, was received from a Bundaberg syndicate that wished to establish a rival township. This proved to be insufficient to tempt the *Barolin Syndicate* to part with the block, that had no coastal frontage, even though it had a reserve price that was considerably less than that for the blocks on the sea front.

An auction to sell the remaining New Bundaberg allotments, took place in Maryborough on the 16th of March. The initial sale of 157 allotments on offer at Bundaberg had met with success, the allotments and blocks being auctioned by Mr. Curtis in one and a half hours at prices considered satisfactory by the developers. Following this initial auction additional blocks had been surveyed for sub-division and it was claimed that the allotments to be auctioned in Maryborough were better situated than those that had been on offer in Bundaberg as they were on higher sites fronting onto deep water.

At the Maryborough auction the Barolin Marine township allotments that had been withdrawn from the original auction were also put up for sale. The enthusiastic participation of Maryborough residents in this auction was anticipated as the site of the proposed township was within one and a quarter miles of New Bundaberg, within eight miles of Bundaberg, and within half a mile of a proposed branch railway line to Maryborough which, it was anticipated, would connect to the proposed main northern line at the Elliott River. With the land surrounding both New Bundaberg and the proposed Barolin Township being the splendid agricultural land of the Barolin plains and the Woongarra scrub it was considered that the location would have provided an additional attraction to the Maryborough bidders.

In closing this review on the New Bundaberg affair, and with the wisdom of hindsight, we know that the land in question, though fully surveyed, subdivided and auctioned at the time under discussion, had to wait for many years to acquire any proximity to a port (the existing sugar terminal at the river's mouth) and considerably longer for it to be considered for seaside residential (not town) construction. These circumstances would seem to confirm both the accuracy of Walter Adams's judgment at the time in question and of his confident predictions as to the progress of the Bundaberg district over the longer term.

Note 1: Apparently the *Land Council* had made an offer for Walter Adams's Bundaberg allotments that it thought he could not refuse.

Note 2: Walter's *Summerville* plantation in the Woongarra near Burnett Heads was in very close proximity to the developments in question. Refer to Locality Plan – Appendix 3.

Also, in this month Walter Adams was unanimously re-elected as Mayor of Bundaberg. His proposer and seconder for the position, Alderman Budge, spoke highly of Walter's energy, impartiality and public spirit, and the whole Council gave proof of its confidence by giving him its unanimous vote. The newly elected Mayor, on taking the chair, thanked them for their confidence and support. Although it was a position of a very worthy character, and one that he felt proud to hold, he informed the Council that he had not intended to stand for the position again, but as a consequence of the many requests received he had finally agreed to do so. He also declared that his preference was to see other deserving councillors share in the honour. He trusted the Council would continue to work as well for the general good as it had done in the previous year– and to achieve this they must all work together. Whatever evils had been committed in the past he promised that he would endeavour to remedy in the future, and he hoped they would all work together as amicably as in the past to spend the ratepayers' money both economically and efficiently. He did not think there was a council in the colony that had worked as economically as had their council in the previous year. He thanked them once again and asked them for their cordial assistance in the fulfillment of the duties of his office.

The growing season of 1883 marked the beginning of the large-scale planting of sugar cane, and of the production and refining of

sugar in the Bundaberg, mainly Woongarra, area making this year one of very considerable significance to the commercial life of the whole district.

In 1882 a Lutheran church with a secular school attached had been erected in Tantitha Street and in May 1883 a Lutheran pastor, the Rev. Johann Friedrick Kohnke, arrived from Toowoomba to provide clerical services to the increasing number of Lutheran settlers arriving in the Lower Burnett. Following the Rev. Kohnke's death he was replaced, in September 1884, by a second pastor from Toowoomba, the Rev. J. A. Giezendauner. Unfortunately, the attached school had a limited lifespan.

On Tuesday the 7th of August 1883 the Premier, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, met his constituents in Bundaberg's *Victoria Hall* to launch his campaign for the coming election. The hall was filled to near capacity with an attendance of at least five hundred persons. Most of the leading residents of the town and district were there with Walter Adams, in his capacity as Mayor, occupying the chair to introduce the speaker. The Premier in a very lengthy speech gave to the assembled gathering a detailed description and justification for the implementation of his government's policies as they related to the development of the colony. A list of the speech's main subject headings follows; the leading points raised under these subject headings, but not the speech itself, are given in Appendix 4:

The Opening Remarks;

On the Land-grant Railways;

The Current Financial Position;

On the Railway Guarantee Principle;

Kanaka, Coolie and Other Labour; and

Past Legislation.

Mr. Samuel Johnson proposed, and Mr. George Greathead seconded, a vote of confidence in Sir Thomas, with Mr. John Lamb then proposing, and Mr. Frank Isambert seconding, an amendment which was the direct opposite. When the original motion was put to the meeting the Chairman, to loud cheers from the floor, declared it to be carried by a large majority. All told the Premier had received an excellent hearing.

Due to Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's popularity it was proving difficult to enlist a rival candidate for the Mulgrave electorate in the forthcoming election. An acceptable candidate, Mr. James Court Walker, a north Bundaberg shop-keeper and Chairman of the *Kolan Divisional Board*, finally agreed to accept the nomination and was duly selected. The extensive Mulgrave electorate included Mount Perry and extended through the Bundaberg area on to the coast.

THE YEAR OF 1884

In 1884 Walter Adams's eldest son, George Manus, was granted the licence of the *Sydney Hotel* located on the corner of Bourbon and Toonburra Streets. George maintained this licence until taking over the licence of the family's *Metropolitan Hotel* from his father in 1886. It was also in this year that Charles Skyring joined his brother George in Bundaberg. Two years later, in 1886, he joined his brother in the running of the Bourbon Street butcher's shop.

On February of that year Walter Adams, retiring after serving two terms as Mayor of Bundaberg, was replaced in the position by William E. Curtis. Following disastrous fires in Bourbon Street in both 1882 and 1883 the *Bundaberg Fire Brigade* was formed under government regulation on the 13th of March 1884. A fire brigade meeting, held in March with Mayor Curtis in the chair, resolved to spend funds that they did not have on their books, a circumstance that Walter viewed with some concern, and which prompted him both to object to the proposal and to provide to the meeting some advice on sound financial management. Later in the proceedings he gave additional advice to the meeting on the subject of procurement of water from the Burnett River by allowing the fire-fighters to harvest water for discharge onto a Bourbon Street fire by utilizing a fire-hose connection between the pumps of two separate fire engines, coupled in series, to obtain the necessary hydraulic lift while retaining the same volume of flow.

Mr. Adams' election to the position of the brigade's treasurer was later proposed at the meeting and a motion to this effect was raised and seconded. However, Mr. Curtis is reported to have ignored this motion and stood to propose a motion of his own which he then unilaterally declared to have been carried. The substance of Mr. Curtis's motion was reported to be that some person, other than ex-mayor Adams, should be appointed to the position of treasurer. Walter is said to have stood on his dignity and resigned from the committee to Mr. Curtis' parting comment of *"Adams, I don't care. We can get on without you."*



On the Friday evening of the 16th of June a well-attended public meeting was held in the Pioneer Schoolroom to obtain expressions of opinion on the question of France's proposal to transport convicted criminals to the French Colonies in the Pacific Islands. The meeting was convened by the mayor, Mr. W. E. Curtis, at the instigation of the mayor of Brisbane. In presiding at the meeting Mr. Curtis briefly explained the reasons for, and the objective of, the gathering, and then Mr. A. M. Goodwin introduced the first resolution that: *"This meeting is of opinion that the proposed action of the Government of France in deporting their relapsed criminals to the South Pacific Islands is prejudicial to the interests of Australia generally and to the Colony of Queensland especially."* He spoke at length, from an Australian viewpoint, respectfully and emphatically against the transportation scheme for the recidivists. Mr. D. F. Johnston, of *Colanne*, seconded the motion and related personal experiences with bushrangers such as Morgan and Ben Hall, who had terrorized wide areas of the Australian countryside. The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. C. Walker proposed the next motion: *"That this meeting cordially endorses the action of the people of Brisbane in petitioning the Imperial Parliament through the Government of Queensland, against the French Government's scheme for depositing its recidivists to the South Pacific."* Seconded by Mr. John Rowland, and carried. The remaining resolution was moved by Walter Adams and seconded by Mr. Lamb: *"That the chairman be requested to forward a copy of the forgoing resolutions to the Colonial Secretary and the Mayor of Brisbane"* and this motion was also carried. A vote of thanks to the Mayor for convening and presiding at the

meeting then concluded the most harmonious and unanimous public gathering that had been held in the Bundaberg district for a considerable period.

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A prominent Bundaberg town feature of many years duration, located just to the east of the existing Kennedy Bridge's location and on the southern side of the road, was Robert Fleming's gasworks. Mr. Fleming had constructed these works in 1884 and they had, as their most visible constituent, the large gasometer for the storage and pressurizing of methane gas derived from coal distillation. This gas was initially used to service the lighting demands of the town's principal streets, followed by connections to Bourbong Street's commercial buildings and then by connections to domestic users. By-products of the methane gas production that were also of considerable value to the developing community were coke and bitumen. Construction of the gasworks had, by the Saturday night of the 1st of November 1884, advanced to the stage where the first commercial customer to avail himself of the facility, Mr. G. J. Young, had been able to utilize the reticulated gas to illuminate his shop. Mr. Fleming's product for street lighting and domestic use had now become available to provide a steadily increasing proportion of the



Scene on a Woongarra Scrub canefield

From *THE HISTORY OF MARYBOROUGH AND THE WIDE BAY AND BURNETT DISTRICTS FROM THE YEAR 1850 TO 1895* by George E. Loyau

town's residents with gas for lighting, cooking and heating purposes.

At the same time as Bundaberg was installing its gas reticulation system the politicians in Brisbane had ordered Thomas Edison's direct current (DC) based underground electrical distribution system, to illuminate the government buildings in William and George Streets. The electricity was carried by three copper cables encased in buried copper tubing. This replicated a system that had first been installed in Manhattan, New York, closely followed by London, in 1882, with considerable cost and effort being involved in the installations. The Brisbane electrical system was installed in 1883/4 making Brisbane the third city in the world to install an operative electrical distribution system. By comparison, the installation of Bundaberg's electrical distribution network commenced in 1915 with the generation of Edison's preference of a direct current (DC) from a power station in Woongarra Street. This system remained in service until replaced in 1951 by the alternating current (AC) as promoted by Tesla, a commercial rival of Edison, and supplied by a coal fired power-station situated at a location in the vicinity of the Howard coal mine promoted by Tesla, a commercial rival of Edison, and supplied by a coal fired power-station situated at a location in the vicinity of the Howard coal mine.



Milliquin Sugar Mill 1898

John Oxley Library



Workers' Dining and Recreation Shed with the Sugar Cane Juice Mill on the Right. W. Adams's Summerville Plantation in the Woongarra.

(A social gathering is taking place)

Chapter 8

Colonial Politics Intrude

A banquet, described in *The Brisbane Courier* of the 26th of August 1884, was held on the previous evening in honour of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith (Member for Mulgrave and Opposition Leader), to welcome him on his return from a visit to the old country and to his home town of Ayr in Scotland. The subject matter contained in the various speeches, as delivered to this gathering by the colony's then influential policymakers, gives a graphic overview of the current, topical issues. These issues to varying degrees, dependent on subject and location, were relevant to the Queensland Colony, the Lower Burnett region and to the other Australian colonies. The policy makers at the gathering were of various political persuasions and, for this reason, their speeches could be considered either non-partisan or, at the least, transparently partisan. Due to these considerations the subject matter of the speeches has been allocated a generous portion of this chapter.

The banquet concerned took place in Brisbane's main *Exhibition Building*, its hall being provided with additional rows of gas jet lighting and with decorative flags of many colours. The principal table was placed at the far end of the room, with six other tables being arranged in parallel along the length of the hall. The occupants of the principal table were the chairman, the Hon. Dr. Kevin O'Doherty M.L.C, having on his right the guests of the evening Mr. Boyd Douglas Morehead M.L.A., the Hon. P. Perkins, Mr. Chubb M.L.A., the Hon. A. J. Thynne M.L.C., Mr. M. H. Black M.L.A., Mr. W. Salkeld M.L.A., Mr. J. Ferguson M.L.A. and Mr. C. H. Buzacott. On the left of the chairman were Sir Arthur Palmer M.L.C., Mr. Archer M.L.A., the Hon. J. F. M'Dougall M.L.C., Brigadier General MacIver, the Hon. A. C. Gregory M.L.C., the Hon. William Forrest M.L.C., the Hon. F. H. Hart M.L.C. and the Reverend J. F. M'Swaine.

The gathering was representative of the colony's community as a whole and the numbers of those attending, included about thirty from Ipswich, twenty from Toowoomba, thirty from Roma and the Maranoa district, twelve from Bundaberg and Mount Perry, and some from communities further north including Rockhampton, Cairns, Normanton, and other locations. To meet capacity restrictions many of the tables were occupied by attendees who were obliged to retire on their completion of dining to enable the recycling of their positions.

Altogether there were between 850 and 900 people admitted by ticket. As no money was taken at the doors some latecomers, who were without tickets, were refused admission. An excellent band, which included Messrs Seal, Rosenstangel and several other performers, was positioned near the main entrance, whilst Mr. Whitehouse of Ipswich provided a very satisfactory catering service. The Chairman, Dr. Kevin O'Doherty, proposed the toast of *The Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Royal family* and then the toast to The Governor which was delivered in complimentary terms. In a speech, the contents of which are set out below, he went on to propose the toast of the evening to a background of loud cheering.

Dr. O'Doherty said that in these young democratic colonies it was, he considered, our legitimate boast that we are not enamoured of blue blood and that we are not disposed to pay more homage to a hereditary title than the individual worth of the man who holds that title would warrant. Here public men are judged upon their merits and the highest distinction in the view of the people of these colonies, the right to be considered the first citizen, was only granted to the man who, with the entire voice of that colony, was considered to be her first and greatest statesman. In the history of these colonies comparatively few men had attained this great distinction or had left a name which would be recorded in history. There was one name that would live as long as these colonies existed, the name of one man who, with the entire voice of the colony, was acknowledged over all the colonies as their greatest statesman. (Cheers) A man who, he considered, in regard to all the Australian colonies, holds the rank that the great Washington holds in regard to America. (Cheers). Need he say that this man is William Wentworth? (Cheers). It was this man who drew the first *Constitutional Act* by which the colonies now enjoy the constitutional freedom that is rapidly raising them into the position of a great nation.

It was a singular thing, and he regarded it as a very hopeful one, that there are at present in the Imperial Council three men, probably amongst the most influential of Great Britain's rulers, who aided largely in building up the representative system, the foundations of which were so well laid by Mr. Wentworth. He referred to Mr. Robert Lowe (Chancellor of the Exchequer under W. E. Gladstone – from 1868, then Lord Sherbrooke), the Right Hon. Mr. Hugh Childers (Chancellor of the Exchequer under Gladstone – from 1882) and Sir Robert G. W. Herbert (Queensland's first Premier) and pointed out that Queensland could not hope to compete with the older, sister states in its number of distinguished men but could show, during its record of twenty-five years, a smaller but not less distinguished number of able statesmen who had ruled this colony to the benefit of all. (Cheers)

At the head of that list, amongst the older men who fought the battles of this colony, he would place the name of his honoured friend Sir Arthur Palmer (Cheers). He would place alongside this name that of his equally honoured friend Sir Charles Lilley (Cheers) and he would go further and say that the present Premier of the colony, the Hon. S. W. Griffith, was worthy of a high place amongst the men who are laying the foundations of good government in this colony. (Cheers) But whilst willing to give the fullest credit, the highest honour, to these gentlemen, he claimed for his honoured friend Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith (Prolonged cheers and waving of handkerchiefs) that he stands a head and shoulders over the whole of them. With all the qualities necessary to constitute the greatest statesman of Queensland Sir Thomas, he claimed, takes the first position of all the men who have appeared on the political arena of this colony. (Cheers)

He did not claim for Sir Thomas that he is infallible. They all know that there was but one man in the world who is infallible. (Laughter and Sir Arthur Palmer interjecting *"Dr. O'Doherty, of course"*). He was sure Sir Thomas would be the very last in this assembly to claim to be that man. He had many weaknesses. He was given too much to annexation [Note 1]. (Laughter and cries of "No, no") There were some who thought Sir Thomas had the intent to annex the whole of our Western lands and hand them over to a terrible London syndicate *(No! No!)* to make ducks and drakes of them, but so far as he (O'Doherty) was concerned he did not believe there was the slightest evidence that he intended anything of the kind.

He did believe, however, that Sir Thomas had intent to annex this Queensland of ours to Scotland. (Laughter and cheers) They would all recollect how Sir Thomas succeeded during the last two years of his reign in flooding the streets here with Glasgow boys and girls from Ayr. (M'Ilwraith's home shire.) He was prepared to welcome any number of our Scotch cousins, but fair play was a jewel, and he hoped when next Sir Thomas held the reins he would be prepared to recollect that our poor English immigrants have their rights, leaving Paddy [Note 2] out of the question altogether. But these annexing weaknesses of Sir Thomas might well be excused on recalling the result of the bold and statesmanlike step he took when he planted the Imperial standard on the shores of New Guinea (Prolonged cheers) and sought to annex that territory to Queensland as British territory. Young countries, like young individuals, could only make progress by advertising and undoubtedly the bold step taken by Sir Thomas in this matter had advertised Queensland so well that, on all hands, her merits were being read of and discussed in all the great centres of the world, and from being but little known outside its own territory, it has been suddenly elevated to the position of the most favoured colony of the Empire. (Cheers) He hoped that this action, which had raised a spirit of inquiry into the higher duties of Australian patriotism, will not lose its effect till there is an Australian Dominion as the result of that inquiry. (Cheers)

If Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith had been remarkable in his career as Premier for anything it had been in giving grand surprises, but he (the chairman) held that there was nothing that could do more for the fame of a great statesman than giving grand surprises. Six or seven years ago

this colony was, commercially speaking, little other than a dependency of New South Wales and all would remember the abortive attempts made to shake off that yoke. If anyone had said, seven years ago, that there should be seen such a stream of immigration coming in, as was then coming in weekly to the port of Brisbane, and being scattered right along the coast from north to south; and if anyone could have announced that fleets of steamers of 3,000 and 4,000 tons burden would come up to the wharves of Brisbane and land on shore hundreds of our own people, the life blood of a colony, every week, and that they would be brought safe and sound through the dreaded Red Sea and Torres Straits, such a man would not have been believed. But now all have seen this accomplished. If Sir Thomas had done nothing but that grand work, which had pushed this colony along more than all the legislation of the past twenty years, he would be worthy of all honour. In conclusion, he read some lines of welcome written by Mr. Samuel Macgregor, to whom he referred as the Poet Laureate of Queensland. He then proposed the toast of *Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith*. (Heartily drunk with musical honours)

Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, on rising, was received with an extended and enthusiastic burst of applause that had the people standing on their seats waving their handkerchiefs and cheering loudly. As soon as the guest of honour could make himself heard above the acclamations he began his delivery of the following speech to a receptive gathering:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen – let me return you my most heartfelt thanks for the congratulations which you have given to me on my return to the colony – for the way in which Dr. O'Doherty has spoken, and in which you have responded to the sentiments he has expressed. I have had a good deal of the roughs of political life, I think I am now coming into some of the sweets. I have never when dining, in the whole of my public life, experienced greater gratification than I have felt in meeting my fellow citizens on returning from the old land to my adopted country Queensland. I feel at home again. I thought I would feel at home when I got to my old town of Ayr (in south-west Scotland) but I felt after all that I was not at home – that I was not amongst the men whom I knew, amongst those with whom I have been identified in public life, nor amongst these in whose midst I was to spend the rest of my life. I assure you that I felt more nervous in addressing my fellow townspeople of Ayr, when they presented me with the freedom of their borough, than I had ever felt when addressing an audience in my life, and far more nervous than addressing you now. Dr. O'Doherty's kind words have given me the most pleasure because I remember well the fights that he and I have had in the old days. It is some gratification to me to know that we can differ and argue, and still remain friends to the end of the chapter. I value his friendship, and I only hope it will be taken as an example by other politicians in the future. It is a satisfaction to know that men can quarrel with one another in Parliament, and meet outside as friends, giving each other credit for acting in accordance with what he believes to be the best for the country.

Dr. O'Doherty has told you I am a man of surprises and illustrated his rather peculiar view, at least peculiar to me, by remarking how much I astonished the colony by opening up a direct trade between Queensland and the mother

country. Now whatever credit may be due to me for that I can assure you that, if the doctor (Dr. O'Doherty) had studied my political career in this colony, he would have found that action was not a surprise because, from the very first day I entered the Legislative Assembly, I have stood up for the doctrine that we must do what we can to make Queensland a country in itself and the only way to do that is to stand upon our own foundations, and not to creep under the apron strings of the adjoining colony of New South Wales. (Great applause)

You may remember gentlemen, that I have often been blamed, and have even felt myself that I was subject to blame, for not adopting a weaker platform in advocating Queensland interests, but, while open to exception on the pure principles of political economy, I felt that a man could not go too far in using all the legitimate implements of government to force on the prosperity of this colony. (Applause) I am not vain enough to take to myself all the credit that Dr. O'Doherty has so kindly put upon me. There is not the slightest question that the Australian colonies have come very prominently before the world lately. If they have not become a nation, they are at least a nation in embryo, and will soon be a nation in fact before the world. I can say that Queensland certainly does not now occupy the position she did a few years ago, of one of the smallest of the Australian group. We are a little behind in population, but in everything else we stand as far ahead as any of the colonies.

Why, I had not been three weeks in the old country before I got a communication addressed to me by the mayor of one of the principal cities as the Premier of Australia. (Laughter) But this is not the point I wish to make of this circumstance. I wish to make two points – one is that the people at home (i.e. in Great Britain) should learn a little more of the geography of Australia, and the other that we have really come to the front much more than we ever expected. I know I shall be expected to give you some idea of what I think of the people at home judging from the short time I had to talk with them regarding the material interests of the Australian colonies. I do not want to make a long speech but I may say that I think the relations between the mother country and the colonies at the present time are, mainly through the combined action taken by the colonies to secure federation, a little strained and I believe we now see that the strong point in which we can attain great ultimate benefit is that we may be able to tell the mother country, in an authoritative way, what we think of her and what we intend to do.

To illustrate what I mean, look at the outrageous agreement into which England was prepared to enter some time ago, whereby a French company were to be given a monopoly of the Isthmus of Suez. [Note 3] The whole mercantile community admitted that this was an outrageous proposal, but in a matter which so closely concerned us, the Australian colonies were not consulted, and they were shown not the slightest consideration. What means had we of jointly communicating our ideas on this subject? There was only one little squeak from the colonies, and that came from Queensland. I sent home a cable protesting against the making of such an agreement but consider the effect such a protest would have had if it had come from a united nation, such as we ought to be, and such as I have no doubt we soon shall be. (Applause)

There are other points on which we have no means of letting the home country know our ideas. They have a grand literature and a grand press, in fact nothing has delighted me more than to read the able opinions on colonial affairs given expression through the columns of the English press. They have been deliberately lecturing us and saying what they think of us, but we have no means of telling them our ideas about them. I could tell them a good many things if we could speak with the voice of a nation. Look, for instance, at the position Queensland holds in respect to Great Britain with regard to the wine trade. French wines could actually be got into the United Kingdom on the payment of less duty than had to be paid on the wines of Australia. (Applause) Surely, from a country that has been lecturing us for so long on the principles of free trade, we ought to have got justice, and to have been put in a position of equality at least. We were entitled to that as our birthright. The action of England in this respect has a great effect indirectly upon us at the present time.

Then again, we know how badly off our sugar industry is, and I have no hesitation in saying that it is owing to the fanatical way in which England has encouraged the sugar trade of the Continent that the colonial sugar market is in the position in which it is found at the present time. The sugar industry of Germany has increased by 300,000 tons during the past two years, and that nation is pouring cheap sugar into England. The mother country, instead of doing anything to check the trade, is simply lying by contenting herself with the remark that, if Germany is content to lose by making cheap sugar, they are satisfied. But could England not see that as soon as Germany had got command of the market and had crippled the industry in other parts of the world, she would make England pay more than ever for her sugar. (Applause)

Now I say this, that as we have been lectured for so long by Great Britain on the principles of political economy, it is time that we could speak to her with a united voice and that, if we could do this, we could tell her some things that would result in our own material prosperity. But there is a much stronger point which I wish to bring before you and it is a matter lying at the foundation of the greatness of this country. No one who has studied the position of England as long as I have, and who has endeavoured as I have to get the people there to take an interest in emigration to these colonies, can help admitting that a great deal of apathy has been shown on the subject. England has never made any united effort to divert to these colonies the great stream of emigration that has flown to the United States. Opportunities have been pointed out in which the influence of the British Government might have done a great deal in this direction, but they have simply stood still. (Applause) All parties in England seemed to have forgotten the position we occupy at the present time, and the position we shall occupy in the future. At the present time a third of the subjects of her Majesty live outside of Great Britain. Considering the possibilities of increasing immigration to these colonies, and the extent to which the number of her Majesty's subjects abroad will be augmented, it will be seen that the time is not far distant, that it is only a matter of a few years, when there will be more British subjects outside of Great Britain than within that country. That fact does not seem to be recognized. Instead of standing back and giving us a no-assistance in the grand idea of federation, England ought to do everything

she can to help us for, in a short time, the tail will wag the dog. (Applause)

Gentlemen, I am exceedingly interested in this subject of immigration. I think it is a subject on which we will all be brought to agree, because Queensland can be nothing without population. We must have a very large population, and we must try to federate in order to force upon the English nation the importance of inducing her sons to come voluntarily to our shores. We have achieved great success in this matter during the last few years. The wonderful prominence with which we have come before the old country has made immigration a much easier matter for us. Whereas at one time we had to pay the whole of the passage money of our immigrants, now we can get them by paying half, and I believe we will be able to force the colony into such prominence that the people will find the money in some way or other, and come out without any assistance at all. When we get such a system of immigration then will commence the prosperity of the colony, but we will not get such a system by too largely assisting immigration. I can see the time when the population of Great Britain will be emptied on to our Australian shores, and I believe that will conduce to the good of this colony. I believe that Queensland is capable of containing millions where she has now only thousands, and, although that result may not be realized in our time, we ought to work with that end in view. (Applause)

In conclusion, I thank you most heartily for the kind reception you have given me here. The reception accorded to me does not satisfy me the less because I do not take it so much as a recognition of past services as an expression of natural hope and conviction that I have come back to work. (Applause) It is a good thing for a party to be in Opposition. The duties of an Opposition are of a most responsible character, and such a body should be respected. As to the Opposition that I intend to preside over, I believe myself that they will make themselves respected. It is very probable that they will be outvoted for some time to come, but if there is one thing that I am satisfied of, it is that the country will know what we think on every subject that comes before us. (Great applause) Once we get the country to understand us and although they may at present pronounce against us on some points yet I believe that on a great many of the questions now before them they will come to say of the Opposition - *Well done*."

After the prolonged applause ensuing on Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's speech had subsided, the chairman called upon *"Poet Laureate, Mr. Samuel Macgregor,"* to propose a toast to "*The Parliament of Queensland"*. As virtually all at the cross table were members of one of the two Houses of Parliament, they all stood in response to the toast.

Sir Arthur Palmer took the floor to indicate that most members of the Legislative Council had fought their way up from the Assembly and were a very useful part of the Legislature … . He claimed to be never as happy as when engaged in an uphill fight in the Lower House and characterized Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith as the foremost statesman, not only of Queensland, but of all Australia.

Mr. Archer followed and having mentioned his initial disappointment when Sir Thomas took Sir Arthur Palmer's place as Opposition leader claimed that he now felt that Sir Arthur was

right to resign and he had become comfortable under the leadership of the foremost statesman of Australia, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, in whom he had the most perfect confidence.

The Hon. A. C. Gregory and Lieutenant Colonel Snelling proposed a toast to the *Army, Navy and Volunteers* responded to by Mr. MacIver. Mr. Morehead then arose amid loud applause and proposed the toast *Prosperity to Queensland*, and in the course of his remarks said that Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith had done as much for the colony when he was in England as he had when he was in Queensland … . He then claimed that Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, in his annexation of New Guinea, had laid the foundation stone of federation and would always be regarded as this movement's originator. Mr. R. D. Neilson, Mr. M. H. Black and Mr. W. Adams responded to this toast.

A toast to *The Visitors* was proposed by Mr. Stevenson and replied to by Mr. T. O'Sullivan, of Ipswich, Mr. W. Adams, of Bundaberg and others. The final toasts were one to *The Ladies* as proposed by Mr. E. Lilley and the other to *The Press*. The chairman then read a welcoming home telegram from the *Progress Association of St George* and the company dispersed at a late hour.

In passing it is notable that, with regards to the nature of the above assembly of guests celebrating Thomas M'Ilwraith's return, whilst there could be fierce political debate in the House between politicians of opposing parties, in contrast to the often acrimonious encounters between our currently elected politicians, the civil attitudes of the same members towards each other when away from the House is worthy of remark. This civility often extended to actual friendships and social mingling when away from George Street as exemplified at this gathering by the prominence of such attendees as Dr. Kevin O'Doherty, an elected member of the pro-squatter Queensland liberals, in contrast to the anti-squatter tendencies of Sir Thomas, and also the presence of Edwyn Lilley, the son of Sir Charles Lilley, M'Ilwraith and Palmer's opponent of yore and past premier. In contrast to later political party leaders both Sir Charles Lilley and Sir Arthur Palmer had personal opinions and political commitments to opposing parties whilst holding office as premiers of the Queensland colony.

Note 1: The Queensland colonial government's annexation of New Guinea.

Note 2: O'Doherty himself, of course being a Paddy.

Note 3: The British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli ensured that his government became the largest shareholder of the Suez Canal Company when, in 1875, it purchased the greater part of the company's shares against resistance from elements of his Parliament.

On the morning of the 28th of August 1884, a large deputation was presented to the Colonial Treasurer by the Hon. W. H. Groom M.L.A. The matters raised in the deputation's presentation would appear to have had a long-lasting effect upon the funding of public works in Queensland. The deputation's numbers consisted of: Alderman Porter, acting mayor Brisbane, Messrs Aland and Campbell M.L.A. Toowoomba, Messrs. J. T. Annear M.L.A., Mayor Bryant, and Alderman Gaynor Maryborough, Mr. J. Francis, Mayor Ipswich,

Mr. J. Ferguson M.L.A. (Rockhampton), Mayor A. M. Goodwin and Aldermen Walter Adams (Bundaberg). Mr. Groom indicated that he held a telegram from the mayor of Townsville appointing him as a delegate to represent that municipality. Mr. Groom then informed Mr. Dickson that the deputation consisted of representatives from several of the municipalities in the colony who had approached him concerning the actual costs of works, where the Government Engineer's estimate of the combined cost had been £28,000, but the actual combined costs to the councils had reached £42,000 to £43,000. Consequently, Warwick had been granted a one-third cost deduction [Note 1] by the execution of an *Executive Minute*, following resolutions that had been moved and passed at a joint municipal conference held in Brisbane in October 1882.

Amongst the leading points raised by the delegation Mr. Bryant thought that one third of the debt incurred for waterworks by small municipalities should be struck out and Mr. Adams pointed out that the availability of pure water was a necessary adjunct to all of the municipalities but the smaller municipalities were unable to bear the expense necessary to install adequate waterworks. The Toowoomba representative indicated that a water-supply undertaking estimated to cost under £10,000 had accumulated a construction cost of £22,000 and had proven to be a failure in operation. The Townsville representative then presented a similar story. The experience of Maryborough was raised where the cost of waterworks had greatly exceeded the original estimate, to which the Colonial Secretary commented that he had been under the impression that some cost concession had already been granted to the Maryborough municipality. Mr. J. T. Annear replied that the concession to Maryborough was only the remission of the interest owing prior to the completion of the works. As it was, taxation of the existing ratepayers in the municipalities was levied to pay for the expeditious redemption of moneys that they had expended on public works, such as water conservation. Posterity would reap the benefits of those labours while the present generation would have to pay all of the cost and Mr. Annear thought that, for this reason, all of this expense should not fall on the initiators of the works whilst those who came after them could then enjoy their usage free of charge. [Note 2]

Similar problems with cost over-runs and/or non-affordability were raised by Mr. J. Ferguson on behalf of Rockhampton and North Rockhampton and by Mr. J. Francis on behalf of Ipswich. Alderman Porter informed the Colonial Treasurer that his presence in the delegation was at the request of Brisbane's Municipal Council to represent its mayor who was currently indisposed. As far as Brisbane was concerned he had no particular complaint but was there to support the other municipalities and pointed out that the Government was about to introduce a new *Health Bill* and the most important element concerning public health was an adequate supply of pure water. Small municipalities, in endeavouring to pay their debts, were taxed to an almost unbearable extent and he thought that such an important section of the colony should receive serious consideration by the Government and so he was in agreement with Mr. Annear's suggestion that the interest payments should best be spread over

a significantly longer period of time. Following closing comments by the Colonial Treasurer and by Mr. Groom the deputation then withdrew.

Note 1: This de facto government subsidy may have been the genesis of the thirty-three and one third percent subsidy for Queensland's local authority water supply and sewerage works that was to become an accepted practice and one that was to prevail well into the twentieth century.

Note 2: Mr. Annear had a very good point here. There can be no ethical problem having future generations sharing in the cost of inherited infrastructure by continuing to pay off the remainder of a thirty-year loan raised to pay for the infrastructure if it is still in use at the termination of the loan. Expecting future generations to bear the cost of cumulative recurrent expenditure, with associated debt due to its accrued interest, is a very different matter.

For some time prior to the 10th September, 1884 a great deal of public interest in the Burnett and Mary districts had been focused on the subject of a proposed major railway extension to the western interior of the colony. At first in Maryborough, and later in Bundaberg, this interest merged into a feeling approaching antagonism between the two populations. In order to checkmate the attempted encroachment of Maryborough on the preserves of the Burnett district the citizens of Mount Perry, and some in Gayndah, sent memorials to Parliament re the extension of the Bundaberg-Mount Perry railway line to Gayndah. Copies of these memorials were sent to the *Bundaberg Chamber of Commerce* with an appeal for co-operation. Action had already been taken to promote the construction of the third section of the line, westward into Queensland's interior, and the *Chamber* had subscribed to the funding required to conduct a preliminary survey of the route. Given the intense rivalry then prevailing the *Chamber* decided to exercise discretion by assisting the petitioners whilst maintaining its own objectives.

Extending the line from Mount Perry to Gayndah was regarded as a means of allowing the colony to save on the construction of forty miles of railway track by utilizing the Mount Perry to Gayndah connection as the eastern segment of the proposed Tambo railway line. This action of the *Chamber* was favoured by Captain Bennett, Messrs. Curtis, Duffy and Adams and by some of the settlers in the west of the district but was challenged by Mr. Rowland who favoured a line due west from Mount Perry. Consequently, the mayor had been requested to convene a general meeting to test the public opinion. This meeting was held in the *Victoria Hall* which was filled with people anxious to hear the arguments being presented by speakers who had taken the opportunity to state their positions. It transpired that the points of divergence between the positions of the participating speakers turned out to be quite small.

In every case there was a manifest desire to extend the rail line westward, the only area of disagreement being that, whilst one side believed that political expediency made it necessary to start the far western line from Gayndah following a Mount Perry connection, the other maintained that an alternative scheme to connect Maryborough directly to Gayndah should not be allowed to adversely affect Bundaberg's hinterland. A map was produced with the usual perfectly straight

route indicated and with both the map and the speakers ignoring any engineering difficulties and topographically enforced deviations from this route with nonchalance. The feeling of the meeting was decidedly in favour of the same westward course that had been advocated for years and after discussion the following two motions were carried unanimously:

The first motion being: *"That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that the Bundaberg and Mount Perry Railway should be extended from Boolboonda to Tambo as nearly as possible along the 25th parallel of latitude"*; and

The second motion being: *"That the following gentlemen form a Western Railway Extension Committee, with power to add to their number, to draw up a petition to Parliament, secure signatures, and take such other steps as they may deem fit for the carrying out of the object of this meeting: J. C. Walker, J. Rowland, H. St. George Caulfield, W. Haigh, R. Hunter, R. Billington, J. Gee, Andrew M. Goodwin, W. Adams, J. Benstead, and W. E. Curtis."* The passing of this motion concluded the business of the meeting.

Following the meeting described above concerning the extension of the Mount Perry line, and after experiencing the failure of its early proposals to achieve the desired results, the *Western Railway Association* held another meeting and managed to obtain a quorum. After discussing the split in local opinion, which had greatly weakened the movement, it was decided to make overtures to Mount Perry and to ask that town to join with Bundaberg in forming a triple alliance with Tambo with the objective of attaining a railway connection through to Bundaberg from that town of the remote western plains. Railway line construction from Maryborough to Gayndah commenced in 1886 and progressed in stages through the intermediate settlements finally reaching Gayndah in 1907. No direct Tambo connection eventuated.

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On the following Sunday, a disturbance occurred between some Chinese and British labourers at East Bundaberg. As in most similar incidents, this was to start on a small scale before escalating into serious proportions before being quelled. It was not clear how the disturbance had originated but, by its close, there were about forty Chinese and fifty of mixed nationality in the melee. The police-magistrate, who happened to be passing at the time, pacified matters and sent one of the combatants, an Irishman, to a place where he could obtain medical aid to repair his injured head and cut limbs. One of the Chinese was felled with a stone, but it was not reported that any others were hurt. It was suggested that there be an appeal to the police court to assess and to award appropriate indemnity and to provide a general settlement of matters raised in the dispute.

In a letter to the local press the writer, *'A Mariner'* pitched into Mr. Walter Adams and the paper's editor for daring to approve of a project that had been advanced to construct a stone pier and breakwater at Barolin (Burnett) Heads. He discerned, in Mr. Adams's *Chamber of Commerce* motion, a subtle puff of the *Barolin Syndicate*, and contended that the Burnett River was the finest in Queensland, while the cost of a breakwater would, if spent in improving the river, make it even finer than the finest and he

proposed that this breakwater could well be left for posterity's consideration. [Note 1]

Note 1: A breakwater was subsequently constructed.

A proposal from the *Maryborough Agricultural Society* to collaborate on holding trial agricultural shows in Maryborough, Bundaberg and Gympie was considered at a Saturday meeting of the *Bundaberg Agricultural Society* and was rejected, the local Society having decided to discontinue the promotion of agricultural shows.

At the same meeting a letter from the *Mackay Planters Association* was read requesting the Bundaberg planters to take an early advantage of the cheap German labour that had recently become available, an issue that could have the effect of hastening the downfall of the Griffith government. The letter indicated that Mackay had requested the supply of five hundred of the cheap German labourers. Another letter, from a Mr. L. O. Lebeil, offering his services as a general recruiting agent of labour in Germany was also presented to the meeting. The meeting, which did not have a large attendance, decided that the Secretary should write to the Colonial Secretary for particulars as to how five hundred continental farm labourers were to be obtained and landed at Bundaberg, what provision employers had to make for them, and what was the smallest number one agriculturist could indent? The meeting further resolved to ask Mr. Lebeil to define the terms under which he was prepared to act as agent for the Bundaberg district and it was agreed to invite all interested persons to attend the quarterly general meeting, to be held on the last Saturday in October, to collaborate in defining the district's labour requirements.

At a Municipal Council meeting, a by-law imposing restrictions on bicyclists was carried on the motion of Alderman Goodwin. It was considered that the crowded (?) state of Bundaberg's narrow (?) streets demanded that severe measures should be taken to protect ratepayers from the two bicycles and one tricycle now occasionally ridden about the town. It was possible that the most conspicuous cyclist, Mayor Curtis, would be the first to come under the iron heel of the law as he had the habit of taking nocturnal rambles on his 'spider-web wheels'. The earliest of the coming mechanical transports had arrived in Bundaberg.

Walter Adams tabled a motion in the late October *Chamber of Commerce* meeting that the Government be requested to expedite the *Registrar-General's Department's* procedures with regard to the issue of the *Deed of Grant*. This request was echoed by Maryborough's *Chamber of Commerce* and there was a wide-spread feeling that Walter was in the right as hundreds of tardy land transfer cases could be cited to demonstrate instances of negligence in the system, either in the *Registrar-General's Department* or in the *Land Office*.

It was quite a common occurrence for a selector, especially one on a small selection, who had fulfilled the conditions of settlement, and who had paid the full amount due to the Government, to wait twelve months or more for the Government departments to provide him with his deed. A selector of limited means commonly worked on his piece of land every day and denied himself, and sometimes even a large family, the bare necessaries of life in order to fulfill the conditions of attainment required by the Government and, while doing so, was

also expected to make improvements to his land holding and to meet the regular payments on his rent under penalty of forfeiture.

A drought could ruin his crops, or sickness render him unable to work, but the State still required its annual payment. His aim, especially if he was a small selector, would be to obtain his *Deed of Grant* to utilize it as security. He could then obtain the moneys necessary to obtain the settlement of his current liabilities and enjoy an improved lifestyle. For a selector the possession of his deed meant the freedom from pressing creditors and the ability to provide for his family wants.

It was argued that such a man would be robbed both of his peace of mind and of the necessaries, not to mention the comforts, of his family's existence if the Government failed to provide expeditious delivery of this title deed. It was also maintained that, when a selector had honestly fulfilled his side of the contract with the State, he should then receive his land title in no more time than was required for the full investigation of his compliance and for the preparation of the *Deed of Grant* document. To be put to the loss and inconvenience occasioned by any unnecessary delay was considered extremely unjust. Walter's promotion of the selectors' interests, no doubt influenced by his own early experience with his South Kolan holding, was always a priority during his participation in both local and colonial government.

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The *Maryborough Chronicle* in its edition of the 5th of November 1884 reported that: "What can your members and ours be about that the plans for the rail line to Bundaberg have not yet been passed. Vessels are constantly running to Bundaberg with cargoes of Newcastle coal; if this line were open none but Burrum coal would be used. *'Our members'* solemnly promised in their election speeches to push on with this railway. Why don't they do it? If this line was related to the immediate interests of either Brisbane or Rockhampton it would be well-nigh finished ere this. I think that our members hold themselves far too cheap. They constantly defeat the efforts of their constituents to push the district forward. The great rush for the Isis lands, even at a time when the sugar industry is at zero, is a proof of the public desire to form homes on good agricultural lands … . The Government still holds in reserve several thousand acres of the famed Isis scrub. The wish is general that the whole of it should be at once cut up for sale."

And: "A test has been made of the *Queensland Land and Coal Company's* (Burrum) coal by the *British India Steam Navigation Company* on board one of their ships; the report being sent to Mr. Rankin, manager of the colliery, is that *'the coal is more powerful for steaming than any Newcastle coal yet used on the ship.'* Mr. Fleming, proprietor of the Bundaberg gasworks, has had a cargo of 100 tons delivered and he has pronounced it to be *'an extraordinary rich gas coal.'* With such a character for our coal, working at only 220 feet from the surface, what can we expect when our deep measures are reached?"

W. E. Curtis resigned the Mayoralty of Bundaberg on the 31st of December after having been charged by the Town Clerk, Mr. R. Thompson, with attempting to impose on the Clerk work that was outside the bounds of his

official duties. The trouble had been brewing for some time and the climax was reached when, at an earlier meeting of the Council, the Mayor was requested, by resolution, to convene a public meeting to obtain expressions of opinion on the campaign to reprieve from hanging Neil M'Neil who had been found guilty of shooting an islander when acting as second-mate on the ship *Hopeful*. In a memo couched in extremely authoritative phrases Mayor Curtis commanded the Town Clerk to make all the arrangements in connection with this public meeting but, in a firmly-worded letter in response, Mr. Thompson replied that he was neither a messenger nor an errand-boy and that on his salary he could not afford to employ one.

This letter wounded the Mayor's dignity to such a degree that he returned it to the clerk with a peremptory note that it be brought before the Council. When the matter came before the Council, the Mayor moved that the Council's copy of the letter be expunged from the Council's records and, after some discussion, this was agreed upon. Later however, when the inward correspondence was under discussion, the Mayor moved that the letter be returned to the Clerk and intimated that it was insolent in tone and altogether unwarrantable and that he would resign if the Clerk's action was upheld.

Walter Adams would have none of this, and made it clear that he despised the resignation threat. He maintained that the Clerk had been a faithful public servant, and for all the public institutions in Bundaberg with which he had been from time to time connected, he had performed a yeoman's service. Mr. Adams claimed that he would not be one to insult and humiliate Mr. Thompson. Aldermen Lamb and M'Conville followed in the same strain. On the subsequent division the Mayor had only two supporters while there were four against. As a result of the opinions expressed in support of the Clerk prior to the division Mr. Curtis resigned from his position as Mayor.

THE YEAR OF 1885

There was a proliferation of central sugar mill proposals in the late 1880's and in the Childers area there was, in addition, a clearing of scrub land for sugarcane plantings that progressed from the east to the west. These scrub lands had been investigated as early as 1863 by a pastoralist, William Howard who has also been credited with the discovery of the Burrum coal deposits, and after whom the nearby township of Howard has been named. Later, in 1878, James Noakes took up his selection, which he named *Doolbi*, and planted an experimental sugarcane crop in 1882. In 1885 the *Isis Investment Company* was formed to promote the construction of a branch railway line from the North Coast Line to Childers which was opened in 1887.

In 1885 a decision was made to have a separate Catholic cemetery in Bundaberg. Walter and Mary Adams, together with at least three generations of their descendants, are buried in this cemetery which fronts the present Fitzgerald Street. The cemetery was established on the 40-acre south-east corner of Portion 33. Some very early burials in this cemetery were of Walter's son George Manus, who died of pneumonia at age 33 years in 1888, and of George's baby daughter Mary Elizabeth who was buried two years earlier, in 1886.

Michael Gahan had applied for the lease of Portion 33, consisting of 120 acres to the south-west of the town, on 15th of March 1881. Approval of the lease was received on the 16th of November 1881 and on the 8th of March 1884 Michael submitted a *Certificate of Fulfillment of Conditions by Selector* under *The Crown Lands Alienation Act* with Walter and George Manus Adams attesting to his meeting of all conditions required for the issue of a *Deed of Grant* including the construction of a hut and 80 rods of fencing, the clearing of 2½ acres and residence on the site. The Deed was issued on the 1st of July 1884 after payment of the remaining ten year's rent balance. Shortly thereafter forty acres of land subdivided from the eastern corner of Michael Gahan's Portion 33, Subdivision 1, had as registered proprietors Constantine Rossolini, Walter Adams and Michael Gahan. These transitional proprietors *"in consideration of the sum of ten shillings now paid to us by Robert Dunne, Andrew Horan, Denis Byrne, James Patrick Maria Connolly and James Benedict Breen do hereby transfer all our estate or interest in the said land above described"* to the trustees as named in the above list.

Following a further title transfer, on the 16th of November 1889, the land was now dedicated to *"the erection and maintenance thereon of a Roman Catholic Church, School and Priest's residence or for any other Roman Catholic Educational or other institution and generally for the support and maintenance of the Roman Catholic Church."* As the cemetery commenced operation in 1885 it is likely that Subdivision 1 was excised from Portion 33 in late 1884 or early 1885, with Michael being compensated for the loss of a third of his land by Walter Adams and Father Rossolini. The land now accommodates the Shalom school also, as foreshadowed in that long-ago land use description.

Mr. Pentridge, a relatively poor resident of Bundaberg, was engaged to fell trees behind the racecourse and was accidentally killed by a falling tree in the execution of this work. Walter Adams, acting in what had become regarded by the townspeople as his normal manner of conduct, came to the aid of the widow and five children. By canvassing the citizens of the town, he managed to gather a large subscription for the sustenance of the bereaved family.

In February, during a period of depressed trade, and with insufficient confidence to encourage speculation, fresh developments were required to increase the town's industrial activity. The only labour market activity was in the main business district where contractors were transforming the earthen carriageways into metalled roads. The council was determined to create as much commercial activity as possible by constructing permanent works funded by the expenditure of available funds together with the addition of an overdraft. The paving of Targo and Barolin Streets was under contract with the Barolin Street works nearing completion. The paved roadways were flanked by concrete gutters which, unfortunately, resulted in the removal of all shade trees from the footpaths.

February's municipal elections, the fifth to be held in Bundaberg, engendered some interest with two ex-mayors and two aldermen running for the three seats that had been vacated. A further issue had been raised by the aforementioned resignation of Alderman Curtis, occasioned by

an unfavourable vote, the result of an aversion of some of his fellow councillors to his method of dealing with the town clerk. Friends of Mr. Curtis, who recognized his qualifications both as an alderman and as a businessman, thought the people would see it advisable to return him to the head of the poll. However, various influences worked against Mr. Curtis and he only succeeded in coming third. He was topped by Walter Adams with 186 votes, and by Mr. Lamb with 160 votes. Mr. Curtis obtained 145 votes and the defeated councillor, Mr. Boreham, 114. Feeling within the council that had been raised by the contest quickly subsided although it was promised that the council would receive *"the rough side of W. E. Curtis"*. When the council met to elect the mayor for the current year Alderman Andrew M. Goodwin, who had been acting in the position and who had been a general all-round chairman in the absence of the preceding mayor, was the only nominee and was duly elected. This appointment had been regarded as a foregone conclusion.

The *Brisbane Courier* of 29th of May 1885 described a significant event in the history of early Bundaberg, the visit to Bundaberg of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith its local member, the Member for Mulgrave, and the leader of the Queensland opposition. In a consequent meeting Sir Thomas and his constituents discussed economic conditions of importance both to the colony and to the local district.

"The commencement of the event was the formation of a long procession, numbering forty vehicles and headed by Mr. D. F. Johnston who was driving four handsome gray horses that had been placed at his disposal by Mr. Neilson. Following its formation the procession proceeded to the Yellow Waterholes, located on the road to the Freshwater Elliott crossing, to meet the party of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith. When the coach approached, the well-known form of Sir Thomas was the signal for an outburst of cheers. The mayor welcomed the distinguished visitor on behalf of those assembled and invited Sir Thomas to take his seat in the four-in-hand. As the coach approached the main street guns commenced firing in North Bundaberg. In order that the long line of vehicles might have an opportunity to converge the leading vehicle turned into Bourbon Street the other vehicles following in convoy. The route was along Targo Street, into Quay Street and then to the *Royal Hotel*, where the last and the first vehicles of the procession closed to form a complete ring round that entire section of the town. The arrival of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith at the hotel was greeted with cheers. Here the whole party dismounted and adjourned to the long room where the mayor briefly proposed a toast of welcome to Sir Thomas, which was most enthusiastically drunk. Sir Thomas, in acknowledging the toast, said it was nearly two years since they had last elected him as their member, and it was very gratifying to him on his visit here to meet with such a cordial reception. He felt highly flattered and pleased with the manner they had received him that day, for it indicated to him that he enjoyed their sympathies and support then as he did when they first elected him. He had come amongst them to perform a duty he owed to his constituents and he thanked them sincerely for their cordial reception. (Loud cheering)

The *Victoria Hall*, the venue for the visitor's welcoming home banquet, showed the benefit of careful preparation. Following the seating of the estimated 115 participants the entrance

of Sir Thomas, in company with the Mayor and several others was loudly applauded. The Mayor, Mr. Andrew M. Goodwin, occupied the chair, and gave the loyal toasts, which received an enthusiastic response. Later, in responding to the toast of His Excellency, the Governor, the chairman said they were all proud of their noble institutions and the Governor, as the representative of her Majesty, was the chief link which bound them to the highest of British institutions, *The Throne* itself. The Mayor, in his capacity as chairman, carried on to say that, as they were all no doubt aware, it was rumored that his Excellency, Sir Anthony Musgrave, was projected to conduct a tour of the coastal towns, and he (the Mayor) sincerely trusted that Bundaberg would be honoured by inclusion in the vice-regal tour's itinerary. (Applause) He was sure that in no other part of the colony would the Governor be more loyally received. (The toast, with musical honours, followed)

Alderman Curtis then proposed the health of their distinguished guest, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, a leading statesman of Australia, he might even say, the leading statesman of the colonies. Having commended Sir Thomas's political action in regard to the annexation of New Guinea into Queensland, the Transcontinental Railway, [Note 1] the labour question, and the mail service the alderman went on to say that the Colonists had, in Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, a man of whom they might all feel proud and he sincerely hoped they would soon have the privilege of banqueting him as the Premier of the colony. (Prolonged applause) Sir Thomas, by virtue of his statesmanlike qualities, might fittingly take his place in the English House of Commons for he would venture to say that had Earl Derby exercised but a degree of Sir Thomas's foresight, or his statesman-like abilities, the wishes of the colonies would not be treated as they were at present and England would not be the scoff of Europe. (Applause) He asked them to drink not only to Sir Thomas's health as a statesman, but to him as a genial gentleman in every respect. (Enthusiastic support & musical honours)

Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith said that he could not be otherwise than highly gratified with the terms in which his health had been proposed by Alderman Curtis. He came there to fulfill a public duty to his constituents, and to take the most extended means of exchanging views with them. The reception that the present company had given to the toast was particularly gratifying inasmuch as it showed that their relations had not changed. It was something to him to feel that, notwithstanding his long term of service in Parliament, he was still their trusted member and still enjoyed a hold on the sympathies and support of the people of Mulgrave. (Cheers)

Perhaps that good feeling was owing to the fact that he had always studied their interests in and out of Parliament and fought for whatever would further their prosperity. (Cheers) Mr. Curtis had referred to his past career in politics. Well, he felt that he had managed to identify himself with some important periods in the history of Queensland, and he was proud to say that he could look back with satisfaction at his actions in relation to many important public questions and point to the results to demonstrate that both here and at home it would have been better for Queensland, better for England and better for all if his advice had been followed and his actions confirmed. (Prolonged cheers)

The proposer of the toast had referred to the annexation of New Guinea. He (Sir Thomas) had, during the last few weeks, read the *Blue-book* of Great Britain and the *White-book* of Germany, containing all the State papers and correspondence relative to the annexations by Germany in the Pacific, and he arose from their perusal with a sense of shame that he was attached to the British Empire as one of her subjects for he could come to no other conclusion but that the interests of this colony, the welfare of Australia, and the integrity of the British Empire had been deliberately sacrificed by the weak-minded British Cabinet Ministers.

He also considered that Queensland's citizens should share the blame for not constantly expressing their views during the past two years and for not being more strenuous in placing the facts and claims for unity in the Pacific prominently before the world. (Applause) The occupation of New Guinea would prove to be a very important matter for Australia in the future. Queenslanders could judge, by the recent war scare, how serious it was to have sitting beside them a nation which might at any moment become involved in a war with England. (And this was in 1885)

The *White-book* to which Sir Thomas had referred had contained communications between Bismarck and Earl Granville, and letters to the German consuls in Australia which disclosed that Germany had annexed New Guinea and New Ireland with the deliberate intent of obtaining the additional strength to fight England in the South Seas in case of war, and he considered that Lord Derby did Australia a cruel wrong in ignoring the colonists' views. (Applause) The letters to the German consuls in Australia unfolded a plot which showed that he was right in annexing New Guinea in 1883, and indicated that the information on which he decided to annex was reliable, but the weak-minded British Government refused to act until too late. He would continue to illustrate the extreme lack of wisdom in their action. The colonies were considered to be safe against the Russians at this time as Russia did not have territorial possessions near them and there were no Russian coaling stations in the vicinity for the use of her fleets. However, when the colonies allowed Germany, or any other warlike foreign power, to acquire groups of islands at their doorstep, and permitted them to found naval depots and coaling stations, they had established a constant menace which must necessitate the keeping of a huge standing army in Australia prepared for action in case of international complications, ones in which Australia might not be in the least interested. That was the great danger which he sought to avoid by annexing New Guinea- (Loud cheers)

Mr. Curtis had also associated his name with representation in the House of Commons. He could assure them he had no ambition that way. (Laughter and applause) He knew that he was something in Queensland. It would be affectation in him to attempt to deny that he took the greatest possible interest in, and had devoted years to try to master, Queensland politics and assist to shape the destiny of the country, and he felt that he could never take the same interest in what seemed to him to be the small questions which cropped up in England – small as compared with the large affairs of Queensland. (Laughter and cheers) Here they had in the land, labour and finances bigger problems to solve than any which came before

the House of Commons, problems which, if presented to the present British Government would, like the rest of their schemes, end in a perfect muddle. (Cheers and laughter)

He certainly did not aspire to a seat in the House of Commons, neither did he aspire much to office in this colony. He believed that he could do more good work for the colony in Opposition than in office, and he would take this opportunity of saying that any Government fighting an uphill fight, like the present Government of Queensland, had his sincere sympathy. He had helped the Government, and his friends had also helped in every way they could, through the recent war scare and he gave the Ministry every credit for their vigilance and patriotic intentions. While in opposition he would continue to promote good government. Obviously he was aware that, in the ordinary course of events, he should be obliged to return to power. (Prolonged cheers) However he was not struggling for this return, and he would not resort to unworthy means to hasten that event, but the time for return was coming and he had little doubt that, whether he liked it or not, he would have to again assume the functions of leader of a Government.

Meanwhile he would be better pleased to continue to perform the functions of leader of the Opposition. He had no desire to force a premature change of Ministry, as he considered every Government should be given a fair trial, but the question *"What is a fair trial?"* then arose. In the previous year he had decided to oppose the *Triennial Parliaments Bill*, because he thought a quinquennial (five year term) parliament was a happy medium between the seven years' system of Great Britain and the three years' system of America, but then the party in power in Queensland, who wished to force triennial parliaments on the country, were complaining that the Griffith Ministry, who have held office for two years, had not yet had a fair trial. (Laughter) That was the strongest possible argument against triennial parliaments, and it came from a party that had claimed three years' fair trial for their Government while not allowing Parliament itself to exist for more than the same period.

Sir Thomas claimed that he had not, at first, intended going into these political matters on the night, as he had intended to give an account of his stewardship since the last general election to the electors on the following evening. (Cheers) However he found himself drifting into a discourse on a many other subjects, all of which he considered worthy of consideration.

They were aware that much of the work that had been accomplished by the present Parliament entailed a radical change in the land laws of the colony and they were now in the position of asking, *"Have we made a false step, and shall we retrace it before it is too late?"* The new *Land Act* practically put a stop to the acquisition of homesteads or freehold land of any kind, except in the towns, and the more he saw and heard of the effect of the *Act* the more he was convinced that it was not good for anybody except for the squatters in what were called the settled districts. (Hear, hear) They were the only class who were directly benefited by the measure and in all other respects the *Act* must prove detrimental to the whole colony. The state of the country would not permit of these violent experiments. The present Government had said, *"Don't blame us for the state of the*

country; don't blame us because it hasn't rained," and thus excused themselves. When in power he had to contend with droughts and deficits, and he never tried to palm that excuse off on the country. When he took office there was a large deficit to cripple his efforts, and an uphill task he had with it, but when he left the Treasury it had a surplus of £700,000 which, by the way, was now getting smaller every day and at the present rate of decline would soon be all gone. (Cheers)

When he left office, there were complaints from the then opposition that the traffic on the railways was too great for the resources of the lines and that the rolling stock was insufficient, but he was sorry to say they didn't hear anything of that now. (Hear, hear) His Government was also blamed for rashness in bringing immigrants to the country in large numbers, but every man who arrived during his term of office found quick employment. Now, at the present time, more immigrants were on the sea coming here than ever there were when he was in office. At the present moment about 1,400 immigrants, whose passages had been paid for by the Government, were on the way to Queensland and what prospect had they of obtaining employment on landing? Things had so changed that they could not get employment, but he did not blame the Government altogether for that. They deserved much credit for some things but much blame for others. They could not fight Nature but if they were to put their shoulder to the wheel they could do much, which they had not done, to minimize the bad effects of the season and no worse, or more thoroughly mistaken means, could have been adopted than their land policy. (Hear, hear)

The old country was sending men and money to Queensland, but it now all stopped at Brisbane, where it must remain, for the Government would not allow it to go out into agriculture which was doomed not to, or at the least would struggle to, get into operation by the *Land Act* now in existence. If a sensible policy were to be adopted, there would be any amount of money available to encourage people to get land for themselves and pursue agricultural industry, but where could a man get a homestead now? He must wait until August next, when the first lot of selections would be thrown open, and he would then get a lease which was not worth having and which could be taken from him at any moment. The Government ought to exercise foresight and have any amount of good land ready for settlement by secure lease or purchase, but they had not exercised it. (Hear, hear)

Neither had they exercised ordinary foresight in regulating immigration. There was no sense in overdoing it at a time like the present when the lands were locked up and working men were unemployed to a greater extent than he had ever seen before in this colony. He had been travelling through the country to the west and was surprised to find a plethora of labour available. Men travelled from place to place looking for work, and then disappeared over the colony's border. It was a wicked waste of money to bring large numbers of immigrants here if the Government would not carefully watch the progress of absorption and regulate the influx; and it was more wicked still to bring people here and not provide land for them to settle on as agriculturists. (Hear, hear) It was not for him to say how far the Government was to blame for the depression in the sugar industry's branch of

colonial agriculture. He would appeal to many of those he saw around him, and to the planters of the North, to say if the present Government were entirely guiltless. He would merely ask, *'Were the times generally the same now as before the party at present in power commenced to bungle with the sugar industry'.* (No! No!)

Even if the Government were not chargeable with directly harassing the planters he claimed not to understand how they could allow a big industry to collapse without making some gallant effort to save it. (Cheers) When the condition of the industry had been forced upon them the Government professed to have found a remedy in cheap labour from Europe (Groans), but had they even attempted to enforce their remedy? Had they even tried to carry out the provisions of their Act and to introduce that labour? No, because they knew from the first that it would be a failure; they had known it when they proposed it, and they had never intended to carry it out. (Hear, hear) He did not see any reason why labour should be made a party-political question at all and he regretted that it had been.

He had always regarded the question as one which should be viewed liberally and to be studied in conjunction with the future of the colony. No man had tried more than he to study the question fairly and admit to the rights of all. (Cheers) He felt that the plantation labour question was one in which the prosperity of all classes was so directly concerned that the question ought to be lifted out of the category of party politics and settled without the assistance of a violent party uproar, (Cheers) but the party in power did not want that. The aim of the Government was to keep that subject raw and not settle it, unless they acquired another one equally useful to them for electioneering purposes.

Eight years previously he had proposed to abolish the kanaka traffic altogether, and who had opposed him? It was the Government party of whom Mr. Griffith was one. Last year, before he returned from England, a member of his opposition party proposed something of the same sort, but the Government would not have it. No, they preferred to keep the question dangling before the working men, whom it suited them not to advise properly but to keep in ignorance, for their own political purposes.

If the people were wise they would decline to consider the coloured labour question as one of party politics. (Cheers) He cared nothing about kanaka labour himself, for he was not an employer of it, nor interested in it in any way, but he had consulted the planters and the business people all along the coast of Queensland, and they had but one opinion, which was that no tropical agriculture can succeed without kanaka labour. (Hear, hear) Bundaberg might get along without it because it was more favourably situated in point of latitude, but in the North sugar could not be successfully grown without it. The question can we do without kanaka labour could, he believed, be very easily settled sensibly and in a way agreeable to the working classes.

It was a pity that the working men would only be taught by starvation and only learn the true causes of depression in trade by suffering from want of employment. He believed that the industrial depression now felt in all the towns of the colony was very largely due to the

interference with the sugar industry. (Hear, hear) Why should we ruin the colony two or three times over before we found out what was best for us?

In conclusion, he wished to express the pride he felt in being the member for Mulgrave. He hoped to continue as their member for a long time yet. (Loud cheers) They knew that he had never been above working as far as it was physically possible for a member who was deluged with correspondence, and he was conscious that he had looked after their interests. Whether as a leader of the Government or Opposition he had tried to faithfully attend to the duties of their member and he hoped to continue to do so, with perhaps a second member to help him. [Note 2] There was then no sign of that additional member being provided to the Mulgrave electorate as the present Government was not anxious for change. He then thanked them for the very nice way in which they came out to meet him that day and for the very complimentary circumstances which had given him the opportunity to address them that evening, and he thanked Alderman Curtis for the kind and really eloquent speech delivered to propose his health. The distinguished guest, on resuming his seat, was greeted with a hearty three cheers from his assembled constituents.

Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith then arose to say that he had been asked to propose the toast of *The Town and District*. He supposed that meant the Bundaberg town and the Mulgrave district, and he thought that he had to congratulate them as well as himself upon the progress of the same. (Applause) Although there was no doubt that dullness in commerce existed at the time he hoped soon to see a resumption of their former progress. A short time ago, while travelling, he had met with a learned gentleman from Mauritius, who said that as long as we were fairly treated in the matter of labour, there was no country in the world so suitable for sugar-growing as Queensland. (Applause) When they stopped making the labour question a party one and acted sensibly in the matter they would not have their streets empty or their working men walking about in idleness. He alluded with regret to the failure of the copper industry in this district. This was due, not from any falling off in the yield or in the richness of the mineral, but from a cause, that was affecting all mines in the world. (Applause)

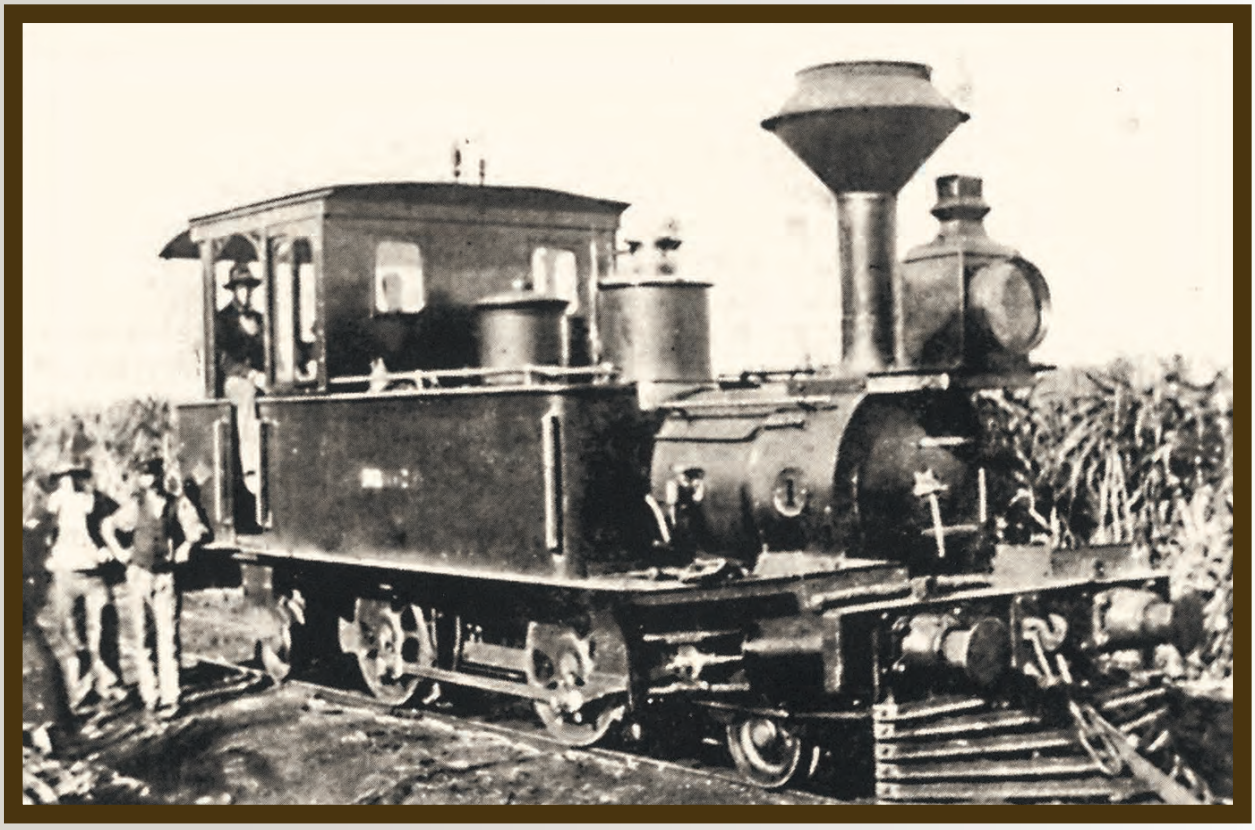
Alderman Walter Adams, in acknowledging the toast, alluded to the early days of this district. The first house was erected in Bundaberg only thirteen years ago, [Note 3] and twelve years ago he himself was considered a madman when be erected his hotel; but he had done it and he was proud to say that now he was as sane as ever he was. There was a depression existing in the sugar industry and the low price of sugar was no doubt one cause, but there was another cause that Sir Thomas had not pointed out, namely, that in Europe they could get as much work done for 7½ pence as they could for 1 shilling and 6 pence here. Notwithstanding this, he believed cane-sugar would hold its own and that Bundaberg would rise to a greater degree of prosperity than ever before. (Applause) Following additional toasts the meeting concluded at 11.30 p.m."

Note 1: This was a proposal to construct a railway line, from Dalby via Roma (and through Charleville?) to the vicinity of the present day Burketown near the Gulf of Carpentaria, a line that has never been constructed; and

Justifiably concerned at the significant distances between the colony's settlements, which hindered the distribution of goods and the export of produce, M'Ilwraith had proposed, dependent upon parliamentary approval, a system whereby capitalists constructed the railways in exchange for the allocation of blocks of land, suitable for development or sale, adjacent to the railway line under construction. Refer earlier note.

Note 2: Walter Adams was shortly to become one of these two members, following Sir Thomas's resignation as the member for Mulgrave first as Sir Thomas's replacement as the member for the Mulgrave electorate and then, following its consequent division into the electorates of Bundaberg and Musgrave, on election to the newly created electorate of Bundaberg. Mr. William Bligh O'Connell was elected to the other new electorate of Musgrave. Both members were supporters of Thomas M'Ilwraith's conservative policies.

Note 3: By that reckoning in 1872.



Mount Perry Line's first locomotive, 1881. A Dubs 429 Tank Loco manufactured in Glasgow, it had limited (40 tons) capacity and was later sold to Gibson and Howes, Bingera in 1895

Photo from Royle's Perry's Past

The Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Bill of October 1885 in Clause 14 stated *"After the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety, no license to introduce islanders shall be granted."* This amendment was to have a profound and cumulative effect upon the finances and morale of the inhabitants in the sugar-lands.

Though the contract for the construction of the Bundaberg to Mount Perry line was signed in late 1878 the line itself was constructed in stages: to Moolboolaman in 1881; to Gillen's Siding in 1882; to Boolboonda in 1883 and to Mount Perry in May, 1884. Following the line's completion Mount Perry became the railhead for the Upper Burnett and a major expansion of the town ensued which included the construction of six new hotels, a courthouse, hospital and a *School of Arts*.



Mount Perry Railway Station 1907

Photo from John Oxley Library

Chapter 9

Consolidation and Development

Bundaberg had entered the manufacturing era. On Saturday the 6th of June 1885, the new iron foundry works of Mr. T. O. Child, which had evolved from his father Thomas Child's original business, were formally opened by the Police Magistrate, Robert A. Johnstone, by tapping the molten iron in the furnace and the initial products of wheels, fire-bars, drain crossings etc. were then cast without a hitch. Following this, Walter Adams took the floor and delivered a speech which contained many recollections from the time when Bundaberg had only one small blacksmith's shop and he then traced the phenomenal progress of the town since that time. Cheers were given for Mr. T. O. Child, who then briefly expressed his satisfaction and his thanks.

Thomas Obadiah Child's Bundaberg Foundry was considered a well-found establishment with shoeing sheds, steam lathes, and a powerful screw press. A vertical steam engine worked numerous circular and band saws, nave turning lathes, grindstones, bellows for the forges and smelting furnace blast equipment that had been constructed by T. O. Child himself. It was intended that the foundry would manufacture dredge buckets and many other heavy items of a similar nature. The moulding shop was so contrived as to be capable of enlargement to allow for the setting up of a smithy's working area.

The transition of the business, from Mr. T. O. Child's Targo Street foundry to the *Bundaberg Foundry Co. Limited* occurred in stages. Mr. T. O. Child entered into partnership with, and later sold out his share of the company, to Mr. Evan Roberts in 1886. Following a further transaction, by mid-1887 the company was referred to as *Roberts, Coombe and Co. Bundaberg Foundry*. In 1888, a new limited liability company was formed, the *Bundaberg Foundry Co. Ltd.*, financed by the issue of 5,000 shares at £5 each. Two fateful decisions were then made regarding the foundry's operations:

the first was to extend the business's operations into new areas including the casting of large metal components for major industries together with the fabrication of structural members; and the other to undertake a relocation of the works to the north bank of the Burnett River. The implementation of the latter decision would provide direct access to both the transportation facilities of the river and of the rail system, soon to link the north and south of the colony.

This linkage included the imminent construction of the Burnett River rail bridge which was to be implemented close to the company's proposed new location and which provided an added attraction to the relocation. Were the company to win a contract for the supply of structural components for the bridge's construction the profits from this major work should do much to alleviate the costs of the foundry's relocation and of the new, and costly, heavy equipment necessary to undertake the extended operations proposed. To cover the initial cost of the relocation, and of the purchase of the new equipment, a substantial infusion of capital would be required into what was both a capital and labour-intensive industry. To this end, new investors were enlisted with those described as attending the second annual meeting being: Messrs. G. J. Young (appointed Chairman), R. Fleming, A. Gibson, A. Macbeth, F. Kilner, J. Johnson, W. Woolley, F. Buss, F. Gladwell, J. C. Walker, J. Batstone, A. P. Barton, P. Duffy and J. White. Directors re-appointed were Messrs. Angus Gibson and Robert Fleming and Mr. W. G. Lewis was appointed auditor.

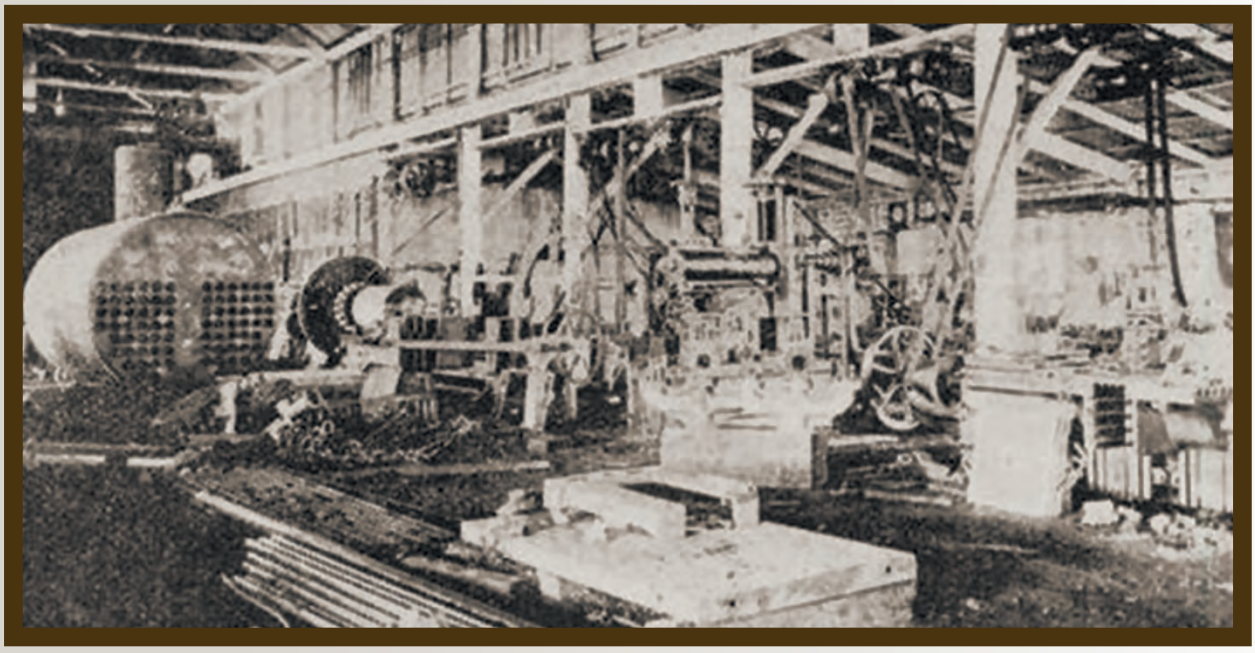
By early 1889 the foundry's operations had been relocated to the bank of the Burnett River in North Bundaberg and the company set about winning the contract for the supply of the structural members for the superstructure of the Burnett River rail bridge. Unfortunately, fate was to intervene and to bring about the near failure of their well-conceived programme. The massive flood of early 1890 was to seriously damage the newly installed pylons of the proposed cross-river bridge, thus deferring the timing for supply of the bridge's structural superstructure members and was also to inflict serious damage on the newly established, north bank foundry and workshops. The misadventure was to cost the foundry venture £509 00s. 11d. in direct damage and an overall loss of £1,359 07s. 02d. for the year of which an amount of £1,051 15s. 06d. was due to the 'unforeseen occurrence'. It was obvious that the company was again in serious need of recapitalisation and it was at this point that an outside entity was to intervene.

The Batstone's plumbing and Buss's hardware businesses were acquired by the firm of Messrs. Woolley, Bergin and Co. which had been established in 1884 by past employees of the Buss company's ironmongery business and this company was subsequently converted into a limited liability company, capitalized by the issue of 3,500 shares of £10 each, in 1889. In 1891, *Woolley, Bergin and Co. Ltd.* purchased what was, by then, referred to as the *Bundaberg Foundry Co. Ltd.*. In 1898, the foundry side of the *Woolley, Bergin and Co. Ltd's* business was taken over by a newly formed company, the Bundaberg Foundry Company Limited which had been registered in March, 1898 with a capital of £12,000 to acquire the foundry business of Woolley, Bergin and Co. Ltd. The registered shareholders were: J. B. Atkinson of Gympie, Angus Gibson, George J. Young, John



Bundaberg Foundry from across the river

Photo from John Oxley Library



Interior of Woolley Bergin and Co's Bundaberg Foundry.

This 1895 Sydney Mail photo from John Oxley Library

White, J. E. Turner, John Buss, and P. Ridley all of Bundaberg with the directors being Angus Gibson (Chairman), John White, J. B. Atkinson, Peter Neilson and George J. Young. Early managers were Alexander Macbeth, James Fiddes, Andrew Lamb and Alfred Willmott.

Walter Adams's son-in-law, Richard Walter Adams, joined the engineering section of *Woolley, Bergin and Co. Ltd.*, in 1893, as a secretary/accountant of the foundry and later, in 1910, became General Manager of what had, by then, become the *Bundaberg Foundry Co. Ltd.* a position that he held until the early1940's.

William and James Wyper who had originally been employed by Woolley, Bergin and Company in its hardware operations had, by 1901, established their own prosperous Bourbong Street hardware business which was then to fully absorb the remainder of their erstwhile employer's hardware activities.

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The annual meeting of the *Hospital Committee* took place in July with many ordinary subscribers in attendance. Mr. Hogan, the secretary, read the report and he then congratulated the subscribers upon the financial position of the institution as they had been able to deposit £500, at 5% p.a. interest, in the bank as a six month term deposit. The number of subscribers on the Committee's books had increased to 212, as against the 162 of the previous year. There were 12 patients who paid in full for their treatment with an additional 115 patients, a few of whom met a portion of their cost. These payments were received as donations. In the Islander Ward, 52 patients were treated. Excluding the 30th of June, a total of 287 patients had been treated and this was taken to be an indicator of the general health of the local population.

The annual report was read to the meeting and then Mr. J. C. Walker vacated the seat of Vice-president to be immediately re-elected. Messrs. Bulpitt and Rooney were appointed scrutineers and the following officers were elected: As President the Honourable Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith; Vice-presidents – J. C. Walker 123 votes, John Rowland 93 votes and Walter Adams 92 votes, the first two being elected; Committee members R. Kendall 167 votes, H. J. Rodes 162 votes, R. Totten 155 votes, J. Lamb 145 votes, R. Ruddell 145 votes, A. G. Hamilton 124 votes, W. Keyes 119 votes, F. R. Buchbach 93 votes, W. Adams 92 votes, S. Rowe, 85 votes, Mr. Redmond who, with 88 votes, had retired in favour of Mr. Rowe, J. Gee 79 votes and J. Bertwistle 50 votes. The chairman having retired, Mr. Rowland declared the first twelve candidates on the list to have been elected.

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The copper market having encountered a severe depression Captain Bennett returned to Mount Perry to give personal attention to his more valuable mineralised holdings in reefs that were thought to be rich in auriferous content. It was rumoured that one reef would return considerably more than an ounce of gold to the ton, and there was a possibility that it could form the basis for the float of a limited liability company. *The Caledonian Gold Mining Company* had already floated with the manager and men being recruited from Gympie for its Reid's Creek mine [Note 1]. At the time, calls on

stock payments at two shillings per share had been made but it was rumoured that shares had changed hands at one shilling per share and that there were no further shares available to the market. There was also an unconfirmed report that payable alluvial gold had been found at the Chinamen's Gardens, Manning Range, with auriferous material being traced for a considerable distance. However, the accuracy of this report was not confirmed by the time of Captain Bennett's return.

Note 1: Reid's (now Reid) Creek has its headwaters in the valley just west of Mount Perry and heads south in an approximately straight line (along an old fault line?) to enter the Burnett River just above Gayndah. The Reid's Creek mine location was in the creek's upper reaches to the south of the Mount Perry township (See map).

At this time more brick buildings were being erected in Bundaberg. *Buss and Company* was about to erect a large brick goods store at the back of their existing premises and Mr. O'Brien was about to construct a large brick hotel on the town's north side. Buchbach's store in Targo Street was near completion its design complimenting the visual aspect of Mr. Boreham's *Palace Hotel* in Bourbon Street.

In July two Chinese workmen, who had been contracted to sink a well on Mr. Kendell's property to the east of the future Kennedy Bridge's location, excavated to a depth of about 45 feet and were feeling disheartened at not striking water. They then used a hand auger to drill to an additional depth of three to four feet. At this point the auger's cutting tip tapped an underlying, sub-artesian aquifer and the water broke through under such pressure that the poor well-diggers had to be rescued, reportedly with some difficulty. By the following morning the water level had risen to within six feet of the surface and the water quality was found to be excellent. The labourers had unwittingly penetrated the extensive aquifer that was, in the future and with the advent of a reticulated electrical supply and borehole pumps, to become the town's main water supply with water of a high pH and very low total dissolved solids that required a pH correction. [Note 1] Walter Adams's subsequent proposal to sink trial wells at the intersections of the town's streets, with the intention of locating additional water-supplies to supplement the town reserves, would have produced favourable results over much of the town area. The well in Walter's own George Street backyard may have encountered this prolific aquifer as it was situated close to a permanent water hole in Saltwater Creek large enough to sustain healthy populations of both eels and lobsters.

Note 1: By the use of aeration to reduce, and limestone filters to neutralize, the dissolved carbon dioxide in the almost mineral free water that was very corrosive to cast-iron or steel pipes and fittings.

At this season's crushing the cane grown on the *Summerville* plantation in the Woongarra was producing juice with a measured density of 10.

As previously alluded to, fires in the township had consumed the Targo Street store, originally owned by John Cathcart [Note 1], in late 1878 and further fires occurred in the business district in 1879, 1880, 1881 and 1882. These fires culminated in a major disaster on the 22nd of December 1883 which destroyed a large section of the central business district. The

nature of the wooden commercial structures, their proximity to each other and the necessary use of flame-based lighting – from candles, lanterns and later gas lights – together with fire reliant cooking and heating appliances created an extreme vulnerability to destructive fires in the commercial buildings. Domestic structures had a lower degree of vulnerability due to their separation but their individual exposure to fire risk was still quite high.

It was impossible to comprehend why Bundaberg citizens would not subscribe to the *Bundaberg Fire Brigade* which was both a life and property saving institution but one that was experiencing great difficulty in attracting private property owner subscriptions. This problem had also occurred over the preceding three or four years notwithstanding the best efforts of Messrs Walter Adams, J. F. Boreham, D. M'Conville, J. Pollock and many others who had spared neither their time, trouble or expense but had achieved disappointing results even though many businessmen had subscribed handsomely. The purchase price of a 3,000 gallon (13.65 kilolitre) storage tank that was to be erected on the Bourbon Street frontage, just behind Hunter's store, had already been met by subscriptions from these businessmen.

The Brigade's management was under the superintendence of Major Godfrey Geary with Assistant Superintendents J. F. Boreham and W. F. Marshall. Both of these townsmen had donated much time and effort into their men's ongoing training in the maintenance and efficient use of the fire-fighting equipment which included the fire-engine, the firehose and the ladder. The effective conduct of bucket drills was a vital component of this training.

Nevertheless, at the previous Fire Brigade meeting Mr. Shields, the secretary, had to report that he had been unsuccessful in obtaining general subscriptions, and further that he had obtained a subscription from only one insurance company. It was a matter of some bewilderment to the committee that the owners of properties in the back streets were so blind to their own interests as to withhold subscriptions from such a practical institution leaving the straitened Fire Brigade with a financial emergency. This had placed the committee in the unenviable position of having to obtain an overdraft of £100 to protect the lives and properties of those townsmen who had refused to open their pockets towards the provision of any contributions.

In May 1885 the arrival of a fire engine from London that came equipped with a hose reel and hand operated pump improved the town's fire-fighting capability. This provided an alternative to the previous method of carting water in barrels on drays or wagons from the closest water hole to be delivered to the fire and its surrounds by a chain of bucket handling fire fighters, often referred to as 'bucket brigades'. This equipment was augmented, in 1886, with a steam-engine driven pressure pump mounted on a horse-drawn wagon. Prior to the introduction of a reticulated water supply, the steam engine driven pump had to rely upon a supply source provided by tanks of 9.1 kilolitre capacity strategically located throughout the central business area.

At a later date, in 1901, a £22,500 government loan was raised to install a more powerful pump downstream of the Baldwin Swamp and to construct a 182 kilolitre capacity elevated steel tank on a masonry brick base 36 metres

in height by 8.84 metres diameter adjacent to Sussex Street, East Bundaberg, reputed to be the highest masonry brick tower in Australia. The basis for the construction of the 10 inch (250 mm.) cast-iron rising main to the elevated tank, the trunk delivery main connected to the town's distribution lines and of the cast-iron reticulation lines themselves had finally been achieved.

The pumping station was installed off the end of Victoria Street, East Bundaberg, and was protected by a pump house constructed by David R. Jones between December, 1901 and June, 1902. The pump house contained two 25 horsepower Cornish type boilers, each 20 feet (6.1 metres) long by 5 feet 6 inches (1.68 metres) in diameter manufactured by the *Bundaberg Foundry Company Limited*. These powered two horizontal, direct-acting duplex type pumps each having a maximum delivery capacity of 10,000 gallons per hour (12.6 litres per second) that had been manufactured by the *Snow Manufacturing Company* and supplied by *Smellie and Company*. Installation of the boilers and pumps was completed in September 1902. The pump station's original intake obtained its water directly from a deep waterhole via a suction pipe equipped with a foot-valve and strainer with 2.5-metre-deep submergence.

Note 1: Fredrick Buss, in partnership with his son-in-law William H. Williams, had purchased Mr. Cathcart's business assets in 1876. Though Mr. Cathcart was a very popular store manager, ever ready to assist the needy, the sale had been necessitated both by his failing health and by his declining finances.

A general meeting of the *Agricultural Protection Society*, formed in July 1884 to combine planting and farming interests was held in the *Oddfellows Hall* on a Saturday morning in July 1885 with the President, Mr. F. Nott, chairing the meeting and with about thirty members in attendance. The chairman read the details of the annual report, together with the balance sheet, and moved for its adoption. This was seconded by Mr. Goodwin and carried unanimously. Mr. Greathead then moved, and Mr. Gahan seconded that, as the planters were taking so little interest in the society, it be wound up. Mr. Adams rose to speak to the motion, however, the chairman ruled him out of order. Mr. Adams informed the chairman that he (the chairman) wanted to have everything his own way and, as a consequence, no one could work productively with him and so he (Walter Adams) intended to raise a new society out of the ashes of the old. Mr. Greathead's motion was carried and the society, under its original structure, was terminated.

By early August the citizens of Bundaberg were very pleased to receive the news that tenders had been accepted for the Howard to Bundaberg railway line extension. The inconvenience of shipboard communication and passenger conveyance between Bundaberg and Maryborough was of such long standing that the newspaper's notification of the acceptance of tenders was most welcome. The completion of the extension would be of very considerable benefit to the citizens of Maryborough, Bundaberg and the up-country residents.

A meeting that was to have lasting results was held on a Saturday afternoon the 1st of August with Mr. Fredrick Buss in the chair.

The meeting was convened to consider the desirability, or otherwise, of establishing a rum distillery in the district. Those present were in favour of the proposition and Mr. Buss, who had been accumulating relevant information on the subject, read out details of his findings to the meeting. Following considerable discussion, it was decided to have the meeting adjourned and to have the matter considered in greater detail at the larger and more representative meeting of sugar planters that, it was anticipated, would take place in the following week. The proposal was of great importance to these planters as it would render their molasses, that was then going to waste, the feedstock of a profitable new industry.

The *Maryborough Chronicle* in its edition of 17th of August 1885 reported that: "If Mr. Griffith (the Premier) provides for central sugar mills, there is a field then open for the largest refiners in Queensland at the Isis Junction; a dam across the Isis River at this point would give no end of water and coals would be delivered at the lowest cost … . The line from *Degilbo* would bring the best of limestone … coal for its use would be supplied from its adjacent coal pits … . We are at last to be connected by rail with this magnificent tract of agricultural country, and it is time that the attention of capitalists was drawn to its capabilities and advantages for, if some system of working small plantations by families and the odds and ends of labour that they can pick up is likely to prove beneficial in any part of Queensland where sugar will grow to perfection, it is certainly in such places as the Isis where success can most likely be looked for."

At this time the sugar industry was producing very low returns as a result of the protracted drought, however, there was some compensation for the planters in the news that the establishment of a new agricultural society, to be named the *Mulgrave Agricultural Society*, was to take place at a 12th of August meeting. The proposed society was being formed under the auspices of Messrs. Walter Adams, W. H. M'Cann, Richard Ruddell and Andrew M. Goodwin. All of these men were known to be good workers and there was no doubt that, if another agricultural show was ever to be held in Bundaberg, its exhibits and attendance would demonstrate the rapid strides that had been made by agriculture in the Bundaberg district since the holding of the previous event.

The annual meeting of the *School of Arts Committee* was held in August, with Mr. Rocks as chairman. The annual report was read by Mr. Lewis. The report gave the June 30th financial position as: Balance at bank, £43 7s. 0d.; Cash in hand, £6 l1s. 0d.; Government endowment, £76 3s. 0d.; Estimate of subscriptions paid since 1st of July, £18; Accounts since paid being £25 19s. l0d. with an overall balance of £112 1s. 9d. Following the reading and adoption of the report, the chairman gave high praise to the energy of the secretary who, he was sure, had the welfare of the institution at heart, an opinion shared by everyone present.

Officers selected for the coming year were: for President, Mr. W. E. Curtis, unopposed, for Vice-presidents, Messrs. G. H. Bennett and M. Duffy. Elected committee members – with only seven of the eleven nominated candidates being required – Mr. P. Rocks with 30 votes; J. Lamb with 27 votes; A. M. Goodwin with 26 votes; G. N. B. Geary with 23 votes; J. G. Sterling with 23 votes; J. C. Walker with 19 votes

and W. Adams with 16 votes. The remaining candidates were: G. McKay with 14 votes; W. O'Connor with 9 votes; H. J. Ford with 8 votes and D. Hogan with 7 votes; the auditors being Messrs. Thompson and Manchester. Following votes of thanks to the retiring officers and to the previous year's auditors the meeting terminated.

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In early September a discussion arose from a motion made by Mr. Redmond, pursuant to notice, *"That this Council recommend to the Ferry Committee that tenders be called in local and Maryborough papers from persons willing to supply a punt (as per Tooth and Co.'s plan and specification) and work same for a term of four years."* Alderman Adams asked of Mr. Redmond to whom did he intend the punt to belong at the termination of the four years period. Alderman Redmond said he had never considered that aspect but would leave it to the Council. The Mayor pointed out that the nature of the termination provisions could adversely affect the cost of the ferry unless the supplier knew that the Council was willing to take over the ferry ownership at the end of the four-year period. The *Ferry Committee* adopted the Council's motion and sent a delegation to Maryborough to pursue the matter. Outside the Council the question was frequently asked *"Why have a steam-punt if a bridge is to be built in any reasonable time?"*

In August Mr. Thorburn had sold for Mr. C. Powers, a selection of 350 acres, with frontage to the town, Cannon and Bingera Roads and three miles from the wharves at Bundaberg, for the sum of £5,500 to the *Kensington Estate Company of Bundaberg Limited*, the company's members being resident in Brisbane, Rockhampton and Maryborough. In the same month he had sold, for Mr. Walter Adams, Portion 32, containing 157 acres 2 roods, located within a mile of the Bundaberg Post Office. This sale of Mr. Adams's horse paddock, for an amount of £6,300, was to Messrs. Williams, Powers and Buss.

Less than three weeks later he, in conjunction with W. E. Curtis of Bundaberg, resold Portion 32 to a company of Maryborough, Bundaberg, Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne residents for £9,450, a rate of £60 per acre. The purchasers, the *Bourbon Estate Company*, expected to make a handsome profit on their purchase.

Subsequently, a strip of land inside and along the eastern boundary of this paddock was resumed by the government to provide right-of-way for the Howard to Bundaberg railway line extension.

Henry C. Thorburn, Land and Estate Agent, and General Auctioneer gave details of this sale in September 16th from his Maryborough business' location. He reported that, during the previous two months, he had affected several land sales in Maryborough and in Bundaberg, having initiated the purchase of large areas of land in both towns by limited liability companies especially formed to conduct such transactions.

Also, in September Walter Adams announced his intention to build a two-story hotel of bricks and mortar on the site of his existing, single-story wooden establishment utilizing some of the capital obtained from his South Bundaberg horse paddock sale for £6,300. Subsequently the *Licensing Board* received an application from Mr. Adams asking for permission to relocate his

hotel's bar to a different location on the existing establishment's allotment during the period over which the erection of his new, two storied brick building was to take place. The permission having been granted it was anticipated that the new building's construction would be finalised within eight months.

Mr. Patterson, having signed the contract for the Howard to Bundaberg railway line extension, stated that it was his intention to proceed immediately with its construction. This extension would facilitate the opening of a large area of new country for development whilst, at the same time, giving its potential farmers the chance to get perishable produce to market while still fresh. It would also improve the prospect for the sale of the coal from the Howard mine to a variety of commercial interests in Bundaberg. This would increase the profitability of the line and of the Queensland Government's revenue and, therefore, of the colony's economy in general. There would be a very considerable increase in the value of the properties under cultivation in the areas through which the railway was to pass and, in addition, it would make large tracts of first-class timber available to the local sawmills. Overall, it was obvious that the extension would provide benefits to a wide variety of customers having significantly different requirements.

By late September the storm season had arrived which was of considerable benefit to the young sugar cane and maize crops and, in addition, the maize farmers had received a financial boost with the price of maize at 4s.0d. per bushel and rising. The improvement in pastures, with its consequent increase in the supply of butter, had reduced the cost of this commodity to the grocery stores' customers. The rain in the back country, that had resulted in this vigorous pasture growth, was to guarantee the supply of good quality beef from the town's butcher shops. Mr. O'Connor, of the *Telegraph Department*, recorded total rainfall for the month of September as 315 points. (80 mm)

The visit by the highly regarded Right Reverend Dunne, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese, was received with enthusiasm on his arrival at Bundaberg. On Sunday the 27th the bishop officiated at about ninety confirmations and delivered an address to the young of the parish. It was obvious to those in attendance that the church choir had undertaken a great deal of practice for this special event.

A meeting of representatives of the Catholic congregation was then held, with the bishop in the chair, to consider the building of a new brick church at a cost of some thousands of pounds. The bishop seemed to think, as did some others, that the proposition required further consideration as to cost estimates and design, and that funds already collected would best be placed in the bank, and allowed to accumulate interest until a sufficient amount had been collected to meet the cost of the proposed construction. There were not a great many at the meeting, but it set a good example to other denominations as the few who were in attendance subscribed over £700 towards the building fund with further, significant donations expected to follow.

In the afternoon Walter Adams, using his own buggy, transported Bishop Dunne to the Catholic cemetery for its consecration which

took place in the presence of a large number of parishioners. On the following afternoon a concert was held in the bishop's honour in the *Victoria Hall*. This children's concert was well attended as the Sisters of St. Joseph had issued invitations to the relations and friends of their students as well as to any others who may have wished to attend to enjoy a pleasant two hours entertainment. On the following day Bishop Dunne visited Barolin and on Thursday he took his departure.

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In mid-October Walter Adams, together with his wife Mary and family, passed through Brisbane en route to a four months' sojourn in Tasmania, the old home of his son George's wife Lillie. During his Brisbane stop-over he was to announce that he still had a great deal of confidence in Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's leadership. He also expressed his complete confidence in Andrew Goodwin's ability to take care of Bundaberg's civic affairs during his absence. It was well known in the Bundaberg district that Mr. Goodwin also had a high regard for Walter's own abilities.

In the latter part of the year 1885 five new storekeepers had commenced business and they all appeared to have experienced a steady increase in trade. Progress in new building construction had been of particular mention with five large, two-storied brick hotels in the process of being erected: *The Grand* for Mr. F. Coleman, *The Palace* for Mr. J. F. Boreham, *The Melbourne* for Mr. W. F. Buchannan, *The Metropolitan* for Mr. Walter Adams and *The Young Australia* for Mr. James O'Brien. In their size, finish and provision for the patrons' general comfort these hotels were, at the time, considered to withstand favourable comparison with any other hotel in the colony and would have been regarded as a credit to any town in Queensland. Mr. Adams's new hotel (originally the *Adams Hotel*), at the Barolin Street – Bourbon Street corner, was under construction diagonally opposite the *Bundaberg Post Office* and not far from the *School of Arts*.

In Targo Street Mr. Michael Duffy had constructed two large and impressive brick stores both of which displayed elaborate plate glass shop fronts. These structures had been built for Messrs. Grigg and Christensen and featured every facility needed to conduct a large wholesale and retail trade. Mr. Duffy had also erected two brick stores on the opposite side of the street for Messrs. Hill and others while, towards the future Kennedy Bridge's location, Mr. M'Conville had erected several shops of wooden construction. In Woongarra Street the Roman Catholics were constructing their brick church at a cost approaching £4,000 and another large brick building had recently been erected by the Freemasons.

The progressive subdivision of land in the town for private usage, together with construction upon the resulting sub-divisions, had induced the Government to considerably extend the town boundaries. Another sign of progress was the erection of the 3,000 gallon water supply tank, suitably equipped with a connection for attachment to the town fire-engine. The fire-house building, located near the tank, had been provided with a powerful force-pump complete with a hose attachment of sufficient length to reach the neighbouring premises. This enabling of the brigade to control any fire

that was to occur in the tank's general vicinity had greatly reduced the threat of fire in the area.

The trade in farm produce by *Fred Schofield and Company* had made great strides during the year and a major expansion of their already extensive Bundaberg premises had created one of the colony's most comprehensive wholesale warehousing businesses. The establishment of a business of such a nature and magnitude had provided a decided benefit to the local farmers by creating a market for a wide variety of agricultural products. This had enabled the district's farmers to readily negotiate cash sales for such produce as pumpkins, sweet potatoes, lucerne, hay, maize and other crops.

The following edited version of the original report, as printed in *The Brisbane Courier*, describes Queensland's entry in the *Indian and Colonial Exhibition* that was to open in London in May 1886. For those readers interested in an overview of the activities in industry and commerce, then prevailing over the entire Queensland colony of the mid 1880's, this may be attained by a perusal of the full listing of exhibits as detailed in Appendix 5. The groups of exhibits that contain items submitted by Bundaberg's industries or businesses are the only ones included in the text below. To contemporary readers the inclusion of some exhibits listed in the Appendix may seem to have been rather idiosyncratic but it should be remembered that, following the published studies of such English naturalists as Charles Darwin, Alfred Russel Wallace and Joseph Banks, the study of exotic flora and fauna was both intense and fashionable. The inclusion of such items as a formidably large snake (almost certainly a python) would have generated a considerable amount of interest and discussion. The prevalence of minerals in the colony's display would have been of little remark during the *Industrial Revolution* and the relevance of building materials to a developing colony is self-evident. The Colony's presence in the display illustrates the importance of Britain as a source of finance.

In December 1885 preparations were underway for the assembly of the Queensland Court at the *Indian and Colonial Exhibition* to be opened in London in May 1886. The Queensland display was typical of earlier exhibitions in which the colony had been represented, more a display of raw products than of manufactured items. The space allotted to the Australian colonies occupied a large square covering nearly 80,000 square feet in the centre of the exhibition building. To its front were the Indian Bazaar and the Ceylon, Straits, and New Zealand Courts whilst behind it was the Canadian Court, which had an area commensurate with the size and importance of that Dominion. Flanking the Australian space were the West Indian Court on the righthand side and the South African Court to the left. Of the Australian quadrangle, the righthand half was divided between New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia, whilst the left was divided between Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. At each end of the avenue, which divided the block, a small space had been marked off for the display of exhibits common to all the colonies with the two spaces allocated known as the United Australian Courts. New South Wales and Victoria had similar space allocations, with each colony having an allocation of 19,625 square feet located in corresponding blocks … . Queensland and South Australia came next in the order of priority

with equal allocations of 11,418 square feet and with Queensland allotted the north-east block, and South Australia the north-west block, of the square. The two remaining spaces, each of 5,937 square feet, had been allocated to Western Australia and Tasmania.

In order that Queensland might be properly represented by exhibits, the Government had appointed a commission to order the exhibits, consisting of the Hon. A. C. Gregory, Messrs. P. R. Gordon, J. Fenwick, J. T. Olson, C. W. De Vis, M.A., F. M. Bailey F.L.S., G, Grimes and John Little, with Mr. Courtney Luck as secretary and executive officer. These commissioners had, in turn, sought the assistance of committees located in the principal centres of population, and of other qualified gentlemen. The work of soliciting, receiving and dispatching exhibits took some months. The exhibits sent to London were consigned to the Agent-General, who then had the responsibility of seeing them displayed to their best advantage. The labour entailed in receiving the exhibits in Brisbane and of identifying and re-marking them, so that no mistakes would occur at the London end, was of a difficult and arduous nature but Mr. Luck, with Mr. Hammond as an assistant, managed to provide satisfactory results with greater than 800 cases being catalogued and dispatched.

An examination of the bills of consignment gave some idea of the nature of the items dispatched for inclusion in the Queensland Court. This examination unfortunately indicated that the people of the Queensland colony had not quite risen to the occasion with only a comparatively few exhibitors volunteering specimens of their products or handicrafts. The collection, taken as a whole, was largely a result of the efforts of the commissioners rather than that of the colonists themselves … . The only specimen of machinery in the display was a quartz-crushing device manufactured for the Queensland Government by Messrs. John Walker and Sons of Maryborough. The intent of its inclusion was to direct attention to the colony's mineral specimens and to assist in demonstrating to British investors the potential for the development of great mines utilizing still undiscovered resources … .

A large block of coal, about 6½ feet in height, which had been cut to uncover the contained fireclay, was exhibited by Mr. James Robertson of Torbanlea Colliery, Maryborough, while additional specimens of coal had been received for the display from the Walloon Coal Company. Had the commissioners not appointed Mr. A. W. Clarke to visit goldfields Queensland's mineral display would have been very disappointing. Mr. Clarke, in a limited time, had been very successful with his collection even though, in some areas, it was far from complete. Even in an incomplete form, when supplemented by the private exhibits, it was a prominent feature of the Queensland display. Of all classes represented in the colony's display the sugar-planters appeared to be most alive to the importance of having Queensland adequately represented at the Exhibition. Despite the many obstacles that they had encountered they had, judging by the number of their exhibits, rallied round the commissioners with praiseworthy zeal. Samples of their products had been forwarded by:

Messrs. Penny and Company, Mr. W. Adams, Messrs. A. H. and E. Young all of Bundaberg; Mr. J. M. M'Bryde, Messrs. Paget Bros., Mr. A. Henderson and Mr. H, M'Creedy,

the *Melbourne-Mackay Sugar Company and* the *Mackay Co-operative Company*, all of Mackay; Mr. M'Kenzie, of Seaforth; *The Hamleigh Sugar Company*, Lower Herbert; Mr. A. A. Robinson, of Helensvale, Coomera; *The Mourilyan Sugar Company*; Messrs. Nolan and Wanliss, of Johnstone River; Messrs. Wood Brothers of Herbert River; T*he Colonial Sugar Company* and the *Gairloch Sugar Companies*; Messrs. Swallow and Derham of Cairns; *The Queensland Sugar Company* of Geraldton; *Messrs. Cran and Co.*, of Millaquin, Bundaberg; *The Yeppoon Sugar Company* of Rockhampton and others. Waste products from sugar mills, suitable for use as cattle food, were provided by Mr. W. K. Witty.

Amongst the other manufactures exhibited were:

Vegetable dyed, coloured wools – Mr. Swan, of Leichhardt Street;

Soaps and candles – Mr. W. Hancock of Ipswich;

Dugong oils, bacon, beef, and hides – Mr. J. Hamilton of Dunwich;

Pepper and coffee – Mr. C. F. Chubb;

Grass-tree gum and kangaroo sinews for surgical use – Mr. G. J. Wickham of Toolburra;

Pickles, jams and similar – Mr. C. Hardy of the Eight-mile Plains;

Golden syrup – the Brisbane Refinery Company;

Soaps by Mr. R. Ruddell; and tanning barks, both from Bundaberg;

Flour by Mr. Jas. Dougall of Allora; and

Canes from Mr. A. Meston of Cairns.

Building stones from the Helidon quarries were shown by Mr. J. A. Pearson and varieties of this material were provided by the Gladstone and Rockhampton Committees. A building stone, similar to that used in the Government Printing Office's construction, was supplied by the Carroll Brothers of O'Connell Town. Blocks of white marble and of granite were sent by Mr. H. Friend, of Gladstone whilst Campbell and Sons, of Brisbane, and Mr. W, Greaves of Warwick provided building stones and marble. Mr. J. Harrison, of Bundaberg, and Mr. J. Northing of the Beenleigh Brick Works sent specimens of their bricks and clay, while additional bricks and pottery were contributed by the *Waterstone Brick Company* and by the *Dinmore Brick Works*.

Wines manufactured in the colony were represented by products from Ipswich, Toowoomba, Warwick and Rosewood. Samples of rum were provided by Beenleigh, Loganholme, Caboolture, Normanby, Milton, the *Melbourne-Mackay Sugar Company's* and the *Pleystowe Sugar Company's Distilleries*. Ales and stout were provided by the *City Brewery Bundaberg* and the *Townsville Brewery Company*. These beverages, together with some spa water and cordials from Helidon, Ipswich and Bundaberg made up the Queensland liquor and cordial list. Mr. D. Clarke of Maryborough and Mr. T. Ingham of Rockhampton provided preparations of medicinal eucalyptus.



The Brisbane Courier on the 10th of November 1885 reported that: "Mr. W. G. Bailey, M.L.A. has sold his farm at Tiaro to a syndicate proposing the erection of a central sugar mill.

Mr. William Howard of Isis is in communication with the Colonial Secretary with reference to the acquisition of a central mill in his locality, certainly one of the best places that I know of for a trial of the system."

On the same date it was also reported that: "At the Burrum, the ceremony of breaking ground for sinking a second shaft at the *Queensland Colliery Company's* mine was performed the other day by Miss Rankin, the daughter of the manager. Mr. Rankin's thorough experience on a large coal property in the Newcastle district is being utilized to such valuable results that great things are expected shortly in the way of an increased coal output."

The *Maryborough Chronicle* in its edition of 9th of December 1885 reported that: "A largely attended meeting of farmers residing in the Isis Scrub, and others interested in lands therein, was held in the school building at Abingdon on Saturday last. The meeting was convened by advertisement, under the auspices of the Isis Progress Association, to debate on the proposed sugar mill … . Mr. Howard informed the meeting that immediately the loan vote (an allocated loan of £50,000 voted by Parliament to assist settlers with new plantings) was passed he, on behalf of his own interests and the interests of the farmers in the Isis generally, at once wrote to the Premier for £15,000 in the event of the farmers giving the Government the required security. He said that in frequent communication, extending over many years, affecting the well-being of the Burrum and the Isis he had always received courteous replies from whatever Government was in power at the time. But on this occasion – an occasion so fraught with momentous issues to the farming and planting interests of the district – he had merely received a letter from an under-secretary who *"had the honour by direction"* to inform him that the *"letter had been received."*

He thought it was about time that the farmers of the Isis awakened to a proper sense of their position and acted in unison on a matter of the highest importance to themselves. Mr. N. Cocking, Mr. R. Smith, Mr. Horton and several other farmers gave very practical views on the subject and the farmers present unanimously promised to plant sugar on their land if situated within five miles of the mill. A committee of seven was then appointed to act with some agent of the Government (if one is appointed.) to select the best site for the mill; also to draw up a proper statement, to be signed by the farmers, showing the Government exactly what they had pledged themselves to do if the Government intended to let them share in the loan vote at all. Mr. W. Howard was elected as a corresponding secretary and Mr. N. Cocking chairman of the *Isis Central Sugar Mill Committee*. A vote of thanks to the chairman closed the meeting."

Also, in December 1885 there were rumours, subsequently proven to be unfounded, of Walter Adams's impending departure from Bundaberg. These rumours were to have considerable local impact as Walter had been part and parcel of Bundaberg for so long that he had become regarded as a part of its ongoing existence and, in some quarters, he was referred to as being *"the father of Bundaberg"* though Walter had never sought this appellation for himself. Another and perhaps more likely, contender for this title was Mr. Thomas Watson of *Mabbro*

plantation as Tom was the first person to settle in Bundaberg with a wife and family. Other, strong contenders for the title would be one of the very early settlers of *Woondooma*, the brothers John and Gavin Steuart who had selected 820 acres at North Bundaberg under the *Coffee and Sugar Regulations*. However, *"the father of Bundaberg."* title or no, Walter Adams may have been comfortable with the description of his Bundaberg connection as ascribed to him by the editor of *Queensland Figaro and Punch: "He came there when she was young and struggling; he threw himself into every movement for her progress with a view that was irresistible; and he became her substantial foster-brother, influential and honored."*



Thomas Watson and Family

Photograph From: Bundaberg & District Historical Museum

Chapter 10

A Tale of Two Elections

THE YEAR OF 1886

From the *Queensland Figaro and Punch* of 2nd January 1886. Samuel Rowe, a Bundaberg cane grower, was issued with a summons by an Islander named Waltser for wages due. Waltser stated that he had been engaged on wages of 12 shillings and 6 pence per week, had been employed for five months and had, during that time, received nothing but one half a pound of tobacco and a blanket for which he was charged £1 2s. 0d. by Mr. Rowe. However, Samuel Rowe averred that he had agreed to pay Waltser 8s. 0d. a week; that he was to charge Waltser 1s. 0d. per week to depasture Waltser's horse in his paddock and that Waltser had further agreed to forfeit 5s. 0d. a day for every day he absented himself from work. On this basis Samuel Rowe alleged that he only owed Waltser l1s. 3d. The Bench ordered Rowe to pay £5 18s. 3d. for wages and £1 4s. 6d. costs to Waltser, in default 14 days' imprisonment. Samuel, given little choice, paid the amount awarded.

More on the subject of *"the father of Bundaberg"*. An old Bundabergian revived this issue by claiming that the true father of Bundaberg was Alexander Walker of *Bingera* station. Another old-time resident, Thomas Watson, was still living in North Bundaberg in 1886 and was in a hale and hearty condition. Although he did not claim the title of 'the father of Bundaberg' for himself, Thomas said that at Bundaberg (in 1872), he had ground sugarcane in a mangle and boiled the juice produced in a saucepan. The article also claimed that Walter Adams had grown the first sugarcane in Bundaberg well before this, in 1864. [Note 1] Mr. Watson also said that he grew the first 'taters' in Bundaberg, but that he was not the father of Bundaberg as this happened to be John Steuart who had installed a sugar-mill on the Burnett River's north bank and had since moved to the

Daintree River where he was doing well and had acquired a thrifty young wife. (Ann Hart Robbins, a remarkable, pioneering woman.)

Note 1: It had been in that year but at The Pocket in Maryborough. Walter Adams credited Edward Thomas Aldridge with growing the first experimental crop of cane near Maryborough in 1860. Richard Palmer has been credited with the first commercial crushing of sugarcane in the Bundaberg district during his 1872 crushing at *Millbank*.

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The 48 by 24 feet (15 by 7.5 metre) second, wooden Catholic church in Barolin Street had been inadequate in capacity almost from the day of its completion. In 1886 the Reverent Dr. Dunne, Bishop of Brisbane, laid the foundation stone for a much larger Romanesque church to be designed by the very competent colonial architect, Frances Stanley, and constructed by a local contractor, Mr. E. Boyle, at a cost of £3,600. Works were completed in 1888 with the opening service being held in May. The Adams family also contributed an ornate carved wooden pulpit (now removed) and a large, stained glass window.

Walter Adams was to retain his association with the Catholic Church and with its local representatives until his death on 15th of May 1892. Sad to relate Father Rossolini himself died a year later, in 1893. While much detail of the association between the two has been lost over the years, the degree of co-operation and level of mutual respect between them must have been very high. There remains in the old Adams' red-cedar bookcase Volumes I and II of *Australia Illustrated* inscribed for presentation to Walter Adams by Constantine Rossolini.

Walter and Mary Adams's last residence was on a George Street allotment, adjacent to allotments owned by Father Constantine Rossolini. The family subsequently acquired these allotments and they became the land on which Walter's daughter Ellen and her husband Richard Walter Adams built their residence *Newnham* at 116 George Street. Descendants of Walter and Mary, who would never have met Father Rossolini, still spoke of him with much affection long after his death. This affection also extended to the memory of the original Sisters of Saint Joseph whose impact on the lives of the citizens of Bundaberg greatly exceeded the brevity of their stay in the early township.

Walter Adams' *Metropolitan Hotel*, completed in March/April of 1886, was (and still is) a fine two-storey brick edifice constructed on the original *Adams Hotel* site. At the time it was considered that its arrival had rendered a great improvement to the corner's visual aspect. Walter was one of the early pioneers who had acquired land when it was cheap and, during the previous year when there had been some excitement in land development, he had disposed of his large horse-paddock for £6,300 using a portion of this amount to rebuild the Met. His hotel was located on one of the best commercial corner sites in the town's main street which guaranteed a secure income. The architect, Mr. Hettrick, had produced plans for the construction of a very well designed and furnished establishment. Following the demolition of the earlier *Adams Hotel*, which had become the Metropolitan by name change, one at a time, Bundaberg's original timber buildings, those constructed in the early 1870's, were progressively disappearing.

By 1886, Gin Gin, now with a population of 78 persons, had acquired a Court House with lockup and officers' quarters, a School of Arts complete with library, a racing club, a railway station, another general store, a butcher's shop, two timber mills and a school which, under the management of Mrs. McCrae, had increased its enrolment from twelve to over thirty students. Three years later two hotels had been constructed the designs of which were judged to be of a high standard: the *Queens Hotel* owned by Mr. A. F. Walker and the new *Gin Gin Hotel* owned by Mr. A. Lund. Mr. Lund hotel's construction had also incorporated an entertainment hall. By this time the town also had an *Oddfellows Hall*, three stores and two blacksmith shops.

Wonbah station was held by Messrs. Hughes and Shand and then by Messrs.Shand and Buchanan over the decade to 1886 at which time it passed into the hands of Thomas Province. It later became the property of his grandson Eric P. Campbell whilst another grandson, Thomas J. Campbell, who was a prominent member of the Kolan Shire Council, restored *Kolonga* station.

The creation of the Colony of Queensland had been approved by Queen Victoria on 6th of June 1859, with the Queen then appointing Sir George Ferguson Bowen as its first Governor. On the 10th of December 1859 the Governor arrived in Brisbane and officially proclaimed the new Colony of Queensland. He then appointed Sir Robert George Wyndham Herbert as the Colonial Secretary – a position equivalent to that of an unelected Premier. Sir Robert Herbert's appointed government then presided over Queensland until April 1860 at which time the Governor issued the writs for the first Queensland election.

Because of the limitations imposed on the electoral process by the basic nature of the colony's communications combined with that of the coach or coastal steamer transportation, this first Queensland election was held over a period of fifteen days from the 27th of April to the 11th of May 1860. To be eligible to vote, or to be a candidate, for this election it was necessary to be a landholding male. The voters of the 16 declared electorates were to vote for 26 Members of the Legislative Assembly with some electorates having two representatives. The 11 members of the Upper House were not subjected to an election and were appointed by the Governor himself. The Parliament first met on the 22nd of May and was officially opened on the 29th of May. Sir Robert was elected Premier having won in the electorate of Leichhardt.

W. Frederic Morrison's 1888 publication, *The Aldine History of Queensland*, gave the following details of the colony's legislature:

"The Queensland Government has its seat at Brisbane, a city of about 90,000 inhabitants, including its suburbs. The colony itself has a population of about 400,000 besides an estimated population of about 15,000 coolies and natives. The Governor is appointed by the Crown at a salary of £5,000 p.a., together with a paid staff. The Executive Council forms a Cabinet responsible to the Assembly.

Parliament consists of two Houses, the Upper and the Lower, known as the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Council is composed of thirty-six members, who are nominated and appointed by the Governor for life. Any elector is eligible for membership therein. The president of the

Council is appointed by the Governor and is paid a salary of £1,000 whilst the Premier is the vice-president thereof. One-third of the above number, exclusive of the President, constitutes a quorum. Seats may be vacated by resignation, absence for two years without the permission of the Queen or Governor, allegiance to any foreign state or power, becoming insolvent, being attainted of treason, convicted of felony or any infamous crime. Qualification for membership therein is being a naturalised or born subject of Her Majesty, of full age of twenty-one years, or having become naturalised by special act of the Imperial Parliament or that of New South Wales before Separation, or by special act of this colony. Four-fifths of the membership of this Council must consist of persons not holding any office of emolument under the Crown, except officers of Her Majesty's Sea and Land Forces, on full pay, or retired officers on a pension.

The Legislative Assembly consists of seventy-two members, elected by sixty districts, and chosen by ballot, and the qualifications for nomination are, any person who shall be qualified and registered as a voter, not being a minister of religion or a member of the Legislative Council, or holding any office of profit under the Crown. The duration of Parliament is limited to five years, subject, however, to dissolution by the Governor. The qualification of electors is as follows: every man of the age of twenty-one years, being a natural born or naturalised subject of Her Majesty, or legally made a denizen of Queensland, is entitled to have his name entered on the electoral roll of a district upon meeting any of the following qualifications: first, six months residence; second, ownership of freehold estate of the clear value of £100; third, six months household occupation in a leasehold estate of a clear value of £10; all being in that electoral district. Members of both Houses are styled Honourable (abbreviation Hon.).

The Government departments are the Colonial Secretary, Treasury, Public Works and Mines, Public Lands, Attorney-General, Public Instruction and the Postmaster-General. The commercial policy is restrictive, a tariff on about ninety articles being imposed ad valorem of five percent on all articles of import, and an export duty of two shillings is imposed on every log of cedar leaving the colony."



Walter Adams had revealed his political colours as early as 1878 as it was in this year that he had provided support to the Conservative candidate for Mulgrave, Thomas M'Ilwraith, both in the press and by the chairing of public meetings in Bundaberg. In June 1886 the Mulgrave electorate became vacant on Mr. M'Ilwraith's resignation. As a consequence, a representative caucus of Conservatives met on a Friday night to consider making overtures to Messrs. Andrew M. Goodwin, J. G. Young, Fredrick Buss, and Michael Duffy in order to obtain a volunteer to nominate in the coming election. However, all of those selected had declined the overtures for nomination and Walter Adams was then approached. Walter accepted the honour with some reluctance and the meeting was adjourned until the following Monday.

Whilst Walter had a good flow of speech, some objections to his selection had been based on the uncultivated nature of his vocabulary and, as some people thought, his rather brusque

manner. On the other hand, he was regarded as being a successful businessman and the owner of a fine hotel, the *Metropolitan*, besides other town properties and a plantation. Although agreeing to contest the election as a Conservative candidate Walter, in conformity with his initial reservations, had no desire to cover the expenses that would be involved in contesting the election with contributions from his personal finances.

On the other hand the Liberal party made the selection of their own candidate at their caucus meeting on the following Monday and it was James Court Walker, who had purchased Henry Ford's north bank store in 1872, that was put forward for nomination. Prior to this Mr. Andrew M. Goodwin had, on mature consideration and for declared business reasons, declined to apply for nomination as the Conservative candidate even though he had received very substantial offers of pecuniary and moral support. He gave a lengthy explanation for the adoption of this position in his journal with the entry also expressing his belief that the Liberals had not issued him with a formal request to nominate.

A large number of electors had been keen for Augustus P. Barton, of *Moolboolaman* cattle station and Mon Repos plantation, to stand for the election as a Conservative. In ability and in education he was one of the most prominent men in the district and he had the potential to fill the position with credit. Henry Palmer, earlier a member for the Maryborough electorate, was also considered as a possible candidate.

As mentioned above, the Liberal candidate chosen to contest the election in opposition to Walter Adams was Mr. J. C. Walker who would be journeying through England over the period of the election campaign. It had become known that Mr. George Skyring may run as an independent candidate and, if so, this would have the potential to dilute the Conservatives vote. Mr. Skyring had previously run as an independent during the Mulgrave electorate's contest between Thomas M'Ilwraith and Edward Tanner eight years before and he was thought to have forfeited his electoral deposit at the time. Since then Mr. Skyring had acquired additional funds at the death of his father, a Brisbane resident. George Skyring was, together with his two brothers, joint owner of the Robertson's *Baffle Creek* cattle station, and of a lucrative butchering business in Bundaberg.

With Walter Adams suffering from a temporary incapacitation, which had precluded his travelling and which had caused the closure of the *Metropolitan Hotel* for the previous two or three days, Mr. Goodwin of the *Mail* travelled to Mount Perry to act as Walter's deputy. Andrew Goodwin had acquired a good deal of influence with the locals of the mining town and was able to put this influence to good use.

Walter Adams had undertaken to give his first public speech on a Monday evening and curiosity was rather rife as to what attitude he would adopt in response to some of Mr. Skyring's utterances of the previous Saturday night. It was obvious that Mr. Skyring had not communicated effectively with the electors as Mayor Duffy, who had presided at this meeting, expressed his regret that the show of hands, following Mr. Skyring's speech, had not been in the candidate's favour. In the opinion of most of the meeting's attendees the Mayor himself had made a speech which, for practical hard-headed

common sense, would be very hard to surpass by any of the competing candidates.

Mr. Skyring had made it clear that he was willing to meet his own campaign expenses and, if elected, he was prepared to give support to the Government whilst sitting as an independent member. He was strongly in favour of allowing farmers to utilize Islander labour; he was strongly opposed to the *Land Act*; he regarded the *Licensing Act* as being little better than a farce and, following his Saturday's oration, it was understood that, if he was going to be a friend of the Government, he would be one of those good-natured friends who could do a great deal more damage to the administrators they serve than many straight Oppositionists. Mr. Skyring was a supporter of the Burnett River bridge and the Mount Perry railway line construction and it was understood to be part of his plan first to cajole and then to bully the Government by utilizing the leverage occasioned by his ability to change allegiance from one party to the other.

Following his second Saturday night meeting, at which he had managed to engender a considerable degree of enthusiasm, Mr. Skyring had undeniably created a more favourable impact upon the campaign's attendees. The meeting's hall had been packed, though largely with the local larrikin element of the population and, standing as he did on an essentially independent basis, it was perhaps not surprising that they regarded his chances very favourably. His comprehension of the audience made him comfortable with the engagement of repartee, as some discomforted Liberals were to learn on that night and, in addition, he was recognised as a practical agriculturist who had previously maintained a successful business in the Gladstone district.

Although Mr. Skyring's campaign had been off to a fair start he then made an offer to discontinue his campaign if Mr. Adams would agree to do the same but, if this offer was to be accepted, it was apparent that Mr. Walker should win 'at a canter'. Mr. Skyring's proposition was for Mr. Adams to speak at the *Victoria Hall* and for his committee to then confer with that of Mr. Skyring with a view to deciding which of the two candidates would retire from the competition.

A new issue then arose. The sum of £350 had been promised, with signatures provided, at the Conservative's meeting to assist with the group's campaign. Following Mr. Skyring's advent upon the scene, some of the signatories to the Conservative's campaign funding had been racking their brains as to how to they could avoid meeting their funding commitment. The individual amounts varied from £10 to £30 and it was not hard to imagine to which side self-interest would lean. There would have been a good deal of relief if this little difficulty could have been amicably resolved. The dilemma resolved itself when it was discovered that the ability to recall the funding commitments had lapsed on the midnight following the Conservative's meeting.

The Liberals' casual approach to the election process had been maintained throughout the campaign with no telegram dispatched to the absent Mr. Walker giving confirmation of his nomination. However, subsequent to his selection a group of Mr. Walker's friends,

including Mr. Rowland of the *Star*, had addressed electors at public meetings in their capacity as the representatives of their chosen candidate.

By the 3rd of July the political situation in the Mulgrave electorate had been clarified. Following Mr. Skyring's pliable campaign and his ensuing retirement from the hustings the issues then lay between Mr. W. Adams and Mr. J. C. Walker. Walter Adams did not need an introduction to the electorate as he had been so well known for the past generation or more in the Mary and the Burnett districts. He would have been the first to admit that he was not a brilliant candidate but he was an avowed supporter of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's political policies and, under the guidance of the ex-Premier, his progress in civic representation had been of a steady and progressive nature.

It is true that the larrikins at Mr. Adams's meetings in Bundaberg had been able to make a send-up of a vote of confidence, but it was of some consolation to Walter's friends to know that the same treatment was meted out to Mr. Skyring, whose very elastic ideas of party allegiance might have been expected to find favour in the eyes of the hoy-poloi. It is only fair to assume that, even if Mr. Walker had appeared in Bundaberg during the campaign, the Bundaberg juniors' desire for a *larf* would have so far weighed against any perceived notion of the district's prosperity that the Liberals, as represented by Mr. Walker, and who were considered to be an anti-sugar industry Government, could also be expected to have experienced an adverse vote from this group.

In describing the relevant issues, the newspapers had kept the general electorate informed of the candidates' varying policies and this had allowed the thinking portion of the population to form its own judgement. Mr. Walker's supporters, acting on his behalf, repeated an address that he had made several years ago in lieu of a contemporary declaration as to his stand on the current issues with respect to time-altered circumstances. This address was consistent with the inherent spirit of economy, which some voters regarded as an expression of downright meanness, and that was considered to be a feature of the recent Liberal Government. The press was of the opinion that Mr. Walker had no knowledge whatever of the electioneering activities that had been undertaken in his name and it was not improbable that, when he received the results of the election by wire, he may have taken it into his head to repudiate the whole thing and to continue to enjoy his well-earned holiday in England. There was an impression in the electorate that, although the Conservatives had made the financial side of government rather too prominent there was, on the other hand, insufficient enthusiasm in the Liberal camp regarding their willingness to address the current financial issues.

It was also supposed that, if Mr. Walker were to accept the electoral victory, which in some haphazard fashion may have fallen his way, he would not be able to take his seat in the House until that Assembly had been in session for some months into the remaining season. In other words, the people of the electorate would not benefit from his services for a third of the then remaining short parliamentary session and one

of the services he would be expected to render, if he were to be elected, would be to inhibit the use of Pacific Island labour which could have resulted in the destruction of the sugar industry and the return of the Mulgrave district to its former state of chronic insolvency.

It was, from a non-political point of view, a matter of some relief that the potential for Mr. Walker's time in office would be, of necessity, very short owing to the proximity of the forthcoming general election. There was a widely held feeling in the agricultural areas that, if any farmers were to vote for the Liberal's champion in Mr. Walker, they would receive a shilling a bushel for their maize with nothing but white labour at twenty five shillings a week to assist them. They would then have to bear the consequences of knowing that, in many people's opinion, they had voted to ruin their own district's agricultural prospects. Many were also aware that the Government's enormous financial deficit should not be increased by sacrificing an industry that it was the current Premier's declared objective to make unviable.

There was no surprise in the news that had come from both Reid's Creek and Mount Perry where Sir Thomas had been, if at all possible, more revered than in any other part of his ex-electorate that the votes of confidence in his potential successor had been both cordial and unanimous. It was therefore to be expected that, at least in this portion of the electorate, the electors considered that the recent rumours in circulation critical of his potential successor were untrue and henceforth they would question any further rumours of a like nature. Against Walter Adams there was a very 'one-horse' form of canvassing with the prominent advocate of this approach being Mr. Rowland who could hardly have been said to take a disinterested view of the matter. Walter was next to tour the remainder of the Kolan district utilizing his successful, personal approach towards the canvassing of local issues.

In recognition of the large populations in and about the mining fields of Mount Perry, Mr. Adams, accompanied by Mr. George Greathead, arrived there on Tuesday for an early July campaign meeting. On Wednesday they viewed the newly constructed railway tunnel and were then conducted on tour of the goldfield to view the active mining claims. Some of the party descended into the shafts to examine the workings in more detail and, on returning to the surface, expressed their confidence in the field's great potential.

The miners had stopped work on that afternoon to attend the Mount Perry area's first meeting of the current political campaign. The meeting was presided over by Captain Bennett who introduced Walter Adams to the gathering of assembled miners. Walter then addressed the gathering on the divergent issues of the day and explained his political views in a straightforward manner. Following the address Mr. Dennis proposed, and Mr. Clark seconded, that Mr. Walter Adams was a fit and proper person to represent their electorate in the Legislative Assembly. This motion was carried unanimously.

At eight o'clock that night a large concourse of people had assembled in Mount Perry's *School of Arts* to attend the day's second campaign meeting with the chairman, Captain Bennett, introducing Walter Adams to the meeting.

Walter then addressed the assembled electors and delivered a very effective speech that was well to the point and which lasted for about three quarters of an hour. By the conclusion of the speech there was no doubt that he had made an extremely favourable impression. He had given very satisfactory replies to each of the different electors' questions and one noticeable aspect of his speech was the entire absence of any mention of his opponents, a precedent which the other candidates would have done well to emulate. He received a unanimous vote of confidence as being a fit and proper person to represent this constituency.

On the following Saturday the representatives of Mr. J. C. Walker, the Liberal candidate, consisting of Mr. George Walker, Mr. John Rowland, Mr. Totten and others, arrived at Mount Perry for their presentations to the electors. As soon as the doors of the *School of Arts* were opened, the institution was filled from one end to the other. W. H. Cogzell Esquire, J.P. was in the chair and, in his opening speech, said that he trusted the meeting to give the deputation a fair and impartial hearing. He then explained the reason for the absence of Mr. J. C. Walker who was continuing with his English travels.

In reply to the question raised by several gentlemen as to how he, Mr. Cogzell, knew that Mr. James Court Walker would be willing to stand if elected, he informed the gathering that Mr. Walker had previously assured his representatives that he was at their service and willing to contest an election at the first available opportunity. Mr. George Walker, Mr. Totten, and Mr. Rowland all spent a considerable amount of time in explaining the views of their candidate in as far as they were able. There was no doubt that they had done their best, but the views they expressed did not appear to meet with the approval of the majority of those at the meeting. Following the presentations, Mr. Michael Bennett moved that Mr. Walker was a fit and proper person to represent the electorate.

Sir Henry Mitchell proposed, as an amendment, that Mr. Adams was instead the proper person to represent the electorate and this was seconded by Captain Bennett. Amid much enthusiasm the chairman declared the amendment carried, with only eleven hands being raised in support of Mr. Walker. Following the traditional vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting broke up at 10.20 p.m. On the following day Mr. Walker's deputation moved on to Reid's Creek.

As to the prospects of the two candidates, it was apparent that Walter Adams had performed soundly in Mount Perry, and in its surrounding districts, where a significant portion of his campaign funds had been committed. It was indisputable that he had, over the years and under practical circumstances, obtained a very considerable amount of experience in civic planning. What Mr. Walker might know, and how he may perform in this area, was not clear although it was universally conceded that he was a far better orator than Mr. Adams.

The gentlemen who had deputised for Mr. Walker, in advocating his cause, had not succeeded in arousing any excitement in the district's voters. The impression acquired by the press was that the farmers, in the main, approved of Mr. Adams's presentation especially when they considered that the professed Liberals, who

had not invested a cent in the sugar industry, would vote for Mr. Walker.

It appeared odd to many of those present on the Monday night, when the pride of the Liberal party – described at the time as being the persuasive and warlike Mr. Lamb, the sage and seasoned Mr. Rowland, the democratic and aggressive Mr. Totten and the calm and introspective Mr. Howe – were assembled, that there had been considerable differences of opinion as to what Mr. Walker's sentiments on the agricultural labour question really were. One gentleman had obviously spoken more to his own opinions than to those of the candidate and it was reported that the others may well have done the same. If Mr. Walker was to have read of the event it was thought that he may have felt inclined to say, *"Save me from my friends"*.

A strange, and ongoing, matter for consideration by the electorate was the concern that Mr. Walker appeared to be completely ignorant of his own nomination. Since his departure from Bundaberg he had neither sent nor received any messages and, if he had decided to do a little travelling while overseas, it is possible the news of his supporter's campaign activities may not have reached him prior to his return to London. Conversely, he almost certainly would have known that Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith had resigned as this would have been mentioned in the colonial cablegrams that were published in the London newspapers.

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The great fray between the electoral representatives had come and gone and the early voting returns for Mount Perry showed that Walter Adams had been victorious in that district. The weather on the polling day had been all that could be desired and buggies and other vehicles were despatched by both parties to bring their supporters into Mount Perry from the Reefs and from Drummers Creek. The atmosphere in the town was very lively with a party feeling that was, as the Americans would have said, *"tall on both sides"*.

On the day itself the advocates of either side of politics had been feeling sure of obtaining a verdict that was in their favour. Under the Returning Officer, Mr. O. Armstrong, the polling continued steadily throughout the day until 4 p.m., when the polling room doors were closed and the work of counting the votes commenced. The counting was by no means a herculean task as only 83 votes had been recorded. At 4.30 p.m. the Returning Officer, accompanied by the two scrutineers, emerged onto the Court House veranda and announced the numbers to be as follows: Walter Adams, 45; J. C. Walker, 37; Informal, 1.

These were relatively small totals when it was considered that there were 361 electors on the district's electoral roll but, against that, returns had still to come in to Mount Perry from the Dalgonal, Roselyn, Yarrol, and Cania Diggings. In Mount Perry there was then a rumour that Walter Adams had a majority in the Bundaberg area of 98 votes. When the above Mount Perry numbers were announced Captain Bennett proposed three cheers for the local Returning Officer which were heartily delivered. It was noted that there was no evidence of drunkenness in the town throughout the polling, the whole proceedings having been conducted with both good order and good feeling, which reflected

great credit on all concerned. The overall tally for the election, at the conclusion of counting, was 541 votes for Walter Adams and 435 votes for Mr. J. C. Walker.

As an offset to the locals' interest in the election, a footrace had been held along the riverbank, and past the Bundaberg Courthouse, for a prize of £10, with one runner being a local athlete named Moore.

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The *Gooburrum Divisional Board* had requested a loan from the Government to construct a wharf on the northern bank of the Burnett River to service the farmers on that side of the river. These farmers were severely handicapped both by the delay in waiting for the old rattletrap of a cross-river punt to ferry their produce across the river and by the high cost of this ferrying. Storage at a north bank wharf would have enabled the produce to be loaded and transported directly to Maryborough or Brisbane with no double handling. It is possible that the Government may have been waiting to ascertain the result of the election in the local area before committing to this project, especially when the history of Burnett River flooding was considered.

During the course of Walter Adams's Parliamentary terms two of the accomplishments closest to his heart were the passage of the *Bundaberg School of Arts Enabling Bill* of 1887, which resulted in the construction of the building which still stands in Bourbon Street, and the construction and opening, in June 1891, of the Burnett River railway bridge. (The road traffic bridge opening was not to occur until 1900)

The technological age had finally arrived in Bundaberg with the introduction, in early July 1886, of Alexander Graham Bell's invention, the telephone. Following its introduction, the limited number of business and household installations had functioned well. However, the local press reported that some were to regret the telephone's use was not confined to strictly commercial purposes as on one particular morning, very shortly after installation, a large number of frivolous messages were said to have been transmitted through the wires, all related to the previous night's ball. It was alleged that this, the first peak in Bundaberg's usage, had inflicted a severe workload on the lady in charge of the central telephone exchange.

The Mount Perry mining field was maintaining a healthy rate of production and, as a consequence, a highly optimistic atmosphere prevailed throughout the field. The following is a reproduction of a progress report that is typical of the Mount Perry mining field reports being issued at the time and is indicative of the prevailing atmosphere:

"The assay of a parcel of stone obtained from the Caledonian reef at Reid's Creek, and crushed at Olympic, had resulted in the production of l ounce 3 penny-weight of free gold to the ton, not including the mundic [Note 1] tailings that, when treated, should produce in the order of four additional ounces to the ton.

Some really excellent work had been conducted on the Nos. 3, 4 and 5 Welcome reefs at Reid's Creek and the energetic manager had, by then, sunk the main shaft 72 feet below the first level, making a total depth of 147 feet from the surface. On reaching a depth of 96 feet a

very favourable change of ground occurred. The prior 21 feet encountered had been of very hard rock and breaking through this would have been very tedious and expensive. However, the favourable change mentioned above required an entirely different evaluation as to the nature of the ground.

From the 90 feet to the 147 feet level the reef averaged about 16 inches in thickness and was composed of soft granite and argillaceous (clay like) matter traversed throughout with veins of rich mundic material. This reef was highly mineralised and the manager, going by the appearance of the country, expected to strike a large deposit of auriferous sulphides. He was then opening out the workings towards the south at the bottom of the line of reef and on considering the dip of the cross course he expected, at about 20 feet from the shaft, to intercept the same offshoot of the stone that had been passed through at the upper level and from which about 250 ounces of free gold had already been taken. It was anticipated that the free stone would give way to pyrites and, from the nature of the reef in which the shaft was being sunk, he was confident that these sulphide bearing ores would be rich in proportion to the sulphides obtained from the shallower depths.

The whole plant was in very good order and, in Mr. Henry Mitchell, the company had evidently acquired the right man for the job. He was a thoroughly practical man and took every precaution for the safety of his men and for the economical working of the mine."

Following a period of growth, the Mount Perry mine's viability entered a decline in large measure due a falling copper price. This culminated in the mine's closure in 1891. In 1898 the London-based *Queensland Copper Company* purchased the mine and this occasioned a significant town revival so that, by 1904, the population in the mining field had reached 2,000 persons. Following this expansion, the demand for copper again proceeded to fall away resulting in the progressive closure of this and many other copper mines. With the mining venture at Mount Perry in a state of collapse the copper smelters closed in 1915 which caused a major diminution of the population and, as a result, many buildings in the town were either demolished or removed.

Note 1: A Cornish miner's expression for pyritic (copper and/or iron sulphide) mine waste normally retained in the mine's tailings.



An extract of interest from *The Brisbane Courier* reported that, in the Parliament's Legislative Assembly Notices of Tuesday the 5th of August, Walter Adams was off to an early start when he moved:

"That there be laid on the table, Mr. Surveyor North's report on the Mungar and Gayndah Railway" and, in the same extract, a further item of interest was Mr. Kates proposal to move: *"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that, to promote the agricultural, pastoral and mining industries of this colony, immediate steps should be taken for the conservation of water and the preparation of a comprehensive scheme for irrigation and general water supply";* and *"That, in order to give effect to the foregoing resolution, it is expedient that a Royal Commission be appointed to make a diligent inquiry into the best method of*

conserving the rainfall and of searching for, and developing, the underground reservoirs supposed to exist in the interior of this colony, [Note 1] *and of conserving the waters in our various river and mountain streams for the purposes of irrigation and general water supply and to avert the disastrous consequence of the periodical droughts to which this colony from time to time is subject."*

Note 1: They certainly did exist, in the enormous, multi-layered and laterally dispersed aquifers of the *Great Artesian Basin*.

Another item raised in the Parliament at this time was related to the government's issue of the experimental Californian seed corn. On this issue Mr. Moreton replied in Parliament, in answer to a question from Mr. Stevens, that the seed corn for distribution in the colony was expected to arrive from California the next day and that the basis upon which the Government proposed to distribute this grain had not yet been decided. There were 650 applicants for the 200 bushels ordered with the applications being principally received from the Moreton, Darling Downs and Wide Bay Districts and he was to provide further information re the distribution on the following Tuesday.

Following his temporary absence from the aldermanic ranks, whilst electioneering in the Mulgrave electorate, Walter had returned to his Bundaberg Council duties. However, it was considered by at least one interested ratepayer that *"the time had now arrived for Mr. Adams M.L.A. to contemplate his resignation from the Council appointment so as to provide the opportunity for another aspiring townsman to contribute to the Council's deliberations."*

A prominent land transaction of the year was the sale of the agricultural land in the Isis Scrub, known as *Ramsay's* where Mr. Curtis was to auction ninety farm blocks of various sizes on Saturday the 28th of August. The sale had been expected to meet with considerable success, as there was a great demand for first-class scrub land and it was felt that closer settlement in the Isis, and the placing of such a large area under crop, would improve the commercial prospects both of Bundaberg and of Maryborough. The price of maize remained at 3 shillings and 6 pence per bushel and the August supply of grain remained steady with no likelihood of a price change into the near future.

Mr. Walter Adams M.L.A.'s activities were being well reported in the local newspapers which were speculating that the electorate may have secured a representative who would, perhaps with a little toning down, provide a significant amount of practical advice to the debates held in the Assembly. It was at this time that Walter Adams had, in September 1886, transferred his licence as proprietor of the *Metropolitan Hotel* to his son George Manus, probably to meet the legal requirements demanded of a Member of the Legislative Assembly. In October the *Queensland Figaro and Punch* opined that Walter Adams M.L.A. for the Mulgrave, may have disappointed a lot of people who thought that he would not find the Assembly to be another edition of the Bundaberg Council and that he would therefore find his opinions suppressed in that gathering. If such was the case, they would have been bitterly disappointed by the very tangible work that Mr. Adams had already carried out in the Assembly, and they now found themselves in the situation where they could not speak well enough of him.

Following the close of the parliamentary session Walter Adams with his family arrived back in Bundaberg aboard the vessel *Leichhardt* at 3.30 p.m. and was warmly welcomed by his friends and by others who thronged the river bank also anxious to extend a welcome. The steamer was gaily decorated with all her bunting flying and, on nearing her destination, she gave three loud blasts on her whistles perhaps to warn the townsfolk of the approach of their respected representative and his family all of whom looked fresh following their short absence. A very small pair of cream coloured ponies and a palanquin [Note 1] of light build belonging to Mr. Adams were offloaded. The palanquin was much admired by attendees who considered it to be quite a novelty.

Note 1: It was highly unlikely to have been a palanquin unless the meaning of the word held a different connotation when used in the colony in those days. The presence of the *"small pair of cream coloured ponies"* suggests it was much more likely to have been a chaise.

THE YEAR OF 1887

The year 1887 commenced with a succession of minor floods. Intermittent but heavy rainfall prevailed for many months which resulted in the production of an uninterrupted succession of twenty wet Sundays. This sequence of events carried through into late November and acted as a significant detriment to church attendance from the outlying areas.

It was in this year that George Greathead acquired *Hopewell* plantation and mill. Unfortunately, in common with many plantation owners of the time, George found the industry to be suffering strong headwinds and, in a period of severe depression, committed suicide. His redoubtable wife Ann, assisted by their son George, persisted with the plantation and subsequently achieved commercial success.

It was also in 1887 that the fourth Police Magistrate was appointed to Bundaberg in the form of Mr. Theopilus Parsons Pugh *"… one of the oldest pioneers of Queensland, a gentleman of light and learning and the original author and compiler of Pugh's Almanac."* The Police Magistrates who had preceded him were, in order: Joseph Hughes, appointed in 1871, followed by Horace Burkitt and then Robert Johnstone.

Mr. Pugh was born at Turk's Island (in the Caicos group of islands near the Bahamas) in 1831. Educated at *Old Kingswood School* near Bristol and at *Wesley College* at Taunton, he served a short apprenticeship as a printer, and then joined the *Southern Times* at Weymouth. and later the *Mirror* at Salisbury, and the *Herald* at Swansea. He arrived in Australia in June 1855 and became a correspondent to the Empire of Sydney before becoming the editor of the Moreton Bay Free Press in 1855 and maintained this position over a period of four years. In 1859 he was appointed editor of the *Moreton Bay Courier* (now *The Courier Mail*), then a bi-weekly publication, and which, in May 1861, was converted into a daily publication. After leaving the *Moreton Bay Courier* in 1863, Mr. Pugh was engaged in various journalistic enterprises and became the first editor of the Brisbane Telegraph following its creation in 1872 a position he retained for slightly over a year. *Pugh's Moreton Bay Almanac* appeared in sheet form at the close of 1857, and in book size the following year. In 1860 the scope of the almanac – or, rather, directory – was enlarged, and came out as *Pugh's Queensland Almanac*.

Theopilus Pugh was also the first publisher of the *Queensland Government Gazette*, from 1861 to 1863, and was elected to represent the Town of Brisbane in the second Parliament of Queensland. He was re-elected in 1867 and became Chairman of Committees. In the following year's election, Mr. Pugh was re-elected, but very shortly thereafter resigned from Parliament. He then entered the civil service, and was appointed Police Magistrate at Goondiwindi in 1874 and afterwards filled this position at Rockhampton, Warwick, Bund aberg, Beenleigh, and Nanango.



The *Victoria Hall* was well attended on a Friday evening in mid-February in response to the invitation from local amateurs, consisting mainly of those who had officiated at the *Robbie Burns' Concert* of the preceding week, to participate in a second concert in support of the victims of a recent Burnett River flooding. Virtually all of the audience bought three shilling tickets and Mr. Adams, before the concert was to commence and in his role as the local M.L.A., spoke feelingly of the victims' plight and congratulated the audience on coming to the aid of those severely affected flood victims who had been *"left without anything to stand up in."* The *Queensland Figaro and Punch's* music critic gave a description of the evening's musical performances, however, as his opinions are, by their very nature, subjective they will receive little mention here where the main intention is to give details of the musical talent, and of the music itself, that was then popular in Bundaberg. In later years Bundaberg was to acquire a very favourable reputation in the development of its musical talent.

The quartette of Messrs. Gill, Williams, Blaikie and Coombe, performed *All Among the Barley*;

Captain Schofield a popular local tenor was unavailable to perform owing to ill-health;

Miss Totten sang melody *Dreaming of Home*;

Mr. Dunbar recited *Phaudrig Crohore*;

Mr. M. W. Blaikie sang *Nil Desperandum*;

Herr Becker gave a Vichy-like left-handed performance on the pianoforte, giving variations on the *Last Rose of Summer*;

Miss Nellie Walker sang *Carissima*;

Messrs. Gill and Williams presented *Larboard Watch*, the former performing for the occasion following some years of retirement;

Mr. J. Faragher played a cornet solo;

Miss Chamberlain essayed *Shells We Gathered Long Ago*; and

The performance by an instrumental quartette consisting of Messrs. Blaikie, Beckett (violins), Burgess (cello), and Beckett (piano), provided the conclusion for the first part of the concert;

Messrs. Gill, Williams, Blaikie, and Coombe performed the opening of the second half with a rendition of *Farewell*;

Mr. Coombe sang *Lassie*;

Miss Chamberlain sang *Strangers Yet*;

Mr. Anderson's rendering of *The Old Brigade* earned an encore;

As did Mr. Blaikie's violin performance of *The Last Rose of Summer*;

Mr. Moss afforded a treat in his rendering of *I Seek for Thee in Every Flower*;

Miss Totten sang *Kiss Me Ere I Fall Asleep*;

Master Bennett, Captain Bennett's son, brought the house down with his rendition of the *Curfew Must Not Ring To-night*;

Herr Becker gave an excellent imitation of a banjo on the piano;

Miss Walker sang *Who Can Say*;

The trio of Messrs. Moss, Blaikie and Coombe sang an old number called *The Wreath*; and;

Mr. Dunbar gave a serio-comic song without accompaniment, *The Emigrant's Return*, which electrified the house and, *"although suitable for the more primitive times of the town, is hardly adapted to the more cultured requirements of the present"* claimed the, perhaps somewhat straight laced, music critic.

The concluding item was a performance by an instrumental quartette, and this was followed by the *National Anthem*.

Walter Adams M.L.A. then gave thanks to the amateurs and public on behalf of the *Relief Fund*, which had received substantial financial benefit from the proceeds of the concert. Inclusive of these proceeds an amount of £120 had been subscribed to the fund ensuring that Bundaberg's well-known reputation of having a willingness to donate to charitable causes was maintained.

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Later, in February, Walter Adams M.L.A. moved to examine some papers that related to mineral land selections at Mount Perry in which six men had been allocated mining leases by the Goldfield Warden over ground subject to a forfeited mineral selection. The selection had been marked *"forfeited"* both in the official books and on the lithographed plans. Everything had proceeded smoothly until payable gold was encountered and then it was suddenly discovered that the selection had ***not*** been forfeited and that a *Deed of Grant* had been issued on the selection to the prior holders though they had done no work on the selection in question. Walter would not have been so surprised by these events had he been a regular reader of the *Queensland Figaro and Punch*, according to its editor, who maintained that, had he been a regular reader of that journal, he would have known that a working miner has no right to a payable claim under a 'Liberal' Government.

Towards the end of February M.L.A. Adams, as the representative of the Mulgrave electorate, received a reply from the Postmaster General in response to his renewed request for details of the position regarding Bundaberg's promised post and telegraph office. The member and his constituents were advised that *"the matter will receive careful consideration"*. The citizens of Bundaberg were only too well aware of the meaning of that convenient phrase.

At this time communication between Bundaberg and the township of Howard had become somewhat erratic. The daily horse drawn coaches left from either end with unerring regularity, but the timing of their return was decidedly uncertain. The ongoing, almost continuous, rains were maintaining both the Gregory and Isis Rivers at flood levels, so that the outgoing coach could not cross the

Isis River and the incoming coach could not cross the Gregory. This inclement weather also called to a halt the operations of the contractors working on the Bundaberg to Howard railway line as they were unable to procure timber for the bridges that they had under construction.

Messrs. Steindl and Fleming, the local brewers, Mr. R. Ruddell of soap fame, Mr. W. Adams M.L.A., sugar planter, and others were awarded diplomas and medals by the Colonial Exhibition Commissioners, in Walter's case for open-pan sugars. The willow had been formally buried for the season and the time had arrived for the town's footballers to arrange for their oncoming practice and games. Given the nature of the prevailing wet weather the washing of the football players' uniforms would have constituted a major undertaking.

Other events at that time were the Sunday opening of a new building on the north side for the Church of England and, at the Friday *Caledonian Society's* annual meeting, those elected were: John Young president and J. C. Walker and G. S. Mackay vice-presidents.

A 100 foot wide channel that had been dredged by the *Saurian* through the outer bar of the Burnett River in the latter part of the previous year had silted up as a result of the recent flooding and a replacement dredge the *Maryborough* was co-opted to reinstall the channel. The flooding had also eroded a sandspit and this had considerably altered the angle of approach to the navigable lead into the mouth of the Burnett River. Fortunately, the earlier improvements to navigation in the remainder of the river had remained undamaged. The Pacific Island labour schooner Helena sailed from the Burnett Heads for the South Sea Islands on Sunday the 17th of April after having been docked in port for three months.

In response to requests from several ratepayers, a representative meeting was convened by the Mayor, Mr. Daniel McConville, and held in the *Victoria Hall* in late April. The meeting's objective was to petition the Municipal Council to refuse the issue of liquor licences to Chinese, Pacific Islanders, Cingalese, and other aliens. Several speakers had dwelled at length upon the increase in drunkenness amongst the local Islander farm workers with a consequential increase in disturbances during their Saturday night visits to the town.

The calling of the meeting had been precipitated by a recent disturbance, with speakers at the meeting attributing its cause to the existence of the lodging-houses maintained by Chinese and Cingalese proprietors. The meeting determined that a decided and prompt effort should be made to nip the cause of such conduct in the bud. Some held the opinion that referring the matter to the Council would be a farce and hence a decision to place a petition before the Colonial Secretary, in order to obtain an act of Parliament, was proposed by Mr. Curtis. The meeting's intention was to make provision for farm workers to conduct their purchasing during daylight hours. The meeting's proposals were carried, with close to unanimity, by the packed house.

In its mid-May response to this petition the Government declined to assist in the establishment of a 'home' (as an alternative to the existing lodging-houses) for farm workers visiting the town from the surrounding

plantations as it considered that, so far from remedying the evils complained of, such a 'home' would tend to induce the labourers to visit the town more frequently, and to remain there for a longer period of time. For better or for worse the Colonial Government had affirmed the Islander farm labourers' right to visit the town on a Saturday night and to spend their wages on hard liquor.

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The *Brisbane Courier* in its edition of 5th of July 1887 (Abridged from a *Wide Bay News* article) reported that:

A public meeting of Isis farmers was held in the church building at Hortontown on Monday the 27th of June, at which about sixty people were present. The object was to discuss with directors of the *Isis Investment Company* the practicability of establishing a sugar mill in their midst. It was suggested that the Government should be invited to put a sum on the *Estimates* to establish a central mill. Mr. Morgan said that, on behalf of the *Farmers Union* he would guarantee to grow enough sugar cane if the company was prepared to erect machinery to crush and to manufacture the sugar. Mr. Stupart pointed out that there was no proposal for the *Isis Investment Company* to become a sugar grower. The idea was to form an independent company with a capital of £100,000. He thought that it was time for the people to band together for their common good and that they should get their members to pledge protection for the colony's industries. He pointed out that it was no use attempting to grow sugar without the introduction of a crushing facility and he believed that the *Millaquin* refinery was the plant that possessed the best process for sugar production. Mr. Morgan did not expect the project to become a reality for over two years, but it could be commenced at once … . Others to express their opinions at the meeting were Mr. Cocking, Mr. Barry, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Annear, Mr. E. Booker, Mr. Thompson and Mr. W. Howard.

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In its issue of the 30th of July 1887, the *Queensland Figaro and Punch* described Walter Adams as being a sturdy specimen of the bush pioneer who had acquired hard, bushwhacking experience. He was described as being a shrewd man who had been connected with land settlement all of his life and that anything he did not know about the current, or any previous, version of the *Land Act* wasn't worth knowing. Walter was also described as being an eminently practical man and although he was not an eloquent orator, as his grammar tended to get a grip on him too often and his words were not the cultured tones of a college educated youth, yet his ideas were all solid and, when shaped into the forcible current of spoken English, were worth more than those of a dozen or more legislative lawyers. His was a working man's practical view of the land bill, and his homely illustration of it as a *Dummier's* (i.e. using a dummy applicant to extend lease holdings) Bill was more eloquent than all of the Government spokesmen's verbose and ingenious apologies that had accompanied the introduction of this bill.

The following text details Walter's comments on the bill to the House:

Mr. Adams: *The same honourable member said that the Act would prevent dummying. Will*

any honourable gentleman tell me whether it is not really a Dummier's Act?

Mr. Dutton (the Minister for Lands): It is not.

Mr. Adams: *If I was a man of capital, and had five or six sons, I could go myself and select 20,000 acres of land, picking the eyes out of the country. If I did not get all the good land in that 20,000 acres, my son of twenty-five could select 20,000 acres adjoining; and my other sons who were old enough to select could each do the same, until we got amongst us a whole countryside. Does the Hon. gentleman not call that dummying? It seems to me that before very long we shall have a change in our land laws. This is seen by the dummiers, and they have the idea that they will have the first right of purchase. Do you see the idea? Select the land largely with the almost certainty that, under the next Land Act Amendment Act, you can get the freehold. Glorious dummying.*

The article went on to say that Dutton lived in an 'Opium Paradise'. He thought that every independent and impartial person would admit that the working of the Land Act had been very satisfactory indeed. Dutton said that he *"never interferes outside his Department"* and it was alleged that there existed a body of opinion that considered his colleagues were probably not rent with anguish that he did not and that, if he were never to interfere in the workings of his own department, the people of the colony would almost certainly have been grateful.

Mr. Adams then went on to remark upon the comments that Mr. Foxton had made concerning settlement under the *Land Act* and maintained that: *"It seems strange to me that a gentleman holding the position of a Queen Street lawyer should know very much about the settlement of people on the land and the operation of the* Land Act*"* and Walter, an authority on matters of the bush particularly with regard to the acquisition of property under the requirements of the act and of its precedents, added "I can inform the hon. gentleman that the *Land Act* is a perfect failure".

It is of note that a peculiarity of the debate on the Address in Reply within the Queensland parliament was that, when making their case, Government Members holding Ministerial positions were allowed to refer to any papers, documents and statistics tabled in the House and/or currently being printed by the Government Printer, while Opposition Members had no such access to this material.

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Walter Adams's comments on the Colonial Treasurer's performance at this time made it obvious that he regarded the Treasurer, the Hon. Mr. Dickson, as being vastly overzealous in his pursuit of taxation increases (and expenditure?). He said that Dickson had £311,000 to start with but that wasn't enough; then he taxed timber and machinery, but that wasn't enough; and then he added a 2%, *ad valorem* (added value) tax, but even that wasn't enough. He then to took endowments away from the Board of Health, but again that wasn't enough, and Dickson still found himself the loser of close to half-a-million pounds. Walter would like to know how much it would have taken to satisfy Mr. Dickson. How many more millions would be required to enable him to balance the budget in the following year?

In the August of 1887 an attempt was made in the House to debar publicans from sitting on Divisional Boards. An argument had been presented that publicans would, by gaining election to Boards, acquire an influence that could be used to bring additional trade to their own licensed establishments. However, it was pointed out to the House that the same argument would apply in an even greater degree to storekeepers and tradesmen. The *Licensed Victuallers Act* had become so stringent that a publican had no choice but to be a respectable person of proven good character before he could obtain a license, while a storekeeper could be a man of no character at all as far as his submitted credentials for a position on a Board were concerned. It was far from likely that bad men would be elected to Boards as they operated in districts where everyone knew everyone else. There have been publicans who had made excellent Members of Parliament. Walter Adams, then present in the House, had been a good publican, another publican had become a C.M.G. in Sydney and yet another a Minister of the Crown in a neighboring colony. In his presentation Mr. Macfarlane was considered to have made himself look ridiculous when he opined that a publican *"holds an office of profit under the Crown"* because he is licensed. It could be contended that such an interpretation would apply equally to a paid Member of Parliament, a hawker or even to a shoe black (polisher) for that matter.

In September Walter Adams, in refuting a report that he was about to retire from public office, advised his electors that he intended to offer himself for re-election in the forthcoming October election. Mr. James Court Walker, of Bundaberg, the storekeeper who had unsuccessfully opposed Walter in the previous election, announced that he would also be willing to try his luck for a second time. Mr. Walker's sponsors, supporters of the Liberal leader Sir Samuel Griffith, believed that they had fully consolidated their ranks since the previous election and were keeping a close eye on movements in the electoral roll.

The Cape York Telegraph Line north from the town of Laura was connected to Thursday Island via the west coast of Cape York in 1887. This telegraph line was of considerable significance to sea-port towns on Queensland's east coast, such as Gladstone, Bundaberg, Maryborough and Brisbane, as this was well before the advent of ship to shore communications. Notice from the Torres Strait pilots' base would give these towns about a week's notice of a ship's arrival versus the two to three months' notice received from such points of departure as the Port of London issued by ships on route via the Suez Canal.

THE YEAR OF 1888

By January 1888 action was underway for the redistribution of the Mulgrave electorate into the newly declared electorates of Bundaberg and Musgrave. In the subsequent election, conducted in early May, both of the conservatively inclined candidates, Walter Adams in the Bundaberg electorate and William Bligh O'Connell in the Musgrave electorate, were elected and went on to serve in Premier M'Ilwraith's government. Mr. O'Connell had been a leading businessman in Bundaberg, a representative on the town council and had been the Polynesian Inspector

from 1882 to 1887. He was succeeded in that position by Henry St George Caufield. He had earlier been employed by the Bank of New South Wales and was thought to be a nephew of the late Sir Maurice O'Connell. Mr. O'Connell had been elected as the Member for Musgrave unopposed, following the withdrawal of Mr. J. W. Phillips from the contest, and Mr. Adams was elected, also unopposed, as the first elected member of the Bundaberg electorate.

The Howard to Bundaberg railway line had been scheduled to commence its Bundaberg service in February 1888, however, this schedule was lengthened due to the unusually heavy summer rainfall then being experienced. On completion, the line was a boon, not only to mail and passenger travellers, but also to the transporters of agricultural produce. An additional economic benefit was its ability to convey commercial quantities of other heavy and/or bulk commodities such as timber and coal.

On April 15th 1888 a committee was formed at *Moolboolaman*, Mr. A. P. Barton's cattle station, to establish a Provisional School utilizing the funds that had been donated by the local population for the construction of a school building. Application had been made to the Department for Public Instruction to provide a teacher but the Minister, Mr. Moreton, declined to provide the necessary assistance. There were twenty-two children between the ages of five and thirteen years in the catchment area of the proposed school and all but one or two of these children resided a distance greater than eight miles from any other school located in the *Moolboolaman* district.

The school committee then forwarded a petition via Walter Adams acting in his capacity of the past Member for the late electorate of Mulgrave. The petition was signed by thirty residents, who asked that an inspector be sent to investigate and to report on their application. It was later claimed that the inspector who had been dispatched to undertake the inspection was quoted as saying that he had received definite instructions not to report in favour of any new schools as the Government, needing to reduce its expenditure, intended to abolish as many provisional schools as possible.

Consequent correspondence on the matter was of the view that the Government would have received more credit by reducing expenses in other areas rather than by denying bush children the privilege of attending a local school. The Government was considered to have made a harsh decision as its implementation forced these children to walk more than eight miles to and from school, with the chance of getting drowned in a creek after sudden storms, or being exposed to one of the many bush fires prevalent in the district during the fire prone dry season from August to October.

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The press of the day found it refreshing to be able to report upon an agreement between the pulpit and the bench. In this instance there was a minister of religion who had issued a very charitable commendation and, on the other hand, a police magistrate with whom he was in harmony. Henry Plume, M.A., Archdeacon of North Queensland, was reported as having declared: *"During my long bush tours I have come across many wonderful cures effected by Warner's*

Safe Cure for fever that is so prevalent in the bush – it seems to be a certain cure. I have never had occasion to try it myself but, from what I have seen on my last trip, I shall never start on a journey without my pack being furnished with Warner's Safe Cure."

And Robert Johnstone, Police Magistrate for Tiaro and Howard via Maryborough, Queensland contributed the following commendation:

"For the past 26 years I have been subjected to complicated liver complaints. I suffered from general languor of body, weariness, loss of appetite, and other painful symptoms, characteristic of a torpid state of the liver and I despaired of ever getting well again. Seven months ago, when very ill indeed I, at the instance of Mr. Adams M.L.A., procured Warner's Safe Cure. The first bottle made me sick, but I persevered with it and, with the third bottle, my condition greatly improved. Last April I had altogether consumed a case of 12 bottles of the Safe Cure and ever since I have been in the best of health, in fact I am enjoying much better health than I did during the past 26 years of my sojourn in Queensland."

It is perhaps to the misfortune of later generations that this highly recommended and remarkably efficacious product no longer appears to adorn the shelves of our apothecaries.



A large crowd assembled on the night of June 9th to escort the Members for Bundaberg and Musgrave, Messrs. W. Adams and W. B. O'Connell, to the wharf where they were to board the *Glanworth* steam-boat for their passage to Brisbane. Coloured fireworks were activated, and rockets discharged from various riverside buildings and from the *Glanworth* steamer itself. A procession was formed which was headed by the local band accompanied by its torchbearers. Mr. Adams and Mr. O'Connell addressed the crowd from the bridge of the steamer, which then left amidst loud cheering and the discharge of cannon.

The Maryborough to Bundaberg railway service's inauguration in 1888 resulted in the closure of Mr. C. J. West's stagecoach run that had been providing the passenger service since August 1876 and the mail service since January 1878.The coastal railway's extension to the Burrum coalfield from Baddow Junction had earlier replaced the stagecoach service's run from Maryborough to Howard and Goodwood. Whilst it seems to be counter intuitive, the first section of the coastal railway, which was eventually to run from Brisbane to the far north, did not commence in Brisbane. To further emphasize the importance of the Gympie goldfield to the infant colony the initial section of the north coast railway ran from the Gympie goldfield to the port of Maryborough and was opened in August 1881. An extension to service the Burrum coal mines had its construction commenced in 1883. Economics were very relevant to the overall railway extension programme as the construction of lines over the western plains was much cheaper per mile than one following the more difficult terrain of the coastal strip with its many river valleys and ranges.

By December 1867 the *Central Sugar Mill* at Yengarie had passed into the ownership of John Meiklejohn who then installed new machinery and a distillery but, from 1877, the *Central Mill*

was being operated as a juice mill only, the juice being transported to Tooth and Cran's nearby *Yengarie Mill* for refining. William Gibson, operator of the *Clydesdale Mill* at Hemmant in Brisbane, purchased the Central Mill in 1869/70. Later, in the mid-1880s, Mr. Gibson sold the mill to Tooth and Cran and redirected his endeavours to *Bingera* west of Bundaberg.

The *Bingera* sugar plantation and mill occupied the space which, just over four years previously, had been covered by dense scrub and timber forest. The new plantation boasted one of the finest sugar mills and refineries in Queensland and radiating from the centre of the plantation were neat cottages, fresh new tents and over 1,400 acres of cultivation that contained many different varieties of robust sugarcane. The firm of *Gibson and Howes* had entered the sugar industry on a commendably sound basis, their capital expenditure being well in excess of £100,000. A principal of the firm, Angus Gibson, had arrived in Queensland with his father in 1863 under the system by which emigrants who had paid for their own passage were granted land of value equivalent to the cost of their passage. The *Brisbane Courier*, in its edition of June 13th, provided the following report on an official visit paid to Gibson and Howes' *Bingera* plantation by the Governor during his party's visit to Bundaberg at the commencement of the 1888 crushing season. The report of the visit contains a brief description of the *Bingera* complex in its original configuration.

"With their characteristic enthusiasm the *Bingera* people prepared to give the party a right royal welcome. On the Saturday morning the population of *Bingera* was early astir, kanaka and white eagerly vying with each other to make the least important part of their department give a highly respectable appearance. Two months prior to this, when surplus hands had been dispensed with during the off season, a census was taken of the estate and it was found that the population then consisted of 171 whites and 170 islanders giving an overall total of 341. However, in anticipation of the crushing due to commence the following week, there had since been an influx of additional white labourers and South Sea Islanders.

The visit of Sir Anthony Musgrave and party had been arranged to commence at 11 a.m. and long before that hour the decorative work had been finished, and so there had been enough leisure time to arrange for the reception. In front of the main entrance from the railway a grand triumphal arch had been erected. The structure was supported by two handsome pillars, festooned, wreathed, and neatly hung with evergreens. Along the arch, in large letters was the word *"Welcome"*, and over that in a crescent shone conspicuously the words *"Sugar Industry"*. High above, at the lookout, were flags streaming gaily, and all round the works bunting of every colour fluttered in the breeze. Along the road at intervals from Gibson's siding to the works were stationed goodly troops of workers. At the entrance to the works were ranged the crowd proper. On one side were the white population of men, women, and children with the South Kolan school children under the direction of Mr. Corry and, on the other side, the neat, clean and orderly Islanders.

Punctually, at the hour named, his Excellency arrived at the works. On alighting from the special carriages that had been improvised for the occasion three ringing cheers were given

for the Governor of Queensland followed by three more for Sir Samuel Griffith, K.C.M.G. and then the National Anthem was sung by the entire crowd. The vice-regal party comprised Sir Anthony Musgrave K.C.M.G., Sir Samuel Griffith K.C.M.G., Walter Adams M.L.A., W. B. O'Connell M.L.A., Captain Baden-Powell A.D.C., Mr. T. P. Pugh P.M. (Police Magistrate), Mr. M. Duffy, Mayor of Bundaberg, Mr. J. Y. Walker, Chairman of the Woongarra Board, Mr. P. Kilner, Sub-collector of Customs, Mr. E. Daly, traffic manager Bundaberg and Mount Perry Railway and others including the police escort under Sergeant Kelly.

His Excellency in a few warm, earnest sentences thanked the gathering for the hearty reception that he had been accorded. Glancing up at the triumphal arch, he seemed intensely amused to notice a stalwart white man painted on one of the pillars and on the other a sturdy specimen of an Islander, with a very grave expression, playing on a concertina. Having the islanders and white workers placed on each side of the words *"Sugar Industry"* typified the doctrine held by the firm that, for the industry to be thoroughly successful, it must employ the labour of both races. The party then proceeded on their inspection of the works, and of its machinery.

Under the guidance of the members of the firm the inspection proceeded. Beginning with the portable trams, trucks, shoot, and cane carrier, the entire process of sugar manufacture was followed in all its ramifications from the crushing rollers up to the finished article stored in the sugarhouse. The ponderous and intricate machinery astounded even those accustomed to the sight of first-class sugar mills. Each party in turn visited the look-out on top of the building from whence the magnificent view fairly enthralled the various members.

When the sight-seeing had been completed the party were conducted to the improvised luncheon hall, which had been laid out on a most generous scale in a beautiful, versatile and commodious building, which served as a church, a school, a concert-room, a theatre and as a function room for the *Bingera Working Men's Institute*.

At the close of the visit his Excellency and party expressed themselves as thoroughly delighted with their special trip to *Bingera*, and with the free, cordial and warm reception accorded them. As the party left for town ringing cheers came from the crowd, which were responded to with counter cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. To all, the day was a most enjoyable one and, as a holiday to the workers, it was celebrated with zeal and with pleasure. In the evening a well-attended grand concert was given in the function room of the institute which served as an excellent wind-up to the day's proceedings."



In the House and during the August address in reply, Walter Adams queried Sir Samuel Griffith's financial competence and deplored the manner in which Sir Samuel, in his time as Premier, had expended the budget's financial buffer of £400,000, previously accumulated by Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, and which had included the Burnett River railway bridge construction allocation of £30,000. This had been withdrawn from the Bundaberg constituency's allocation during Sir Samuel's tenure in office.

An article that appeared in *The Brisbane Courier* of the 5th of October gave some details relevant both to conditions in the Queensland colony and to the Australasian colonies in general. Here the parliamentary reporter appeared to be sympathetic to complaints made in the House that the revenue levied by the government on alcoholic beverages was too low. This issue was a matter of considerable importance to Bundaberg with its recently constructed rum distillery as it was the major component of the newly created molasses-to-rum industry that was to provide a significant boost both to the local planters and to the district in general. It was also of some relevance that the newly established electorate of Bundaberg had Walter Adams as its local member and that this electorate had, until recently, been a part of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's old Mulgrave electorate. Neither of these Honourable gentlemen were considered to be self-effacing members of Queensland's legislature.

An edited and abbreviated description of the 5th of October report on the *Tariff Proposals of the Government in Committee of Ways and Means* deliberations as presented to the Legislative Assembly and as reported upon by the *Brisbane Courier* follows:

It was claimed to be a matter for extreme regret that the Treasurer did not see his way clear to accept the amendment to increase the duty on spirits from 12 to 14 shillings per gallon as the latter rate was not exceptional. In every Australasian colony, excepting Victoria and Tasmania, the duty had been raised to fourteen, fifteen and even sixteen shillings per gallon, and the Treasurer could well have followed this general example.

The main desire of the premier, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, in revising the tariff, as set forth in his Financial Statement, was to obtain sufficient revenue to meet the deficiency for the then current financial year and, in the course of a further year or two, to wipe out the total accumulated deficit of £602,011 that had been inherited from the previous Administration. His secondary objective was to impose taxation that would encourage the establishment of local industries, or would give a fillip to existing industries, but the elimination of the deficit remained his main objective. In raising revenue, it was deemed desirable to tax luxuries rather than the necessaries of life whilst maintaining a wide enough margin to protect local industries.

Alcoholic beverages were considered a luxury in most countries and so were normally the first of the commodities to be taxed and, because of their wide and too frequent consumption, they were perceived to be the source of many of the evils afflicting society. The reporter thought that a finance Minister, who was in desperate need of revenue, would readily seize upon a tax that would afford him, in one fell swoop, from £50,000 to £60,000 per annum. He had no doubt that the other tariff proposals would be an oppressive burden on the majority in the community with his loose calculation indicating that the weekly cost of living to a family of five would increase by six to eight shillings. He would have supposed that any opportunity for a reduction of this cost would have been pursued by the government's Premier and Treasurer.

Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith claimed that (alcoholic) spirits were already yielding more than their due proportion of the revenue raised by the colonies and in no other colony in

Australasia did intoxicating liquors, including spirits, wine and beer, contribute as much to the taxation revenue as it did in Queensland. Here intoxicating drinks yielded 25 shillings per head of the population, while in New South Wales they afforded 18 shillings per head, in New Zealand, 13s. 6d., in Victoria, 13s.8d., in Tasmania, 11s. 7d. and in South Australia 6s. 8d.

In South Australia and in Victoria the low revenue contribution was due to the large consumption of locally produced wines and in Tasmania and New Zealand it was due to the propensity of their people to drink beer rather than spirits. In Queensland wine imbibing was not common as its vignerons had not learnt how to produce a good quality drinking wine under local conditions and the importation of southern wines was uneconomic. Beer drinking was also unusual as its delivery to consumers was impeded by the limited output and distribution of the breweries as these circumstances rendered uneconomic the transportation of bulky commodities such as beer to the far reaches of the colony. Spirits, with their higher alcohol content, yielded the largest proportionate sum to revenue and were Queensland's staple drink.

Mr. Philp moved an amendment in the House that proposed a compromise: that the suggested increase to the duty on spirits be reduced to one shilling per gallon and applied to offset a reduction of the 15% duty on the heavy machinery that was then needed to assist in the development of the North. [Note 1] The temperance party supported an increase in revenue on the ground that it would lessen the consumption of spirits, while Mr. Sayers pleaded for an additional two shillings per gallon increase in the hope that it would encourage the distillation of whisky relative to that of the other spirits consumed in the colony.

The report claimed that some of the most curious reasons ever heard in Parliament were raised against the increase of the duty. Mr. Goldring contended that raising the duty from twelve to fourteen shillings per gallon would increase the price of a valuable medicine utilized both in the west and in the northern scrub lands, while Mr. Adams said it would inhibit the usage of a well-known snake-bite cure. This homeopathic treatment of the tariff would have beaten anything *Hannemann* [Note 2] ever propounded according to The *Brisbane Courier's* reporter. However, the Treasurer remained resolute in his attitude and even refused to entertain Mr. Philp's compromise proposal to increase the duty by just one shilling per gallon and, when the division was taken, the then current duty of twelve shillings was maintained by an overall majority of 39 votes against, versus 26 for, the increased duty.

Note 1: Walter Adams would almost certainly have supported a specific and separate motion in this regard as regional development was one of his leading priorities.

Note 2: *Hannemann* in the 1880's was a well-known homeopathic hospital situated in Liverpool, England.

In November Ernest Stevens, the Member for the Logan, succeeded in gaining the assent of the House to the consideration of an address to the Acting-Governor, praying His Excellency *"to direct that a reward of £5,000 be offered to the person who first manufactures 5,000 yards of*

calico in the colony." Mr. Stevens' motion did not stipulate that the cotton from which this calico was to be manufactured was to have been grown in Queensland but he indicated that this, of course, was what he meant and an amendment embodying the fact would be inserted in the address. The prior Government had experimented in the application of agricultural bonuses, as applied to the installation of central sugar-mills, but the conditions laid down as to the employment of white labour had been so blatantly disregarded that the outcomes had no relevance what-so-ever to the stated objectives.

Upon the growing of cotton in Queensland opinions among the experts of the time seemed to be fairly equally divided, one group saying that the cotton crop could be successfully and economically grown and another group maintaining that the cotton plant could not be regarded as an economic crop if grown in the Queensland farm lands. While the Government itself had no commitment on the issue Walter Adams gave direct testimony that he had grown cotton at an overall cost of £10 per bale, and had sold it for £7 10s. per bale, an experiment that, if duplicated in practice, would render the proprietors of any cotton plantation insolvent.

It was estimated that two looms, which together would be capable of turning out 5,000 yards of calico in two months, could be installed for £1,200 and, this being the case, it was evident that a speculator would be paid very well to meet the conditions required to claim the £5,000 bonus, even if this entrepreneur was never again to grow another pod of cotton. Some of the older legislators could have refreshed the memory of the House with regards to a cotton-growing experiment that had previously been conducted in the colony. They could also have recited the history of a, by then defunct, cotton company that had been run by a gentleman who had abandoned cotton growing in favour of oyster cultivation. Attempts to apply bonuses in the promotion of new industries had revealed that every proposal submitted to the government should be carefully evaluated on its own merits, with regards to the relevant industry's specific conditions and with every item of prior history being considered.

The question as to how the proposed bonuses could be terminated, once in place, was raised by Mr. Morehead. There was also a concern expressed that some honourable members, who would vote for the introduction of the cotton manufacturing bonus, may see in it a means to then apply for bonuses to finance their own hobbyhorses.

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In early November the local press was reporting that the representative of the famous medical company of Messrs. *H. H. Warner & Company* had announced his arrival on his regular visit to Brisbane. Since his October last visit to the Queensland colony Mr. Elsasser had been touring the southern Australian colonies and New Zealand, to promote his firm's new preparations. These comprised *Warner's Safe Rheumatic Cure*, *Warner's Safe Asthma Cure,* and *Warner's Safe Nervine*, the latter being described as a very vigorous nerve tonic.

These medications, accompanied by the firm's great liver and kidney specific, the *Warner's Safe Cure*, and also *Warner's Safe Diabetes Cure*, and the *Warner's Safe Pills*, were said to be the only

proprietary medicines sanctioned by the German Government and also by many leading members of the medical fraternity. The reception given to these specifics throughout the colonies were considered to provide ample evidence that they possessed properties of a highly curative nature. Since *Warner's Safe Remedies* had come into general notice, the treatment of domestic health was said to have been almost entirely reformed by the introduction of these exceptionally effective remedies that, it was claimed, were of an absolutely harmless nature.

Their high efficacy was documented in a vast number of testimonials including powerful endorsements by the Hon. Geo. Thorne, M.L.A., Mr. Walter Adams, M.L.A., the Rev. William Poole of South Brisbane, the Rev. Walter Roberts, M.A., the Rev. William Powell of Rockhampton, the Rev. Henry Plume, M.A., Archdeacon of North Queensland, the Rev. Bassenden of Charters Towers, Mr. Alfred Compigne the Police Magistrate of Beenleigh, Mr. Robert Johnson the Police Magistrate of Maryborough, Mr. Hanrahan the ex-mayor of Townsville, Mr. Castling another ex-mayor of Townsville, Mr. John Savage, the Mayor of Cooktown, and a host of other well-known colonists.

It had become accepted (or so it was claimed) as an undisputed fact that most diseases incidental to hot climates in civilized countries emanated from the liver and kidneys. For centuries false doctrines prevailed when, for a thousand years or more, [Note 1] the false philosophy of Aristotle had enslaved the minds of civilized men, but it had now perished forever and passed away *"like a tale that is told."* The timely application of proper means had checked the inroad of disease. *Warner's Safe Cure*, was claimed to be a thorough specific for complaints arising from disorganization of liver and kidneys, including Bright's disease, while the firm's newly developed medications were considered just as effective in achieving their own, specified objectives. Warner's representative had distributed up to 50,000 pamphlets in Queensland. These pamphlets explained to the citizens of the colony the nature of health, disease, and dietary regulation and, together with the number of testimonials from distinguished personalities in Queensland, had the potential to make all these medications extremely popular with a population conscious of its health.

Following the dramatic advance in the development of effective medications and in the understanding of the causes of many diseases over the last century it is easy to overlook the high degree of reliance (sometimes unjustified) that people placed on the usage of patent medicines. Warner's 'cures' were obviously very prominent examples of this reliance in the 1880's. In my own Bundaberg school days such preparations as *Waterbury's Compound*, *Carter's Little Liver Pills* and *Buckley's Canadiol (Cough) Mixture* come to mind.

Note 1: Records appear to indicate that Aristotle had been born 2,272, not 1,000, years earlier than 1888.

By the close of 1888 *Summerville* was one of the medium sized plantations in the Bundaberg district, having 120 acres under cane of value £10,000, eight European male employees being paid a combined £402 per annum and 27 Islander males and three Islander females being



The Queensland Legislative Assembly - About 1890

An Official Photograph - Walter Adams Is Third from the Left in the Back Row

paid a total of £845 15s. 0d. per annum. By comparison *Fairymead*, the largest plantation, had 1,252 acres under cane valued at £75,000 and employed 47 European males and four females, paid a combined £5,000, and 267 Islander males paid a total of £5,860.



Bourbong Street in 1888

Photo from Picture Bundaberg

Chapter 11

Irrigation and a Flood

George Manus Adams, Walter and Mary's eldest son, died of pneumonia, for which there was then no known cure, in Bundaberg on the 19th of November 1888 aged 33 years. His widow, Cecilia Mary (Lillie) Adams, was left with the care of her own four year old son, and of her deceased sister's children, a twelve year old nephew and three nieces, aged four, two and a baby. Lillie became the licensee of the *Metropolitan Hotel* following George's death and she was to hold this licence until 1898. In June of that year an experienced publican, Mr. Martin Moran, became the *Metropolitan Hotel's* new licensee. In 1899 Lillie opened the *Leichhardt Hotel* in Bourbon Street which was renamed the *Commercial Hotel* upon her departure in 1904, the year of Mary Adams's death. In 1907 Lillie relocated to Laidley and became the licensee of the *Queensland National Hotel* until 1910. She retired in 1911 and died in 1918.

THE YEAR OF 1889

The pros and cons of large-scale irrigation in the Bundaberg district were under fierce debate in the early months of 1889. The then current views, some of which are described below, document reservations as to the engagement of the services of a firm that had provided professional services, and had met with considerable success, in the South Australian and Victorian colonies. Walter's proposal for the construction of a co-operative irrigation scheme would prove to have been well ahead of its time, but time itself was to verify the practicality of his vision. A description of the sometimes-conflicting views, as expressed on the floor of Parliament, follows:

The irrigation movement appeared to be making progress although it was claimed to be utterly devoid of original thought and to have based its considerations on the operations of the Chaffey Brothers [Note 1] who were well known

in both South Australian and Victoria. Their operations consisted of pumping waters from a river having a reliable flow (in this case the Murray) for irrigation purposes, preparatory to selling the newly irrigated lands at a profit that was claimed to be 200 per cent larger than the land's original cost price. One opinion being expressed was that, with an unlimited supply of water, the design of the works involved in raising it to a height sufficient to allow for its gravitational flow through the distribution pipes and surface channels of any proposed irrigation area was one that should be within the capability of any competent firm of consulting engineers.

It was also claimed by the critics that all of the Chaffey Brothers' credibility was derived from the application of the knowledge gained from their previous experience in California. Their approach was based upon the concept that the most barren land, in a climate like Queensland, required only the application of water to provide great fertility. Their promotional strength lay in their firm's successful application of this knowledge in Australia's southern states which raised the perception that, merely by acquiring their services, profitable irrigation schemes could be designed and constructed.

The irrigation areas of Renmark and Mildura were living illustrations of the enriching properties of water when delivered to dry, potentially arable, agricultural land and the transformation of these areas demonstrated the opportunity loss entailed in neglecting the potential enrichment. However, it was maintained that, while appreciating the results obtained from the Chaffey firm's activities in the south, it did not follow that they held a monopoly in the ancient art of irrigation. They were not the sole depositories of the knowledge required to create profitable irrigation schemes and so it followed that there was no need for their engagement merely to obtain this expertise.

There was also, in some quarters, a fear that the giving of unreserved patronage to a firm of foreign capitalists might involve the affected communities and individuals in a vast amount of needless expense. The Chaffey's minimum charge for sending one of their employees to provide advice to potential clients, including the travel expenses, was £1,000 and it was postulated that, should they become established as consulting engineers, then they may be in the position to demand excessively high charges.

Conversely, in a colony where abnormally dry seasons had caused every farmer to wish for irrigation to meet his most pressing need, the services of the Californian irrigators was seen as attractive both by the Minister for Lands and by Mr. Walter Adams, the former due to his responsibility as the relevant Minister and the latter on behalf of the farming interests of the electorate he so ably represented. The replies obtained, in response the Minister's approaches to the Chaffey Brothers were described as being somewhat vague but Mr. Adams had managed to attract the attention of the Mildura irrigation consultants and to have induced them, for a consideration, to provide a report upon the potential for large scale irrigation in the Bundaberg district.

Opposition to the scheme appeared to hinge upon the (apparently unfounded) fear that major land grants would be issued either to the Chaffey Brothers themselves or to the syndicate, or syndicates, formed to undertake the irrigation

project. It was recalled that some governments had obtained the construction of railway lines by issuing grants of Government land in exchange for the investment of foreign capital. The Queensland colony's Liberal governments had always opposed this approach even though the alternative, the use of the Government's own capital, resulted in either the creation of large deficits or in the absence of any funds for the construction of other infrastructure projects.

The co-operation of the relevant landholders in the provision of irrigation schemes was considered to be desirable but the opposition believed that an effective organisation could be far more desirably secured by modifying municipal laws to meet the varying circumstances of each district's situation and that, by utilizing this approach, the benefits of irrigation could be made national. The benefits to the colony, in acquiring far more prosperous farming districts, appeared to have been ignored in this analysis.

The opinion of the Chaffey Brothers' deputy, as to the feasibility of irrigating the Woongarra Scrub, was anxiously awaited and the progress of any consequential experimental scheme would have attracted considerable interest. The favoured area of superlatively rich, red volcanic soil was capable of yielding, under the influence of irrigation, a wealth of produce such as had not yet entered the imagination of any southern Queenslander. The only, but all important, question raised was that of being able to obtain an adequate supply of water for irrigation and, on this point, there was some doubt.

According to some relevant correspondence that had become public in connection with this aspect of the debate the Elliott River, hitherto regarded as a promising source of supply, was considered to have a surface flow that was far too small to effectively service the 10,000 acres of volcanic soil that had so recently underlain the Woongarra Scrub. It was also realised that the total volume of a river's flow could not be calculated by measuring the volume of the surface water's flow in isolation as such a measurement ignored the sub-surface flow which may have a significance equal to or greater than that of the observed surface flow. This characteristic would be applicable to the highly absorptive strata of the Elliott River valley. [Note 2]

It was also suggested that it may have been possible for the Burnett River bed, in the fresh water zone above the tidal influence, to provide a contribution towards the augmentation of the supply. Then arose the further question, were the Chaffey Brothers with their Californian experience the firm best qualified to cope with the difficulties inherent in the provision of an irrigation supply that met the local conditions; and could they devise the means to overcome them?

The opponents of the proposed scheme tended to discount the Chaffey Brothers' achievements at Renmark and Mildura. They believed that the selection of those sites for use as examples was intended to take advantage of the juxtaposition of the most bountiful and permanent water-supply in Australia (the Murray River) with the most hopelessly barren looking district in southern Australia (northern Victoria and eastern South Australia) to achieve what was, admittedly, an astonishing result. They considered that the proposed local scheme was being compared to one in a region where, on the one hand, irrigation was easy to introduce

and where, on the other, its effects were most striking.

They also claimed that it did not follow, from the Chaffey's success in the south, that they possessed the qualifications needed to assist the Bundaberg farmers in availing themselves of intermittent, multiple, and possibly remote sources of supply. Indeed, they considered it to be self-evident, based upon the numerous published reports of interviews with the firm, that the Chaffey Brothers did not care to investigate an irrigation scheme for a district not naturally blessed with permanently flowing fresh water streams or large surface bodies of still, fresh water. In the absence of such abundant sources of supply it appeared, to the Government's opposition, that the firm had formed a very poor opinion of Queensland's irrigation potential in general. Under such circumstances they had concluded that the Woongarra farmers must rely upon their own ingenuity and perseverance to acquire a profitable, biennial cultivation.

Whilst not mentioned in the above discussions it is relevant that the major rivers in California and the Murray River derive a significant amount of their runoff from snowmelt which has the capacity to produce a predictable stream flow of considerable duration. To achieve a similar result from streams with intermittent flows, as produced by variable seasonal rainfall runoff only, the intervention of a dam storage, or of storages, having significant volumetric capacity is essential.

Following the above debates, and amidst stringent economic circumstances, political interest in the issue of irrigation abated and it would take the passage of nearly seventy years and the advent of stainless steel bore screens together with mechanically driven borehole pumps to tap the aquifer underlying the Woongarra Scrub for irrigation purposes. However, as with virtually all commercial aquifers, this source was very quickly depleted by over-demand and the first stage of a surface water supply was constructed over the period 1970 to 1988. The second stage was commenced in 1993 and completed in 1998 with the construction of the Walla Weir. The Paradise Dam followed in 2005.

Note 1: The Chaffey brothers, George and William, were native to Ontario, Canada and arrived in Australia in the late 1880's. George arrived first, in February 1886. They were consultants in, and developers of, irrigation for arid areas in California and in the Mildura and Renmark districts of Australia. The techniques that they pioneered made a significant contribution to the implementation of succeeding irrigation systems for agricultural projects in other arid areas of the world. Both George and William Chaffey were engineers and George had developed and refined techniques in the use of large capacity centrifugal pumps to deliver water onto an irrigated property's high ground thus enabling its subsequent distribution by gravitational flow through distribution channels, all at a commercially manageable cost, whilst William was a pioneer of the dried fruit and wine making industries at Mildura. The Chaffey techniques required a reliable source of water delivery during the crop's growing season, a circumstance not compatible with the variable flows of Queensland's streams in the absence of major water storages. A younger brother, Charles, arrived from California to manage their business in the Renmark area leaving William to carry on with his Mildura projects. Following financial difficulties George and Charles returned to the United States and Canada respectively. William remained in Mildura and established the *Mildura (later Mildara) Winery Pty. Ltd.* He was prominent in Mildura's local government activities and was appointed a C.M.G. in 1924.

Note 2: With the wisdom of hindsight this was an extremely shrewd observation as it was this absorption, into the bed of the Elliott River, that would later recharge the irrigation bores of the Woongarra.

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On the 14th of February Members of the Legislative Assembly Messrs. W. Adams M.LA. and W. B. O'Connell M.LA. together with Mr. James Powers the Mayor of Bundaberg, Messrs Michael Duffy and Andrew Goodwin representing the Bundaberg Municipal Council, the latter being also chairman of the Joint Ferries Board, Messrs. J. C. Walker and H. C. Young representing the Gooburrum Divisional Board and Mr. G. Buss were travelling to Brisbane via Maryborough as a deputation to wait upon the Chief Secretary [Note 1] to discuss the terms of repayment of the Government loan proposed to fund the construction of the Burnett River traffic bridge. Mr. Adams introduced the members of the deputation to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Boyd Dunlop Morehead, and the following exchanges then ensued:

Mr. Powers said that the Bundaberg Council's object was firstly to have the work connected with the structures commenced with as little delay as possible, and secondly to get the work made first-class instead of third-class, which would extend the repayment of the money borrowed over forty years in lieu of the projected twenty.

Mr. Morehead did not think there would be any difficulties lying in the way of the work being made first-class, and said that if the authorities interested had accepted the conditions laid down by the Government, and as set forth in their letter of November last, the preparation of the plans would have proceeded. The Premier had been advised that an Act of Parliament would have to be passed to deal with the Burnett, Maryborough, and Brisbane River traffic bridges, but that this would not preclude an immediate commencement of the preparation of the plans.

Mr. Powers said that if the work was made first-class the authorities were prepared to accept the loan.

Mr. Morehead: *"And make it a free bridge?"* (i.e. toll free)

Mr. Powers was not so sure of that.

Mr. Morehead considered that, given forty years to repay the money, they could surely make it a free bridge. They were getting £25,000 as a free gift (i.e. a subsidy) from the Government.

Mr. Walker thought that the bridge's funding should be made as a free gift altogether.

Mr. Morehead replied that the Government could not do that, as they had to find so much money for this and other works. To impose tolls was like going back to a state of barbarism and his impression was that, as soon as the bridge was completed, people would want the toll to be removed.

Mr. Adams explained that Bundaberg's north bank community was quite small and that the tax would therefore fall most heavily on those to whom the bridge would be of little benefit. (i.e. Bundaberg's south bank ratepayers)

Mr. Morehead repeated that he was strongly opposed to a toll system.

Mr. Walker believed that the people would rebel against being taxed for the bridge.

Mr. Morehead said he had yielded a good deal in agreeing to make the work first-class.

Mr. Walker said that the people believed that the Government ought to go further and assume responsibility for the construction.

Mr. Morehead considered that the Bundaberg district had already received its fair share of public works and stated that he would not move from the position he had taken regarding the question of tolls. As soon as the authorities accepted the conditions laid down by the Government plans would be prepared and an Act to authorize the construction of the bridge, if such were required, would be brought forward early in the next session. Several members of the deputation thought that people in the district would have been quite willing to pay a toll to cross the river by bridge instead of paying a toll to the operators of the current ferry. The Government ought not to interfere in the matter as four-fifths of the traffic would be purely local, and the people on both sides of the river had expressed themselves in favour of a toll system and against the levying of a special rate.

Mr. Cowley explained that an insuperable bar to the levying of any interest rate on a loan raised for the bridge's construction was that the Bundaberg population had already borrowed as much money from the Government as they were allowed to under the Act and Mr. Goodwin did not think that, if the Government insisted on the bridge being a free one, the authorities could authorize the loan.

Mr. Morehead considered that all these things should have been included in the papers on the subject laid before the Government. He would consult with the previous Premier, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, on his return to the colony, as Sir Thomas knew more about the initial stages of the project than he did and, in the meantime, the preparation of the plans could proceed. He would also consult with the Minister of Justice as to the necessity of introducing a separate Act to validate the bridge's construction. If so the Act would be brought forward in the House early next session and, if not, he saw no reason why the work could not be commenced as soon as possible. The deputation then withdrew.

Political activity on the Perry Street (North side) to Quay Street (South Bank) cross-river bridge was to go into abeyance for a considerable number of years due to the colony's lack of funds. The construction of the existing iron-trussed, cross-river bridge of eight spans commenced in 1898 and was completed to be ready for its much-delayed opening in August 1900.

Note 1: The position of Chief Secretary was created on the 1st of April 1886. This position ultimately became that of Premier and on the 7th of July 1898 the Chief Secretary's Office became an independent Department entitled The Chief Secretary's Department.

With heavy rains falling in New South Wales, and to the south of the colony, the Bundaberg district could not have expected to escape its share of the downpour. The Government Meteorologist had predicted unsettled weather for southern Queensland that would result

in significant rainfall and, with the rain still falling at intervals, it was likely that further wet weather could be expected. There was every prospect of a mild winter to follow and the sugar crushing, proposed to commence in August, was anticipated to be a very successful one.

April 1889 marked the completion of one of Bundaberg's major heritage buildings in Bourbon Street. A new and architecturally significant *School of Arts* building was completed by the builder Mr. Calvert under the direction of architect Mr. Hettrich. The building provided the town library, committee rooms and offices on the ground floor with a reading room, a museum (having a limited number of exhibits) and a chess room on the first floor.

The new bridge in Tantitha Street had been completed in May with the roadway open to light traffic. Works were then being undertaken in Quay Street and on the Kennedy Bridge repairs. The first Kennedy Bridge, that had been opened in April 1878, was of wooden construction and, following its opening, it had successfully promoted East Bundaberg's development. The second, existing bridge of single span iron truss construction was to open in 1899 with a truss design almost identical to that of the present Perry Street-Quay Street Burnett River road bridge and of Brisbane's, now replaced, Victoria Bridge.

Trivial issues from the June Sittings of the House:

Walter Adams: *"Mr. Jordan says the* Land Act of 1884 *is perfect. I agree with him. It is a perfect disgrace."* and later

Treasurer Pattison to William Smyth: *"You will find that the Treasurer will always keep his word."*

Chorus of members – *"What - always?"*

Treasurer Pattison: *"Er – almost - nearly always - some-times."*

The Government gave the House a clear intimation of its policy concerning the mooted five year extension of Polynesian labour employment. Mr. A. S. Cowley, of the *Sugar Royal Commission*, brought forward his promised motion in favour of such extension: *"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable, early next Session, to adopt some means of encouraging the sugar industry."*

Mr. Cowley made a well worded speech giving his point of view by recapitulating the conventional arguments in favour of Polynesian (Melanesian) labour and giving much statistical information to show the immense value of the sugar industry in Queensland. Mr. Cowley spoke for about two and a half hours, and there was then a considerable hesitation as to who should follow him in addressing the motion. Not a Minister moved a muscle, and at last Walter Adams and Fassifern's Mr. Salkeld both rose at once. On perceiving this the Opposition emitted a roar saying, *"Let the Government speak"*, while Ministers, nothing backward, shouted for Mr. Groom, the Chairman of the *Sugar Commission*, whose summation of the final report had differed from that of his colleagues, to address the floor. However, Walter Adams, caught the Speaker's eye and rose to deliver a short speech in favour of the plantations' use of Pacific Island labour following which

Mr. Salkeld provided a somewhat aimless contradiction and the debate concluded.

Then Mr. Morehead rose and tantalized the leader of the opposition, Sir Samuel Griffith, a little on his view as to what the Government was not going to do – for instance they were not going to let Samuel import white labourers from Scandinavia or Germany. He then, in brief unmistakable tones, declared the Government policy as, *"The Government does not intend to extend the present existing provisions of the Polynesian Labor Act"*, though he then added that the Government was prepared to assist sugar-planters by assisting with irrigation, or other means of protection or conservation. No member on the Government side of the House desired to see Queensland a Polynesian country, added Morehead, with emphasis. Sir Samuel Griffith was thus compelled to forego his anticipated task of denouncing the Government.

The debate continued with little interest, although Archibald Archer, the patriarch of Gracemere, arose and sought reversed glory by declaring himself to be a champion of Islander labour. The debate adjourned with Sir Samuel Griffith having moved an amendment which, if carried, would have caused the motion to read: *"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable, early next Session, to adopt some means, not involving a reopening of the coloured labour question, for encouraging the sugar industry."*

After Mr. Salkeld had expressed his own opinions on Mr. Cowley's sugar industry motion, Premier Morehead rose to speak. Sir Samuel Griffith thereupon interjected: *"We have drawn him at last!"* Morehead promptly and good humouredly met the sneer: *"I hope it is satisfactory to the Leader of the Opposition that I have been drawn at last, though I confess it is rather humiliating to have to be drawn by the Honourable Member for Fassifern."*

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The *Brisbane Courier* in its edition of the 4th of June 1889 reported that:

"The crushing mill intended for the central district of Childers is to have double rollers and is to be otherwise provided with the most modern improvements, both in strength and in labour saving appliances. The juice will be conveyed by train to either *Yengarie* or to the *Millaquin* refinery, as necessity may require. It is a pity that the settlers already living in the vicinity of this central factory have, up till lately, not shown much alacrity in responding to the efforts of the Messrs. Cran. There are two causes for this. One is that, about five years ago, it was given out that a central sugar factory would be erected at the north end of this big scrub. The site for the intended factory was cleared and the adjoining farmers planted as much cane as they could afford; but the mill project fell through, and the unlucky farmers had the cane (crop) left on their hands. The second drawback to cane cultivation at the Isis is the present uncertainty of the kanaka labour question. It may be possible for small settlers to grow sugarcane for the central mills with the help of their families alone but, in most cases, the Isis people must employ white labour if they go in for sugar while the (tree) stumps of the (cleared) scrub are still standing and they naturally fear the consequences. Being practical they know the importance of being able to work with the plough.

It would be little short of a calamity if the present efforts of the Messrs. Cran fell through by reason of the apathy of the farmers of the scrub, for this central mill is to be one of the best examples of division of labour in the production of sugar that can possibly exist. First, the farmer need do nothing but grow the cane, which the mill-owners guarantee to take at the stump at a specified price, and secondly, the planter has the option of delivering the cane to the mill at a higher rate per ton if he so chooses to work."

The *Maryborough Chronicle* in its edition of the 25th of July 1889 reported that: "We understand that *Walkers Limited* have received orders to construct a large double crushing plant, similar to that made for the Cran Brothers plantation *Duncraggan*, for Cran and Co.'s central mill at *Barcumppl*, Isis Scrub. Planting is now the order of the day for next season, when the first crushing on the Isis will take place. The juice will be conveyed in tanks by rail to *Yengarie* for treatment."

The *Isis Central Sugar Mill* is now the only remaining sugar mill in the Childers district with its last remaining competitor, the Childers mill of the *Colonial Sugar Refineries*, having closed in 1933 during the Great Depression. Cordalba selectors had established the *Isis Central Mill Company* in 1894 and clearing of the land for their mill and the extension of the Childers branch railway line to Cordalba took place in 1896. The *Isis Central* was constructed by *Walkers Limited* for the shareholding selectors at a cost of £26,000. Its first crushing took place in September 1897 and produced 810 tons of raw sugar. Following the closure of the district's competing mills the production of sugar at the Isis Central had doubled by the 1930's.

The Bundaberg rowing season was opened on a Thursday afternoon, the 1st of August, with a series of scratch races between competing members, following the appointment of the new *Bundaberg Rowing Club Committee* in July. Those members elected to the new committee were: President, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith; Vice-presidents, Messrs. Walter Adams M.L.A., Michael Duffy, Robert Fleming, and W. H. Fox; Honorary treasurer, Mr. W. Wyper, Honorary secretary, Mr. A. M'Intosh; Captain, Mr. B. Hull; Committee, Captain W. Collin, Messrs. Coglan, J. Fleming, J. Walden, J. Skinner, and W. C. Aiken.

The July 1889 meeting of the Bundaberg *Chamber of Commerce* was held at the office of the *Chamber's* secretary, Mr. W. H. May. Those present at the meeting were: Mr. Curtis, the Chairman, with Messrs. A. M. Goodwin, D. J. Powers, W. H. Fox, Gillen, Woolley, White, and Payne (Members). Following the reading and confirmation of the previous meeting's minutes the correspondence, which included the communications described in the following paragraphs, was presented:

From the Cooktown *Chamber of Commerce*, calling attention to the necessity for a better distribution system for harbour works expenditure throughout the colony, suggesting that an Act of Parliament be passed to create independent Harbour Trusts and asking the Bundaberg *Chamber of Commerce* to co-operate with it in securing this objective and, from Mr. Adams M.L.A., confidential correspondence related to dredging operations in the Burnett River which provoked much discussion and which was obviously well received as it ended in a vote of thanks to Mr. Adams being passed; and

From the Brisbane *Chamber of Commerce* with reference to forest conservation and with reference to this letter Mr. Curtis moved, *"That Bundaberg being the centre of a thriving timber industry this* Chamber *is fully sensible of the need for* Forest Conservancy*, and cordially endorses the initiative taken by the Brisbane C*hamber of Commerce *towards securing it."*

THE YEAR OF 1890

Over the Decade 1890 to 1900 Some Significant Occurrences in the Home Country Were:

The arrival of American wheat in England marked the beginning of the end for the holding of England's *'Old Money'*, as invested in the large rural estates of the landed squires, and the end of the traditional aristocratic lifestyle in general. The *'New Money'* of the northern industrialists had become entrenched; and

The time of Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*; Beatrice Webb's (née Potter) *Peter Rabbit*, with her enthusiasm for Fabian socialism and conservation; and of the recognition of the young artist, Aubrey Beardsley.

The following is a much foreshortened and edited version of an article that appeared in the 30th of January 1890's edition of the Bundaberg *Tribune* its author and publisher being Mr. W. C. Aiken and its editor being Mr. J. Y. Walker:

The most calamitous flood that had occurred within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, whether of white man or aboriginal, reached the lower Burnett late in January. Prior to the early hours of the Friday morning there had been nothing unusual concerning the weather worthy of report but, later in that afternoon, telegrams were received from Mount Perry stating that several inches of rain had fallen during the day and the rain was continuing with no prospect of cessation. Gin Gin then reported an even heavier downfall and, during the Friday night, the effect on river levels was startling in the extreme.

There had been virtually no preparation on the wharves for a major flood, and it was not until nearly midnight that gangs of men were engaged to remove the goods stacked ready for export shipment or for town delivery. Then, between midnight and sunrise, the river rose a foot every quarter of an hour and, too late, it became evident that the labour at hand on Patrick Duffy's wharf was insufficient to cope with the advancing flood. Had the firefighting bell been rung it would have rallied a few hundred willing hands and Patrick may have sustained no loss. As it was there were allegations made that most of the men engaged to transfer the goods were so indifferent to their employer's interests that they had performed little work and seemed to regard the matter as a joke, evidently under the false impression that the longer they could prolong the work the longer their engagement at two shillings per hour would last. If this had been their prevailing idea then they were doomed to disappointment for, at about 6 a.m. on the Saturday morning, maize, flour and sugar, all to the value of £400 sterling were washed away.

The river continued to rise all day and Saltwater Creek, with its rising back-water, encroached rapidly upon all the low-lying southern areas of the town. Walla Street, Tantitha Street and Targo Street were soon closed to vehicular traffic and boats were

requisitioned, two of which were supplied by the Municipal Council, at the order of the Mayor, to assist the threatened inhabitants. The misery and desolation then being experienced by hundreds of people almost baffles description and the night of Saturday the 25th of January 1890 was long remembered by those whose lot it was to endure such discomfort and loss. Within the short space of twenty-four hours scores of happy, comfortable homes were converted into unrecognisable, mud-polluted hovels.

Communication with Gayndah was cut off at 5 p.m. on the Friday so that no further information could be obtained as to likely rises in water levels. However, the rainfall must have continued upstream as there was a noticeable rising in the river levels up to midnight on the Sunday. Comparison with the marks made by the Customs officials in 1875 indicated that the 1875 flood, previously the highest recorded in the district, had been exceeded by 14½ inches (368 mm.); and on the north side of the river, from marks made in the *Mulgrave Hotel*, the water reached two feet (610 mm.) above the earlier register.

Most of the cylindrical columns of the Burnett River railway bridge, then under construction, had been displaced and those remaining required re-adjustment with a heavy financial loss to the contractor, Mr. Johnstone, who also suffered serious loss of equipment. Extensive damage was also inflicted upon the wharves with the shed on the *Phoenix Wharf* washed away on the Saturday night; a little while afterwards the shed on the south side's Government wharf shared a similar fate and early on Sunday afternoon the capacious shed on Michael Duffy's wharf also disappeared into the torrent. The removal of the contents from the wharf's north side shed to the top of the riverbank on the Friday night had been near to completion and Mr. Christsen had considered that this was sufficient to ensure their security but, as the water rose, it became apparent that only complete removal from North Bundaberg would suffice. As this had become impossible a serious loss of maize and other produce ensued.

When the water approached the steps of the *Mulgrave Hotel* in North Bundaberg, recollections of the 'early days' entered the minds of the residents who had witnessed the flood of '75. No other course being open, preparations for an evacuation were made with all alacrity, and it is greatly to the credit of Mr. E. Daly, the station-master in charge, that without solicitation he had placed trains at the service of the large number of people, complete with their belongings, wishing to move on to the higher ground further inland. Others, headed and guided by the relief parties organised by Mr. J. C. Walker, relocated to the school house where they were to camp and Mr. Walker at his own expense, provided them with sustenance. Kenneth Buchanan, of *Oakwood Plantation*, invited all and sundry to take shelter in the houses and sheds on his property and provided them with abundant food to indicate his sympathy for his distressed neighbours in their hour of need. Mr. C. Henker supplied large quantities of pineapples and grapes; Mr. Mooney contributed gallons of milk and all of the settlers around rendered invaluable aid free of cost.

The river's current in the neighbourhood of the north bank's railway yards was estimated to have a velocity of at least ten miles (16.7

kilometres) per hour and four men, who had been linked together for security, were washed off their feet and carried a considerable distance before their eventual rescue. A large amount of damage, mainly consisting of holes and washouts, was inflicted upon many of the roads and streets in the Gooburrum Division and, following the flood, Mr. Amos had gangs of men restoring the thoroughfares to working order. The brother-in-law of the late George Manus Adams, Mr. Lewis O'Mara, had his commodious *Railway Hotel* with its billiard-room completely wrecked, and numerous other structures were displaced from their foundations. For the first half-mile from the North Bundaberg station the Mount Perry railway line resembled the celebrated *Switchback Railway* with graceful curves formed by the washing away of ballast and a number of trucks on the line, some heavily laden with timber logs, assumed every alignment other than that of the vertical.

Reports from up the country indicated that many struggling farmers were ruined.Crops, stock, household furniture, and even the houses themselves had all disappeared, some friendly gum trees affording shelter to various families until they were rescued by search parties. The most acute sufferers were those on the flats and scrubs within a short distance of the river and those effected were so numerous that the material wealth of the district had been considerably diminished, as their losses were subsequently passed on to the town's trading businesses, and from there to the entire community.

The north side ferry's approach was covered by a sand deposit several feet in depth, which necessitated the construction of a new approach. At the Bundaberg Foundry, the force of the current burst in one side of the building, undermined the foundations, wrecked the boilers and damaged the heavy machinery. No one had even imagined that floodwaters could reach the floor of the foundry, with its earth bank protection, but the current had washed the bank away leaving only a shallow basin.

At the *Waterview* timber mill and sugar-cane plantation the flood damage was appalling. Logs and sawn timber were carried away, buildings destroyed, machinery damaged and the previously magnificent crop of cane badly needed a good rainstorm to wash off the sludge. The *Fairymead* plantation suffered complete inundation with all of the property under one vast sheet of water. The Messrs. Young, with all of their staff and hands, had to seek shelter wherever it could be found. On the Sunday Mr. Robert Totten had very thoughtfully provided the plantation's hands with a boat load of provisions. As at *Waterview* and *Fairymead*, *Habbro* and *Woondooma* were completely submerged with only the chimney of Mr. Gladwell's mill and its surrounding gum trees remaining visible.

In East Bundaberg the river overflowed near Mr. Henry Skyring's mill and the back water entered Saltwater Creek adding a vast volume of water to its channel and surrounds. The stacks of timber and everything else left unsecured at the mill were washed away and the machinery was extensively damaged. For some time past Mr. Skyring had been struggling with adversity and then, just as prosperity seemed to have arrived, he received another terrible blow. Mr. G. J. Young's house at *Beulah* was entered by three feet of water and the residences of Messrs. Hamilton and Skyring were also flooded. Mr.

Fleming suffered heavy losses owing to flood inflicted damage on his furniture and the effects of flooding on his gas-works. Mr. David Scott lost heavily, through the washing away of his logs and sawn timber, and the general effect upon the machinery in his mill.

At South Bundaberg the water reached as far as *Tattersalls Hotel*, and almost into Burnett Street at its intersection with Targo Street. Normanby Square was uninhabitable, and nothing live remained in the locality but a few stray fowls sheltering on the house tops. In West Bundaberg the river overflowed into both Quay and Bourbon Streets, coming in from above the hospital, though in these locations there was no strong current.

At *Millbank* M. T. Penny narrowly escaped drowning as he was on the way to inspect his mill and the accompanying workers' housing when his horse panicked and began to plunge, forcing the rider to dismount and swim for about a quarter of a mile. It was some time afterwards before it was ascertained that he was safe. It was later discovered that the *Millbank* cane crop had been almost totally destroyed.

A man named Jacob Ernst, who had a wife and young family, tried to ford the water near East Bundaberg on horseback but lost his hold and was drowned. He had been repeatedly warned to desist from this foolhardy attempt, but all solicitation was in vain. About midnight on the Sunday a punt moored at North Bundaberg broke away from its moorings with the well-known shipwright, Peter Moar, on board. Viewers saw the punt's light extinguished and a cry, as of someone in distress, was heard. Whether the punt was carried out to sea with the unfortunate Mr. Moar on board, or whether it collided with some object and was sunk, is a matter of conjecture. On the following Tuesday the steamer *Lady Musgrave* was chartered by the Government for harbour officials to make a thorough search of the river but there was no trace of the punt, or of its unfortunate occupant.

On the Sunday afternoon the view from the Sloping Hummock located about seven miles east of the town, presented a dismal scene. In the foreground the fields of the Woongarra were high and dry, well above the flood's influence, but beyond and to the west, north and east the presence of flood water was everywhere to be seen. The turbid, red Burnett River flow discharged far into Hervey Bay, displacing its blue waters for many a mile, and leaving a clear line of demarcation. Towards the town, an occasional roof or isolated chimney indicated the site of a submerged mill or a rural residence.

Amongst the less serious inconveniences of the flood was the displacement of ants, spiders, grasshoppers, centipedes and scorpions. When an occasional snake was added, the annoyance became a matter of actual danger. Horsemen riding or swimming their horses through the flood waters in the suburbs were boarded by innumerable hordes of these vermin, which occurred in their myriads, crawling or swimming to escape the advancing flood. The partially submerged houses and fences provided this displaced vermin with refuge and their presence, on the reoccupation of the houses, proved to be both a serious hazard and an additional discomfort to those implementing the removal of the slime and mud that was defiling the residences' interiors.

The *Bundaberg Weekly Tribune* of the 29th of June 1889 gave the following description of Bundaberg's proposed third post office:

"The plans for the new Post and Telegraph Office, for which tenders close on the 12th proximo (of July), provide for a handsome and commodious two-storied structure at the corner of Bourbon and Barolin Streets, presenting an ornamental and well-designed facade of equal length to both streets; and not unworthy of being placed in juxtaposition with the *School of Arts* building across the way, or the probably ornate erections about to be placed on the Royal Bank and *Royal Hotel* opposite corners. At the angle of the building is a light and graceful clock tower, 93 feet in height, surmounted by a dome and topped by a flagstaff which will probably be utilised for the daily exhibition of a time ball, which, from the situation and elevation of the tower, will be visible from every part of the town. The ground plan shows that ample provision has been made as respects the convenient transaction of business, not only for present requirements but for such expansion as may reasonably be anticipated for many years to come. All the departments – telegraphic, delivery, money-order and private boxes – are conveniently connected by a covered arcade; and a large sorting room provides facilities not at present available for the expeditious delivery and dispatch of mails. Single storey wings at each end provide lumber and storage rooms etc. and the *tout ensemble* of the premises, no less than the convenience and completeness of the internal arrangements is highly satisfactory. The yard accommodation is unfortunately rather scanty, but this will scarcely be felt as an inconvenience unless the second storey be allotted as quarters to the two chief officers which has not yet, we understand, been settled. The estimated cost of the structure, for which amount the vote was passed in the last parliamentary session, is £7,000."

And in 1890 Mr. J. Y. Walker wrote: *"The progress of the town has since been so great and so entirely beyond the anticipations of the designers of the second new Post Office that a third new building has already been found necessary. This is now approaching completion; and is a much more costly and ornamental structure. Its cost will be considerably over £6,000 and it is expected to be sufficient for the public requirements for many years. It occupies a commanding and convenient position at the corner of Bourbon and Barolin-streets presenting an extensive and handsome brick and cement facade to both thoroughfares and is surmounted by an elegant clock tower a hundred feet in height."*

Bundaberg, in early 1890, was described by a special reporter of the *Brisbane Courier*, in its edition of Monday the 17th of February, as being a neat little town having massive public buildings, including its *School of Arts*, half a dozen good hotels and the handsome premises of the *Queensland National Bank*. He was also impressed by its urban streets which he described as being magnificent in their width. He noted that its current prosperity had been founded almost entirely upon the sugar industry's successful introduction some ten or twelve years previously. Following its introduction to the lower Burnett it had, by 1890, virtually supplanted the preceding maize and timber industries. The following gives an

abbreviated account of his very extensive and detailed report:

The special reporter credited the sugar industry with improving the values of the local lands and inducing speculators to construct expensive buildings on the town allotments. Capital from far and near had been attracted to provide the sugar industry with £771,199 worth of the machinery needed to manufacture its product. The amount of sugar exported from Bundaberg over the previous three years was: In 1887, exported and removed coastwise – 13,096 tons; in 1888, exported 7,792 tons & removed coastwise – 7,998 tons – a total of 15,790 tons; in 1889, exported – 3,770 tons & removed coastwise - 5,927 tons - a total of 9,697 tons. Add to this, say, 500 tons per annum for local consumption. The sugar's export value for these three years, as calculated by multiplying the on-ship tonnages listed above by the reporter's estimated 'all round' value of £15 per ton, gives an export value for the combined-on ship consignments of £578,745. These statistics illustrate that, for the previous three seasons, one was moderate, the next was middling, and the last one was decidedly bad. The 1890 season, however, was expected to outstrip them all with estimates of the pending yield being in excess of 20,000 tons.

During his visit to Bundaberg several matters relating to the sugar industry had created a marked impression. One impression was that the industry was not expanding and, if this was so, had it reached the meridian of its existence? There was no apparent decline, as there was in the sugar industry at Maryborough, and yet there was no expansion. The planters had told him that the cultivation of sugar was of such nature that white labourers were unwilling, or unable, to undertake the work of the fields and yet the government was denying the planters the right to engage Islanders who were willing and able to do this work. The Polynesian (Melanesian) labourer was referred to as being 'reliable' in contradistinction, presumably, to the white man who was 'unreliable.' At the end of the year 1890, and by the colonial government's act of 1885, all further introduction of Polynesian labour was to be stopped. On discussing the matter freely with all the sugar-growers and manufacturers that he had encountered during his recent tour of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts he discovered that the topic of labour was the dominant topic.

In researching the labour question the reporter had talked with Mr. Angus Gibson, the managing partner of the firm of Gibson and Howes of the *Bingera Plantation* that was situated twelve miles from Bundaberg on the north side of the Burnett River. Mr. Gibson was regarded as being a representative Bundaberg planter who had given white labour access to his plantation. Mr. Gibson said that in the crushing season he employed 70 white men and that he retained 200 Islander men on the plantation all the year round. Fifteen years ago Mr. Gibson had cultivated 200 acres of sugar at Hemmant, near Brisbane, using only white labour and had made the enterprise, in a marked degree, successful. In reply to the reporter's reference to that bygone experience Mr. Gibson stated that, *"when the white labour was plentiful at £30 per annum and rations, and with sugar in demand at from £32 to £35 per ton, the industry paid fairly well when working on a twelve-hour day."*

In reply to a question as to whether or not implementation of the central mill principle would allow the industry to carry on with white labour only, Mr. Gibson said that the central mill system had been in vogue at Hemmant on a small scale but that he had found the farmers who were growing the cane were very unreliable and that, in those days, 14 to 15 shilling per ton was paid for cane delivered at the mill.

And in reply to the question, what are you going to do for labour at the close of 1893 when the Islanders are withdrawn, Mr. Gibson indicated that at *Bingera* a sugar production of 2,500 tons was anticipated from the 1,200 acres under crop and he gave the courageous response that he would never give up and that he would push on without Islander labour until he sank. Two classes of refined sugar were being produced at *Bingera*, the average net value of which was £17 per ton. To that date a return of from 9% to 10% per annum had been realized on a capital investment of £100,000 by the estate. Mr. Gibson's closing remark was, *"that the Bundaberg district was far more favourably situated than any other for the exclusive employment of white labour."*

Next the reporter obtained opinions on labour from Mr. Samuel Johnston of *Waterview* who had pioneered several different industries in Bundaberg, finally to become a sugar planter. Mr. Johnston thought that, without Islander labour, the sugar industry would experience a lingering death. In his own words, *"The planters will get out of it as best they can."* Mr. Johnston further expressed the opinion that, even after the expiry of their agreements in 1893, the Islanders would remain in the district of their own free will to work for wages in the cane fields.

Mr. H. A. C. Young of *Fairymead* was a businessman, as well as a planter, and had a very large stake in the sugar industry. He took a gloomy view of the political situation. *Fairymead*, like *Bingera*, was a gigantic concern, its cultivated area being 1,250 acres. It manufactured only raw sugar yet so excellent was its quality that it successfully competed against the best refined sugars. The Young's family business had refined the manufacture of sugar to a standard that none of their district contemporaries had yet attained. Mr. Young thought that, without some measure of compensation, the sugar industry would be in a very bad way following the withdrawal of the Islanders and claimed that, *"Yes, the system of cane farming and central milling would be feasible if the colony had a tariff advantage over the sugars produced by black labour in other portions of the globe; but not otherwise."* He could see no prospect in the future that was not fraught with disaster for the sugar industry. Fairymead then employed 75 white men in the crushing season and 300 Islanders all the year round. The white men received double the money paid to the Islanders, notwithstanding the great difference in their respective numbers, but that did not include the clothes, rations, full year's accommodation and passage money provided for the Islanders.

Mr. Hickson of *Rubyanna*, who employed 25 whites in the season and 70 Islanders all the year round, also took a very despondent view of the situation, and thought that the sugar lands would have to be converted to other purposes after the Islanders were withdrawn.

The reporter wondered if it was in preparation for the 'great struggle' expected to follow the closure of Islander indenture in 1893

that two of the largest industry participants were already adopting the central mill system in the Bundaberg district. The great refinery *Millaquin*, with its capital investment of from £150,000 to £160,000, had all along been a central mill of a kind and had been, for the most part, independent of Island labour. The rich plantations in the fertile Woongarra Scrub area were mostly provided with satellite mills that crushed the cane but did not convert the juice to sugar. After being 'limed' the extracted juice was conveyed, through an intricate system of underground pipelines, to *Millaquin* for the sugar's manufacture.The giant mill, like the smaller manufacturing concerns in the district, only worked during the 'season', the time when the cane is mature and ready for crushing and the density of the juice has reached its maximum amount. The crushing generally began in the winter and lasted into the start of the ensuing summer. Over this period the refinery machinery worked day and night.

At *Millaquin* 170 white men and 18 Islanders were employed. Mr. John Cran, the manager, states that the Islanders were only employed at such work as white men had repeatedly refused to do, probably in the areas of molasses handling and sugar drying. The output from Millaquin during a good season was 10,000 tons, which resulted in an average market value of £21 per ton. It was in this mill that half the entire output of the district was manufactured and, in the main, with white labour so that the refinery was not directly involved in the Island labour question. However, Pacific Island labour was employed in cultivating the cane which produced the juice that *Millaquin* utilized for the sugar's manufacture. The *Millaquin* planters community was located in the Woongarra Scrub which was the name given to 10,000 to 12,000 acres of rich volcanic land to the east of the mill. Less than a decade had passed since these fertile cane-fields had supported a mass of thick and luxuriant scrub. The land, in places, had borne a thick covering of rocks that, together with the rich red soil, had weathered from the decomposing lava deposits that had been ejected from the Hummock during its volcanic stage. Following the felling and burning of the scrub the rocks had been collected and converted into (drystone) boundary walls or used in road pavement construction. The execution of these works had converted the land into a state highly suitable for profitable cultivation. In viewing this situation, the reporter wondered, *"Will not mechanical cultivation, in great measure, replace the system of hand cultivation?"* Note 1

He had regarded the refinery as the huge progenitor of the central mill in the Bundaberg district. The other two relevant mills were *Fairymead* and *Bingera*, whose centralizing operations were then of a comparatively recent date. The Gooburrum Scrub was adjacent to the mill at *Fairymead* and its initial agricultural efforts had been confined to maize-growing which, until less than two years previously, had involved only a few settlers. It was then that the proprietors of *Fairymead* made overtures to the area's farmers to grow cane. The farmers of Gooburrum had then planted 500 acres of cane and intended to plant 300 more for the coming season. The Messrs. Young had connected the scrub farms to their mill utilizing a tramway system and they provided the labour to cut the cane and to load the tramcars. They then paid the farmers seven shillings per ton for their harvested cane. This arrangement, however, was to last only if the Island labour was available.

After that the farmers would have to derive their own labour from other sources under an entirely new arrangement. As it was, the farmers provided and planted the land and then kept the young cane free from weeds until the cane grew high enough to deprive the unwanted flora of moisture and sun light.

In a similar fashion, at *Bingera*, Mr. Gibson had entered into an agreement with twenty farmers to supply him with 500 acres of cut cane, 400 of which were then under crop. The farms were situated in the scrub three miles from the mill to which they also were connected by a tramway. The farmers were paid nine shillings per ton, without deductions, for the cane. Mr. Gibson admitted that he regarded this as only a partial solution to the labour problem. If the centralized mill system was to discover a permanent solution to the labour problem then, opined the reporter, agriculture would receive an impetus of a magnitude that it had never known before. There were, at the time, 2,350 Islanders in the Bundaberg district of whom 2,100 held formal agreements with the sugar planters thus giving a proportion of white to Island labour employed in the sugar industry a ratio of four white to ten Pacific Island workers.



The Isis Central Sugar Mill at Cordalba

An Early Photograph - From the Jorgensen Family Collection



School of Arts, Post Office and Metropolitan Hotel - Circa 1890

From J. Y. Walker's HISTORY OF BUNDABERG – 1890 - Note the Empty Clock Tower



Bourbong Street Bundaberg at the End of the 19th Century

Note the Street Gaslight and Telephone Wires

In early 1890 the sugar industry's prospects were regarded as being excellent, but only short term. The planters were counting on the certainty of four more crop harvests before the termination of the Islander indenture system and the first of these harvests would certainly be one of unparalleled magnitude in terms of local experience. The reporter had previously visited the sugar estates on the Herbert and Burdekin Rivers as well as those of Cooktown and Mackay, all in the far north, but had never seen cane superior to that which was then growing in the vicinity of Bundaberg. It could, on a rough estimate, be regarded as a two ton to the acre crop. The rum distillery, recently established at Bundaberg, bought molasses from its sugar-growing shareholders at 3d. per gallon. As hitherto the molasses had been entirely wasted the sale of this product meant profits to the distillery's shareholders and additional profits to the growers of the cane.

In conclusion, the reporter remarked that the town of Bundaberg showed an extreme degree of commercial depression notwithstanding the magnificent prospects of the forthcoming sugar season. He had been told that this depression had resulted from the restrictive lending policies of institutions that had financial interests in the now uncertain future of the properties and industries in the town and district.

Note 1: A very perceptive observation. Mechanical harvesting was to arrive much later than mechanized ploughing and, for the unfired cane, had to wait until the invention of the first successful mechanical harvester by the Toft Brothers of Bundaberg in the mid 1900's. Machines that could harvest the pre-fired cane only had been available for some years prior to this. Firing, or burning off, of the cane crop, whilst removing the unwanted leaves of the plant, necessitated the prompt harvesting and milling of the crop to avoid fermentation of the cane stalk's contained sugars.

Chapter 12

A Show and a Recession

In the August of 1890 a political crisis was to erupt in which the ministry of the Conservative Queensland Premier, the Hon. Boyd Dunlop Morehead, was to resign in favour of a cabinet that consisted of a combination of former Liberal and Conservative members, referred to at the time as the *Ministerialist Cabinet*. A ministry was formed under Sir Samuel Griffith, in alliance with Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, despite these members' previous careers having been in political opposition. The tenure of backbenchers, such as Walter Adams in the electorate of Bundaberg and Mr. W. O'Connell in the electorate of Musgrave, was not directly affected by the realignments. An edited report, giving the *Telegraph's* description of these events, follows:

Given the narrow majority that had supported the Government in opposing Sir Samuel Griffith's land tax amendments, as submitted to the Legislative Assembly on the previous night, a meeting of the governing party's Ministers was held on the following morning, the 7th of August, at Mr. Morehead's behest. Whilst Sir Samuel Griffith's opposition to the tax had been viewed as one of expediency, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's opposition to the tax was occasioned by his objection to its unequal distribution, as it was intended to be levied on holders of freehold, but not on holders of leasehold, land titles.

Following consideration of the situation at the morning's meeting of the Government Ministers it was decided to hold a fully attended meeting of the Government party's members including some of those who had voted in favour of Sir Samuel Griffith's amendment. The press understood that, at this second meeting, the Premier had announced his Government's intention to tender the resignation of its office. At the close of this meeting Mr. Morehead thanked the party's members for the support they had given to his ministry.

Following the previous night's division it was understood in the House that an arrangement may have been reached between the Governing party and the leader of the Opposition whereby, with the support of the latter, a *Supply Bill* to provide for the payment of government salaries should be passed immediately and the existing Ministry would announce its resignation to the House shortly thereafter. It was claimed that the opposition's leader, Sir Samuel Griffith, would only accept office on the assurance that an early dissolution of the existing parliament was granted.

Shortly after 12 o'clock the Premier went to Government House to tender his resignation and that of his colleagues. Mr. Morehead advised the Governor to send for Sir Samuel Griffith and request him to form a Ministry. At 5.30 p.m., the resignation having been tendered and accepted, the His Excellency sent for Sir Samuel, and requested him to undertake the formation a new Cabinet.

The *Legislative Assembly* met at its normal hour and Mr. Morehead, in a short ministerial statement, said that, following the events that had taken place in the House the previous night, the Ministry considered it to be their duty to tender their resignation to the Governor. Samuel Griffith then rose and informed the House that he had received a communication from the Governor in consequence of which he had waited upon His Excellency and, in reply to the latter's request, he would endeavour to form a new Ministry.

It was no secret that Mr. Morehead had been glad to be relieved of the cares of office and had seized the opportunity to walk out rather than be defeated. During the afternoon Sir Samuel called upon Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith to obtain his opinion of the crisis and to clear a way for the necessary steps to be undertaken to form the new Ministry. It is understood that Sir Samuel Griffith proposed to undertake the post of Chief Secretary (Premier), with perhaps the titular Attorney Generalship. In such an event it was probable that a Solicitor-General would be appointed to take ministerial charge of the Department of Justice. For this position the names of Messrs. Rutledge and Drake suggested themselves. Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, if accepting office following the negotiations, was expected to apply for the ministerial position in charge of the Treasury.

Sir Samuel Griffith then asked that the House might adjourn until the following Tuesday to allowed him time to complete the new Ministry's formation. The House agreed to the adjournment and an *Appropriation Bill* for £160,000 was then passed through all its stages. It was intended that another *Appropriation Bill* would be introduced on the following Tuesday that would provide for an additional amount. This sitting of the House occupied twenty minutes and was then adjourned until the following Tuesday.

At the request of their constituents both Messrs. O'Connell and Adams were supporters of Sir Samuel Griffith's amendments. However, Mr. Adams was obliged to send a message to a party whip stating that he was too ill to take his place in the House but that he had intended to vote for Sir Samuel Griffith's amendment. His absence gave the existing Government a majority of two instead of one.

It was generally believed that, following this disruption of the Parliament, a general election must ensue even though an attempt would be made to carry on with the present House as it was rumoured that several Liberals were greatly annoyed at the proposal to include Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith in the Ministry. It would have been no surprise if this annoyance had resulted in the defection of several of these members from the retiring government's side of the house.

THE YEAR OF 1891

On the 26th of August 1891 a deputation from the Central Queensland and Wide Bay districts consisting of Messrs. Archer, Pattison, Murphy, Stevenson, Hyne, Murray, R. B. Jones, Annear, Crombie, Paul and Adams, M.L.A. waited upon the Colonial Treasurer to request the continuance of dredging operations in the Fitzroy, Burnett, and Mary Rivers until such time as harbour trusts could be formed to manage these waterways. The discussions that ensued clearly indicated the straightened circumstances under which the newly appointed government was labouring. An account of a segment of these proceedings is given below.

Following presentations by Mr. Archer and Mr. Pattison to the Treasurer, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, concerning the dredging of the Fitzroy River up to Rockhampton, the following discussion ensued:

Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith: *"There were certain sums standing to the credit of certain places, but the deficit must be provided from somewhere. I had tried to borrow the money and could not get it. Could the deputation suggest where the money was to come from?"*

Mr. Stevenson: *"You yourself have indicated one way."*

Sir T. M'Ilwraith: *"How?"*

Mr. Stevenson: *"By the sale of land."*

Sir T. M'Ilwraith: *"If I had sold the land you need not have come here, because the dredges would still have been provided for, but I have not sold it."*

Mr. Stevenson: *"Then the sooner it is sold the better."*

Sir T. M'Ilwraith: *"Yes, if there had been an indication that the Government was able to sell land so as to buy up some of the Treasury bills, then there would be a good reason for a reconsideration of the matter. At the present time there is absolutely no money. There are certain sums standing to the credit of the Government in some of the banks, but this cannot be called in quickly and so is a matter which needs to be treated with the greatest caution.*

It is useless for honourable members to talk about throwing men out of employment as, if I were to suddenly call in the money under discussion, the consequences would be just as disastrous. It is not want of will but want of money that is the problem … . In the event of the colony's Treasury being subsidized by land sales I would reconsider keeping on the dredges until such time as I could introduce a bill authorizing the formation of harbor trusts and I appeal for the members of the deputation to help me in forming trusts that would meet the local requirements … ."

Though the submissions on the various rivers were lengthy the Colonial Treasurer's only commitment was … so far as Number 6 cutting

in the Fitzroy River was concerned he would make inquiries which was all that he could promise. … The Mary River was in a better position now than it was some time ago and the remarks he had made with regard to the Fitzroy River applied to the Mary River as well, with the Burnett River being in the same situation. These remarks would appear to be those of a treasurer who was under considerable financial pressure due to the serious recession in a major exporting industry and to the depleted state of the treasury coffers.

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The first meeting of the newly revived *Bundaberg Pastoral and Agricultural Society's* committee was held in early November 1888. Committee members present at the meeting were Messrs. N. Tooth, W. S. Sim, W. F. Harrington, J. Murray, J. Fairlie, W. Southerden, G. Stupart, J. Mahoney, and S. Bartholomew. The Committee received correspondence from the Colonial Secretary which included a cheque for an £11 5s. 9d. endowment to the 30th June and another from Mr. J. T. Annear, stating that he had attended to the matter of the deeds for the show ground. This correspondence also included a communication from the Minister for Lands. The Minister's letter explained that the delay in the registration of the property had been precipitated by the action of the Surveyor-General in forwarding the title deed to the Crown Solicitor to obtain advice on the settlement of a legal point and that no clarification had yet been received. The committee resolved to inform Mr. Annear that the acceptance of the tender for the construction of the exhibition building would be withheld until the Society obtained the show ground title deeds. The committee asked Mr. Annear to inquire into the cause of the delay in acquiring these deeds and to expedite the matter. However, by October 1891 this legal issue would appear to have remained unresolved. The completion of the exhibition building did not occur until twenty years later, in August 1911.

On the 20th of October 1891 Bundaberg received a visit by the Queensland Colony's Governor so that he may open the *Bundaberg Agricultural Show*. The show was the first to be held following a ten-year hiatus and was reviewed in an article that appeared in the *Brisbane Courier* that is reproduced below. The show was held in Quay Street with the *Immigration Barracks* and the *Armoury*, buildings that had been constructed in 1876 to service the boat loads of immigrants, then arriving in Bundaberg, being put into service to house the indoor exhibits. The press report of the 23rd follows:

"The Governor, accompanied by Lady Norman, Miss Norman, Miss Grace Norman, and Captain Strachey, arrived in Bundaberg from Maryborough on Tuesday for an official visit in connection with the revival of the *Bundaberg Agricultural Show*. The vice-regal party was met on the railway platform by Mr. W. B. O'Connell, M.L.A. who introduced them to the Mayor (Mr. J. C. Walker), the aldermen and others. The town clerk then read the address of welcome and Sir Henry Norman briefly returned thanks for their kind welcome to Lady Norman and her daughters. He had been to Bundaberg before, and was glad to be there again, and if they should not enjoy their visit he was sure it would not be the fault of these who welcomed them. The Governor was escorted from the

railway station by members of the Mounted Infantry and also by a large number of buggies and horsemen and, on his arrival at the *Royal Hotel*, expressed his compliments regarding the appearance of the men who comprised the guard of honour and also of the mounted men. Many friends called upon the Governor during the day and, in the evening, the Chinamen of the town welcomed General Norman by letting off several crackers. In the evening a concert, attended by the vice-regal party, was provided by the local *Lawn Tennis Club* with most of the selections being of a meritorious nature.

The Show's Preparation

It was ten years since an agricultural show had been held in Bundaberg but the one at present being held was mooted by a few adventurous spirits. At first the idea was scoffed at; however, plans were laid, schedules issued, and prizes offered. The Governor was issued with an invitation to visit Bundaberg, which he cordially accepted, and ere the show committee quite understood what had happened, they found that they had acquired the responsibility for the conduct of a big event. Entries poured in, not only from residents in the immediate district, but also from many persons residing at a considerable distance and, apart from the *Brisbane Exhibition*, no show which has been held in Queensland this year can boast of as many entries as can the one under notice. As day by day the show gave evidence of expansion the committee found themselves in a partial difficulty.

Bundaberg, unfortunately, does not possess the regulation show ground and it was, therefore, necessary to obtain the permission of the Government to use the buildings of the *Immigration Barracks* which front the river. Part of the river esplanade was also temporarily closed and fenced off for use as a parade ring. Of course, the show lost much in compactness and convenience by such an arrangement, but the result overall was satisfactory. Much had also been done to brighten the external appearance of the old buildings and to lend a cheery appearance to the ground. Over the entrance gate an archway was erected, bearing on the front the motto *"Welcome to Bundaberg"* and on the reverse *"Advance Queensland"*.

A grandstand was erected opposite the parade ring for the use of the vice-regal party and distinguished visitors. Adjoining this was a flower stall presided over by ladies selling buttonholes and sprays on behalf of the local hospital. Around the depot yard cattle, horse, dog, and poultry pens were erected and the buildings were gay with sugar cane and flags. On Wednesday morning a special train arrived from Brisbane bringing Messrs. H. Tozer (the Colonial Secretary), M. Hume Black, J. T. Annear, W. North, J. B. I. Isambert, W. V. Brown, W. Paul, J. Crombie, M. Battersby, J. P. Buckland, D. H. Dalrymple, and J. Campbell, M.L.A. The town hotels were all full to overflowing with many visitors from Maryborough, and not a few from Brisbane.

The Show's Opening

A few minutes after noon his Excellency and Lady Norman arrived on the show ground, being escorted by members of the Wide Bay Mounted Infantry under the command of Lieutenant Reid of Gympie, while many members of the Second Regiment from Howard,

Maryborough and Bundaberg formed a guard of honour. The regimental band was also present. Accompanying the Governor was the mayor of the town, Mr. W. B. O'Connell, the Member for the Musgrave district, and others. The Governor was formally introduced to Mr. W. Adams, M.L.A., the president of the association, and warmly welcomed to Bundaberg.

The Governor said he had been requested by the president of their association to officially declare the show open. Generally, he had to do so without being afforded an opportunity of seeing the exhibits, but on the present occasion that had not been the case. The exhibits were so numerous as to be confusing as the show had obviously turned out to be a bigger affair than had been anticipated. This was perhaps to be expected as there had not been a show held for several years. Although the district was not as prosperous as they may have wished considerable progress had apparently been made. The Governor was likely to see something more of the district during the next two days than he had done on his last visit, when the mist and rain prevented him seeing anything. He declared the show open and wished prosperity to it and to the district.

Hearty cheers were then given for the Governor, Lady Norman and the Misses Norman. The attendance during the day was large, and the ground always presented a very animated and bustling appearance. There was a full programme of events, so that the general public experienced no weariness though judging was carried out very tardily and was not completed until late in the afternoon. In this respect all the arrangements were faulty but, when there was so much excellence, it would be unfair to complain. The committee worked very hard and did all in their power to satisfy exhibitors and visitors but the pressure of work at the last moment had proved to be a little too much for them. In the afternoon the usual parades of stock took place and the display of the hacks ridden by the ladies was surprisingly great. Twenty-four ladies cantered their horses round the ring and competition for the blue ribbon was unusually keen.

The jumping competition brought out six horses and first honours fell to Miller's *Harkaway*, which cleared the four foot six-inch-high hurdles without any trouble. The other competitors were Bergin's *Painless*, Collins' *Boyne*, Stappleton's *Miss Glanmire*, and Tanner's *Doctor*. Much interest was manifested in the draught stock exhibits, and the animals shown were of exceptional quality. Ponies were well represented, and not a few stylish buggy pairs were driven round. Five squads of lads from the local schools competed in the physical drill exercise. Each squad was dressed in an appropriate costume and the exercises were closely watched and healthily applauded by the crowd of spectators. Messrs. *Woolley, Bergin and Company* and Mr. H. Schliemann had working windmills and pumps which received close attention from the many practical agriculturists present at the show.

The Luncheon

Shortly after one o'clock over seventy gentlemen sat down to a first class luncheon laid out on the balcony of the *Federal Hotel*. Mr. Walter Adams occupied the chair and Mr. Angus

Gibson was vice-chairman. The triple toast of "The Queen, His Excellency the Governor and our Guest" was proposed in a short fulsome speech by the chairman who expressed great pleasure in having the Governor in their midst.

His Excellency was enthusiastically received. He said he was in the unprecedented position of having to reply to three toasts at once. He had great pleasure indeed in being amongst them. It was nearly ten years since they had held a show, and he trusted no such long interval would elapse before another show was held. Much had been said respecting the too frequent holding of small shows and criticism had been offered from some quarters, which they were bound to respect. Bundaberg, however, was a great agricultural and pastoral district, and had also important manufactures which deserved to be frequently shown, and which he was sure they would be all pleased to see. Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith had fully intended to be present but only the previous day had sent a telegram indicating that pressure of work would prevent him coming to the show and visiting a district for which he had a high regard and love. He proposed, "Prosperity to the Bundaberg Agricultural and Pastoral Society."

Mr. W. B. O'Connell, M.L.A. said that if the effort made that day was prophetic of what was going to happen in the future, they were likely to have a very live agricultural society indeed in Bundaberg. They had never anticipated having such a collection of exhibits, and when the show was first mentioned it had been pooh-pooed. Considering the many disadvantages under which the society had laboured, he thought the Agricultural Society deserved all credit, and he was sure visitors would carry away with them pleasing recollections of the show. The society also had proof of the great facilities existing in their district capable of producing wealth, perhaps more so than of any other district in Queensland. He thanked the Governor and members of Parliament for paying them a visit.

Mr. Angus Gibson proposed the toast of "The Parliament of Queensland" coupled with the name of Mr. Annear. He had a strong opinion about our Parliamentary representatives and also about the members of the Ministry who were, he thought, equal to the difficult task of steering this country through its present unfortunate situation.

Mr. Annear announced that Mr. Tozer had requested him to reply to the toast in his stead. After complimenting the present Government, and more especially the Colonial Secretary, he remarked that he was a representative of the honest working man and went on to comment upon the show being a credit to Bundaberg.

Following the Chairman's remarks the proceedings then terminated. The Governor and party, accompanied by many of the more prominent citizens, left for an afternoon's drive through Woongarra, via Mon Repos and the Hummock, a charming corner of a beautiful district.

The Exhibits

It was impossible, owing to the arrangements, to make more than a rapid survey of the exhibits during the opening day. Blood horses and mares were fully represented, and the breeding and quality were undeniable. They were mostly all locally bred. Draught and farm horses were numerous and of a serviceable stamp; good

upstanding beasts fit to be exhibited in any show ground in the world. Thirty ladies' hackneys were exhibited with most of them having fine paces and good looks, and while there was nothing very special in any of them they were shown to be hacks of a sound character. A few good ponies paraded, but only two of them were of superior quality. As a class the cattle were perhaps superior to anything seen outside of the Brisbane show. Ayrshires largely predominated, and they were all handsome beasts, the bulls especially being well proportioned, and compactly built. The cows were fine in quality and would probably yield from 8 pound to 12 pound of butter each per week. Only one Durham was penned, but much interest centred on a pen of grand little Jerseys from Brisbane.

Of sheep there were none, and the pigs were of inferior quality and badly bred. The poultry section, as is now usual at all shows, was strongly supported with exhibitors from all parts of the district having sent in birds. Nothing better could be desired than these seen in the game classes while there were also on exhibition some choice silver-gray Dorkings, a few good Polands and not a few handsome Coochin China. Black Spanish cattle dogs were in evidence, and there was also quite a score of kangaroo dogs. The retrievers were warmly admired, and one fine collie dog had many appreciative friends. Terriers were to be found tied to every convenient stick or post and, taking into consideration their current discomforts they were remarkably well behaved.

The one weak point in the show was the exhibit of farm and garden produce. A few of the vegetables were superb, more especially for this part of the growing season, but otherwise the display of corn, hay, and farm produce generally was not up to the mark. Fruit was poorly represented, astonishingly so, for such a district as the Musgrave. Bacon and ham were well to the front, nearly all of it being well cured and dressed. The butter also had many admirers, and the cheese was tasty and mellow. Honey was shown in great quantity, and one exhibitor had arranged a very neat trophy, alongside of which the bees were to be seen in active work. Such articles as soap, eggs, cordials, and locally brewed ale, all found a place and helped to bear testimony to the producing capabilities of the place. In a district like Bundaberg a sugar trophy might have been looked for as the central point in the annual exhibition. No such trophy was visible; however, refined and unrefined sugars were in abundance but were arranged in bags on the floor where they were frequently overlooked.

Many choice cut flowers and plants were entered for competition, the majority of which came from Maryborough. In the linocut art section, the exhibits were numerous and exceptionally good. One of the small buildings was tastefully decorated with scores of oil paintings, water colours, drawings in sepia, Indian ink, crayon, pen and pencil, architectural and mechanical drawings, photographs, etc., until it had all the appearance of a picture gallery. The Misses Johnston, of *Colanne*, showed several oil paintings of merit. Art has evidently many hard-working conscientious followers in Bundaberg. Neither space nor time will permit of a detailed description of many of the articles shown in the building set apart for exhibits in line art and industrial handicraft.

A case of birds shown by Mr. Charles F. Skyring should, however, be mentioned. It stood

nine-foot-high by six foot in width, with fine glass front, and contained over 200 Queensland birds, all charmingly grouped on the spreading branch of a tree. Close by were several handsome chiffoniers, wardrobes, and bookcases, all locally manufactured, denoting the presence of many skilled woodworkers in the district. Hundreds of articles were shown by the ladies including puzzles in wool work, conundrums in macramé and quaint yet pretty devices in crewel work. There were also specimens of netting, tatting, arrasing, leather, splash work, a hand-made shirt, and a pair of knitted socks together with many other interesting exhibits.

The Banquet

A banquet was tendered by the citizens of Bundaberg to his Excellency the Governor in the evening. The large hall of the Bundaberg Post Office was set apart for the spread, and quite one hundred ladies and gentlemen attended. The chair was occupied by Mr. J. C. Walker, the Mayor, who had the guest of the evening on his right and Lady Norman on his left.

The Governor's response to the toast of his health was enthusiastically received. In a very felicitous speech, he returned thanks for the sonorous hospitality which had been extended to Lady Norman, the Misses Norman, and himself. He referred to the gallant struggles made by the sugar industry and trusted that brighter days would come. In future Bundaberg was sure to be a great place.

Alderman Curtis proposed the toast of *"Government and Parliament"* and, by easy stages, got from politics to poetry and then retraced his steps. Reference was made to the desirability of extending the period for the sugar industry's retention of Pacific Island labour, to the necessity for a *Harbour Trusts Bill*, irrigation, and other matters.

Mr. H. Tozer was well received and apologized for the absence of Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, who was detained through momentous business, and also for the absence of Mr. Cowley. The representatives of Parliament who were present were from every quarter of Queensland and had never received more generous hospitality than they had in Bundaberg. He thanked them for their complimentary remarks regarding the Government. They had had an arduous time, he himself having had a great share of that trouble (Cheers) and had endeavoured always to repress crime and to maintain order. (Cheers)

He would not touch politics, but he must refer to the town clock. (Laughter) Tenders had been received for the clock; a gentleman had gone to England and had promised to send out the best clock that he could procure. He was glad to be amongst them, and he was pleased to be the first Minister who could congratulate them on the opening of the through (railway) line between the town and the metropolis. They would now have many more members of Parliament visiting them to partake of their generous hospitality.

Mr. Hume Black, replying on behalf of the Opposition, said that his side of the House was really the component part of the Government, and as long as the latter did what the Opposition desired they would strongly support them. So far they had done so. Referring to the Bundaberg Show, he said it was one of the best rural shows he had ever attended. He hoped that the time was not far distant when the working men of

this colony would see that the establishment of the sugar industry on a sound footing was to their best interests. (Cheers)

Mr. W. V. Brown, M.L.A. proposed *"The Agricultural Interest"* and said that he was pleased to see the planters there were trying to solve an interesting problem, this being *"Could the white race successfully grow sugar-cane?"* If it could not be done in Bundaberg it could not be done anywhere. In a lengthy speech he traversed many of the arguments used against the sugar industry, advocated a bonus system, and spoke of the necessity to foster our industries.

Mr. Angus Gibson gave a brief response after which many Parliamentary representatives departed to catch the special train for Brisbane. At the conclusion of the banquet the room was cleared for dancing, which continued until an early hour in the morning."

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On Wednesday the 28th of September 1892 the *Bundaberg Agricultural and Pastoral Society's* annual exhibition was opened by his Excellency the Governor on the newly established Show Ground that was located west of the railway line and to the south of Saltwater Creek on the southern extension of Burrum Street. *The Railway Department* issued return tickets that offered cheap fares to attendees from Brisbane, Gympie, Maryborough and intermediate stations. An additional inducement for Brisbane residents to visit Bundaberg was the considerable attention given to Bundaberg's exhibits at the *National Association's* show, held the previous month in Brisbane. The interest displayed on this occasion had given every indication that the Bundaberg show would be well worth attending.

Events in the evolution of the Bundaberg Show Ground of 1911 occurred subsequent to 1892. In recognition of their significance some of these events are described in the following passages:

In 1898 the *Bundaberg Pastoral and Agricultural Society* encountered financial difficulties and became defunct. The Society's *Deed of Grant* to the Show Ground land was converted by the Government into a *Certificate of Title* which was issued to *Bundaberg Council* in recognition of the Council's purchase of the land. As a courtesy, representatives of the former society Mr. G. Noakes, Dr. Thomas and Mr. A. M'Intosh were invited to attend the 1898 exhibition.

In January 1909 Mr. H. E. Ashley, the President of the *Bundaberg Agricultural, Pastoral and Industrial Society*, called upon the Mayor, Ald. Ruddell, at the Council Chambers. He indicated that, following the Council's acquisition of the adjoining reserve, the Society wished to secure a lease of the *Show Ground* as its area had become, by this time, inadequate for the show's requirements as space for many more stalls was required. No transfer of land ownership appears to have resulted from the negotiations that were to follow.

In July 1910 a five-acre extension to the show grounds was proclaimed by the Government and placed under the control of the Bundaberg Council. Over the period 1909 to 1911 there were debates and disagreements between the Society and the Bundaberg Council, and within

the Council itself, as to ownership of the title to the show ground's lands and to the requirements and maintenance of the ground's structures and other appurtenances. In 1911, the first year in which the show ground's exhibition building became available, the show was held not in the show ground but at the Bundaberg racecourse which was suitably located to accept guests arriving by rail.

THE YEAR OF 1892

As the representative of what had, by then, become one of the most important sugar growing areas in the colony Walter Adams had been continuously and heavily involved in the so-called *"Kanaka Question"*. This was a debate in the colony's political arena which had flared up once again and was to rejuvenate the political activity directed against the hire of Pacific Island labour over the period from 1889 to 1892. This activity resulted in the virtual termination of the supply of finances available to the planters, and to its reliant businesses and industries, given the political antagonism towards Pacific Island labour engagement, the lack of a viable alternative and the consequent depressed state of commerce in the sugar growing districts of Queensland. Early in his career Walter Adams had been a determined opponent of the use of Pacific Island labour. However, his experiences as a planter, white labour's lack of reliability and the industry and honesty of the Melanesian labourers had compelled him to modify his views.

An article in the *Brisbane Courier* described a visit to Bundaberg, on the 19th of February 1892, by the Premier Sir Samuel Griffith and attendant ministers when the use of Islander labour in the sugarcane fields was again a burning issue. Details of this visit are given below:

The Government steamer Lucinda arrived at the Bundaberg wharf shortly before 8 o'clock. The Chief Secretary (Premier) was met by a crowd of up to 1,000 people who gave him some hearty cheers. The Labor Party was in evidence but the demonstration they made was feeble compared to the warmth of the reception generally accorded. A proposal had been made by wire to hold a banquet, but this Sir Samuel Griffith refused, being very weary following his recent long travels. The proceedings therefore took the form of a champagne reception at the *Grand Hotel*, where a large crowd of people had gathered. The Mayor, Mr. John Rowland, presided and, in proposing the health of the Chief Secretary, said that true and self-reliant workers had no better friend than they had in Sir Samuel Griffith. His sympathies had always been with the workers of the colony and he had made democracy a power in the land. At the risk of opprobrium, he had issued his manifesto Note 1 (Loud applause) which had greatly raised the hopes of the residents of Bundaberg and district.

Mr. White, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, read a letter which had been formulated at an influential meeting of that chamber, endorsing the Chief Secretary's manifesto, and expressing a hope that the legislation, legalizing the extension of kanaka labour, would be passed during the coming session. There had been abuses in the past but if the most ardent discipline of *Exeter*

Hall [Note 2] had seen the ceremony on the river bank at Bundaberg the other day, when 100 Islanders were baptized by immersion, the subsequent service being attended by 600 Islanders, he would have been compelled to admit that Queensland was one of the greatest civilizing nations on the face of the earth as, in addition to being taught Christianity, the Islanders had been introduced to the practice of agriculture.

The Chief Secretary's response met with a most cordial reception when he claimed that the more he observed the feeling that existed all over the colony the more he was convinced that he had acted rightly in issuing his manifesto. At the present time there were too many in the colony living upon the few who cultivated the ground and although of late the colony, by the expenditure of loan money, had been able to cut a dash it was time this came to a stop. To borrow more money would only intensify the evil and, therefore, they must turn to agriculture (for wealth creation). They must turn to the lands to produce more, not in the way of actual revenue, but in the products of the soil. There were thousands of acres of coast lands lying idle for want of proper labour and the only thing left was to obtain the labour that was both at hand and willing to come to the colony and which would not interfere with the future political or social welfare of Queensland.

He said of course he would be charged with turning his coat, but he was prepared to answer not only to his detractors but to his own conscience. As the late Sir Anthony Musgrave had remarked, *"Things are what they are, and words will not alter them."* Some people thought they could alter things by electing themselves to the receipt of a £300 a year position, but it was a fallacy that would soon be found out. Wages could not be kept up by artificial means, and therefore they must fall to the level at which the industries on which the country depended could subsist. Sometimes he had been led astray, he admitted, by being too hopeful of bringing about an altered condition of things but now he had to face the inevitable.

In Australia they had arrived at a condition of things when the best men had to consider how to get their house in order, and he felt the greatest confidence that they would meet the difficulty, leaving on one side the old party fights they had seen in the past. He had made mistakes, the greatest of which was in thinking that he was able to bring about a great deal in a limited time. Still he was not too old to learn, and he hoped he would yet learn a great deal. He could not yet say what would be the best time and mode of giving effect to his manifesto as he had not met his colleagues for many months. They, however, approved of the draft of the manifesto and he, as Premier, believed effect would be given to it before the end of the year. (Loud cheering) He believed that it was as absolute a certainty as if it were an already accomplished fact. (Cheers) Whether men had European or Islanders servants was a matter of trifling importance compared with the settling of a large white population on the soil. Messrs. Annear, O'Connell and Adams also spoke and were well received with all of the proceedings taking place in a very enthusiastic atmosphere.

Note 1: Legislation favourable to the re-introduction and/or the extension of the period for Pacific Island labour engagement.

Note 2: *Exeter Hall* was in London, located on the northern side of The Strand, on the site previously occupied by Exeter House, the London residence of the Earls of Exeter. It held two auditoriums *The Freemasons Hall*, having a seating capacity of 1,600, and the main auditorium of capacity 4,000 persons. Meetings of a religious and philanthropic nature were held there and, though legislation banning slavery throughout the British colonies (the *Slavery Abolition Act 1833*) was of long standing, the practice of slavery was still rampart in many non-British territories. The Anti-Slavery Society held meetings in *Exeter Hall*, and in the public's mind, this connection linked the name of Exeter Hall to the anti-slavery lobby group.

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A meeting of the farmers of the Gooburrum, Fairymead and Bingera districts was held on the 11th of March 1892 in the Gooburrum State School. The meeting was held to consider the Chief Secretary's manifesto on the proposed extension of Polynesian (Melanesian) labour with about thirty farmers in attendance. Mr. W. Adams, M.L.A. and Mr. John Rowland, the Mayor of Bundaberg, were also present and, to commence proceedings, Mr. Rowland was voted to the chair. The Chairman declared that the meeting had been called to ascertain the opinions of the settlers as to the extension of Islander labour for another term and that the object of their meeting was to give their support, however feeble, to the present Government in their action in proposing to reintroduce the *Polynesian Labourers Act* and have it remain upon the Statute-book for the following ten years (i.e. to the year 1902). Details of the meeting, commencing with Mr. Rowland's address and as described in the *Courier's* report, follow:

"They had all read the manifesto that the Chief Secretary had issued a few weeks earlier, telling the people of the colony the intention of the Government with regard to the *Act* and there could be no question that the Ministry would stand or fall by it. He took it that it was their duty, as sugar growers, to accord the Government their hearty support and to put that in a practical shape he would move the first resolution, *"That this meeting of sugar-growers cordially approves of the Chief Secretary's manifesto, proposing the extension of kanaka labour for ten years."* The manifesto, he said, was, from beginning to end, a fair, manly and statesman-like declaration of the intention of the Ministry, and he felt sure that when Parliament met a substantial majority of the members would heartily endorse the action.

Confidence would again be restored to the colony, not only with regards to the sugar industry but in all branches of trade, and prosperity would again prevail. They were aware that a short time ago he had engaged in a newspaper controversy with Mr. Angus Gibson on Pacific Island labour, and he held, and still held, that, from the multiplication of small farms such as they had in Gooburrum with a central mill to crush the cane, would come the solution of the labour problem. They had, however, to deal with the subject as it was at present, as it was likely to be for the next few years, and as Sir Samuel W. Griffith and equally conscientious men had dealt with it. The best way to grapple with the matter was undoubtedly the way that was now open to them. He hoped to hear Mr. Adams express himself on the subject. The resolution was then seconded by Mr. D. Mahoney.

Mr. Adams, M.L.A. said he had great pleasure in being present and in hearing the reading of the resolution. They must not anticipate too much, at the present time, but he thought the resolution would meet with the approval of nearly every person in the district. He believed that the labour should not only be available for those who were growing sugar, but also for those who were preparing to do so. The extension of labour meant the extension of industry, and that meant prosperity. They had only to look at the conditions in the district before the interference with Islander labour. The farmers were assisted by the availability of capital and were able to do well for themselves. Some people had said *"Down with capital"* but if there was no capital there was no money to pay labour. Men were walking about the towns idle. In the North works had been stopped and over a thousand men had been thrown out of employment owing both to the want of capital and to a lack of confidence that the estates would be worked in the future. With confidence the money would return and there would be work for those now walking about unemployed. He was glad Sir Samuel W. Griffith had the stamina in him, when he had discovered he had been wrong, to turn round and acknowledge it.

He hoped they would not go long into next session before the extension was an accomplished fact. They would have to be careful in the next general election that men were not returned who would do away with the whole thing. The aim should be to do good for the whole colony. When the planters were prosperous so were the farmers. The farmers could sell their cattle, were engaged in cutting firewood, and had a good market for their maize. What did they get for their maize now? The reason for this was that there was no confidence in the land and so the planters would not extend their cultivations. Brisbane saw now that, as sure as the sugar industry went down, the South would go down also. If they could not grow cane they would grow the produce that was grown on the Downs, and they would flood this market, for they could send produce to Brisbane for 10 shillings per ton by water, when from the Downs by rail it was 25 shillings per ton. It was not only to the interest of the sugar-planters but to the whole colony that the labour should be extended.

In reply to a question from Mr. Aiken, Walter Adams said that he did not believe that the sea passage costs of the Islanders (who had been returned to their islands to meet the provisions recently introduced in the colony's legislation and who were to return to Queensland under the newly proposed extension of Islander labour) should be met by the plantation owners who were to re-engage them. Instead this expense should be met by those plantation owners who were to engage them for their full three years of service.

The Chairman said he did not think the Chief Secretary was wrong in giving white men an opportunity to do the plantation's fieldwork, but they would not tackle it and could not now complain at the lack of opportunity. A resolution was moved by Mr. Tobin, seconded by Mr. J. S. Story and was carried unanimously by the meeting. It declared, *"That the resolution be forwarded to the members for Bundaberg and Mulgrave electorates for presentation to the Chief Secretary."* The chairman having received a vote of thanks, three cheers were given for

the Parliament of Queensland and Mr. Adams, M.L.A."

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Another well attended meeting of farmers, as reported in the press on the 22nd of March 1892, was held in Avondale to consider the *"kanaka labour question"* with Mr. Hugh Fraser in the chair. There were present several who had, until recently, been opposed to Pacific Island labour. Two resolutions were moved and carried unanimously: the first, *"That this meeting cordially approves of the manifesto issued by the Premier extending kanaka labour, under proper restrictions, for a period of ten years,"* was moved by Mr. J. Smith of Maxwelltown seconded by Mr. D. Hull. Then Mr. William Knight of Woodbine, on Yandaran Creek, moved, and Mr. James Clarke of Beenleigh, Kolan, seconded, *"That the foregoing resolution be transmitted to the members for town and district for presentation to the Premier."*

Also on this date the details of a *Bundaberg Mail* reporter's interview with Mr. O'Connell, M.L.A., the member for Musgrave, was published and is outlined below. The interviewer wished to determine Mr. O'Connell's views on the impending Queensland Parliamentary deliberations and their potential to influence the sugar industry's fortunes particularly with regard to the indenture of Pacific Island labour on the local sugar plantations.

Q. As Parliamentary duties will call you South in a few days, Mr. O'Connell, will you kindly favour me with a few opinions on the present crisis in the sugar industry, and what you think will be the decision of the House on the reintroduction of Islander labour?

A. Yes, with pleasure. On this question there will be only one party in the House. The leading men of the Opposition will sink their differences with a view to pull the country out of the difficulties under which we now suffer. We are in a hard corner and cannot waste time quarrelling amongst ourselves while an enemy is at the gates outside.

Q. Are you satisfied the Government will have a majority?

A. Yes, quite satisfied. The feeling of the House, from information I obtained last session when trying to work it up on the question of the sugar industry, was that Sir S. W. Griffith then had nearly two-thirds of a majority. More cohesion has asserted itself since then among members and, I am convinced, there is no fear of the majority being less. Last session, when I returned from England, I felt it was necessary, for the continuance of prosperity to the sugar industry, that Islander labour should be retained and with that view I sounded the advocates of it in the House. The opinion expressed by the majority was decidedly favourable and even the Southern Members had recognized the force and wisdom of the planters' requests. There had (previously) been a great revulsion of feeling among the southern farmers on the employment of Islander labour in the sugar industry.

The planters, they know well, are their best customers for maize, nor must it be overlooked that the planters also make large demands for their (maize consuming) draught horses. At that time, I intimated my intention to bring forward a measure expressing the need for the reintroduction of Islander labour, but I was advised that it would be unwise unless Sir

Samuel Griffith would consent to my doing so. The proposition I wished to make was an indefinite extension of the Act, terminable at any time, by the Government giving twelve months' notice. Recruiting would cease at the end of twelve months from the date of proclamation, the Government having to lay their programme before both Houses for confirmation, and the passage of any consequent motion would require two-thirds of a majority. This would have given a guarantee to capitalists and investors that there would be no cessation of the necessary labour unless a thorough revulsion of public opinion proclaimed against it. Under the present proposition it is quite feasible that, if passed, a majority of one might be sufficient to have it repealed. I have no fear of the Government faltering and am quite convinced they will pull through. I am aware a characteristic opposition may adopt a species of stonewalling and thereby block - purely, simply, and maliciously block – all the business of the House. That, however, I do not think likely. It might have been possible if public opinion had not expressed itself so largely in favour of the planters' requests.

Q. What do you think will be the immediate effect on the country?

A. If you can satisfy investors and capitalists that protection will be assured for the next ten years I believe there will be an immense amount of money immediately expended on improvements and extensions locally. I know of one place a little way from town where, if this provision be assured, an initial expenditure of £100,000 will be made. That is only one place and one sum; there are several others on which smaller sums will be launched.

Q. You have had a very intimate connection with the South Sea Islanders have you not?

A. Yes, I have had an experience extending over ten years, and am thoroughly conversant with the subject. I know what I am talking about. For five years I was inspector and, for a similar period, agent of Islander ships. I think it would not be to the advantage of the Government to take recruiting into their own hands, and I don't think the Government would be able to work recruiting cheaper than it has been done by private enterprise. The great point the Government has to look to is to secure reliable, honest, trustworthy agents. Yes I know that there were many abuses in the past, but you must bear in mind the remuneration offered the men who filled these positions was insufficient to tempt good men to accept such situations and (so) the irregularities are not to be wondered at.

Q. Now, Mr. O'Connell, do you think there is any possibility of dissolution in the near term?

A. The Government, to my thinking, is strong enough to carry the question and retain office; I go further and state as my conviction that, if a general election is forced upon the country, they will be strong enough to come back even then.

Q. Have you a word to say of the stoppage of immigration?

A. Under present circumstances I consider the action of the Government perfectly justifiable. Though there are, I am sorry to say, a large number of unemployed in the colony, I still hope to see Queensland with a larger population than at present, whether they come voluntarily or in response to any inducements we can offer them.

The employment of Italians is not at all likely to solve the question of tropical agriculture in Queensland and I think it would be a bad day for Queensland if we ever got a large influx of Italians or others foreign to our own people. A small number may undoubtedly introduce agricultural pursuits of which we at present know nothing.

Q. Do you anticipate any powerful opposition?

A. From a certain section, the Labor party, there is sure to be pronounced opposition, as well as from a subsection of Sir Samuel Griffith party's following, a subsection who are bitterly dissatisfied with the present Ministry, and whose dissatisfaction springs from disappointment. These last have lately availed themselves of every opportunity to ventilate their opinions and have practically shown their hand, but their efforts are futile as the country is recognizing the gravity of the situation too keenly to be talked over by any party or parties.

Q. As prominence will be given to land-grant railways during the session, what is your opinion regarding them, Mr. O'Connell?

A. Land-grant railways answer the query of railway construction for no expenditure at all, and I am of opinion the benefit to the country from them would be great and lasting. I, for one, think it has been a great pity the Transcontinental Railway was not carried through on the land grant system. The country would have been saved from the heavy depression under which it has been groaning for so long.

Q. One more point and I have done, Mr. O'Connell. Irrigation is likely to come to the forefront of public attention, is it not?

A. Undoubtedly it is, and I am glad to be able to say so. Extensive irrigation works are quite in the near future. [Note 1] There is the Woongarra Scrub where irrigation would mean the redemption of an immense area. Then again there is Gin Gin, Isis, Kolan, &c, all of which, under irrigation, would give the farmer a better chance of livelihood than maize. This district is undoubtedly one of the richest in Queensland and its possibilities have no limit that I am aware of. I speak hopefully because I know it to possess very great natural facilities. It covers a wide area of first-class, rich agricultural land which only requires capital and confidence to provide happy homes for thousands of people.

Note 1: Though correct over the long-term Mr. O'Connell's prediction of the *"near future"* proved to be overly optimistic. A visit by the Governor and senior Queensland Government ministers to inspect Bundaberg's severely drought ravaged cane crops and to reconsider the irrigation issue took place in August 1902. The visit did not appear to have resulted in any promise of government financial support for an irrigation project as proposed for the Woongarra area by the Hon. F. I. Power, Mr. W. G. Farquhar and the Irrigation Committee. An experiment with a shallow hand dug well, conducted at that time by the Qunaba Estate, produced brackish water and another, 45-metre-deep, well dug for Messrs. F. and T. Buss on their *Ashfield* plantation encountered unsolvable problems with a loose, collapsing formation.

A letter, written by the Bundaberg representative of the *Brisbane Courier* published on the 22nd of March 1892 gives a clear picture of the prevailing, depressed economic situation in the Bundaberg district and of the crucial position that the availability of Pacific Island labour held in maintaining the productivity

of the sugar lands. The letter expresses the opinions of a person who would appear to have no reason to hold a bias and, for this reason, it is reproduced in the following paragraphs:

"As this will be my last letter from Bundaberg I propose to make in it, as far as possible, a resume of my observations in the district during the past fortnight. I have written but little concerning the various plantations, because my work has been amongst the farmers rather than the planters, though under the development of present circumstances there is not unlikely to arise some confusion in the term 'planter' and 'farmer.' I have seen enough, however, of the large estates to satisfy me that they are important, not only to the district, but to the colony generally. So far the majority of these estates has been intelligently and economically worked and is, taking one reason with another, returning a fair profit. Some of the estates are lying idle, the proprietors having been victims to the loss of confidence which followed on from the legislation, providing for the stopping of Polynesian (Melanesian) labour, and thousands of pounds worth of machinery has, for some time, been allowed to remain in disuse. The cleared land in those places is already over-run with weeds, and hundreds of white men have lost employment, simply because it was ordained that the Polynesian should have no part in the development of the sugar industry. And, of the estates which are at work still, in the majority of cases the past few years have been times of great care and anxiety. There has been, in great measure, a suspension of improvements and the curtailment of expenditure has been severely felt in the district. In a few cases work has gone on almost without interruption but the enterprising proprietors of the estates concerned state that they had never anticipated a complete stoppage of the Polynesian labour; they knew that the sugar industry was of too much value to the country to be driven to the wall.

To those who, with glib tongue and without any sense of responsibility say, *"If the sugar industry is dependent upon coloured labour for its existence then let it die,"* I can only say, after a fortnight's close observation and inquiry in a sugar district, *"You know not what you say."* This district, even in the present depressed times is, I think, second to no place in the colony for bonafide agricultural development. The whole area from the sea back nearly twenty miles is closely settled and the cane farmer, I venture to say, is to-day the most prosperous man in Queensland. In the agricultural areas where cane is grown the Polynesian is employed, but there are comfortable homes made by the white settlers and there is work for hundreds of white artisans and labourers. The large plantations cover areas which, a few years since, were used as runs for a few head of cattle. *Fairymead*, which a few years since gave employment to a stockman and an aboriginal, now helps some sixty white men to find work all the year round, and the number is greatly increased in the busy season. Over £100,000 has been expended in machinery and buildings and in opening up the land and a good proportion of this sum went into the pockets of Queensland white workers. At *Bingera* where white men on the estate earned over £6,000 in wages alone last year and where the white farmers draw thousands annually in cash for their cane, there was a humpy and a stockman or two. Can any thinking man fail to see the part the industry has played, and with fair treatment is likely still to play, in the prosperity of the country?

During the past few weeks there has been a strong expression of opinion in this district in approval of the manifesto of the Premier which proposes to extend Polynesian labour for ten more years. I have given the views of the farmers in the various districts I visited, as expressed individually, and in assembled meetings. There was a deputation to the Minister for Lands at Woongarra and meetings at Gooburrum, Gin Gin, Bucca Crossing, North Kolan, and Avondale. At each meeting there was a cordial approval of the manifesto, and in all there were only three persons who were at all opposed to it. The farmers are practically unanimous upon the point that, for cane cultivation, they must have the Polynesian labour. They think that, in the course of time, the sugar-grower and the manufacturer will be separate and that there will be no large estates under cane.

The agitation is no less keen in the districts where maize is grown. The farmers who are planting maize have observed the prosperity of their neighbours and are anxious to get mills in their neighbourhood so that they may grow cane. I take it that the opinions and wishes of those farmers are worth respecting. They have, with the assistance of the planters, transformed a wilderness into a flourishing agricultural district, and the cane growers are the best instances I know of the people being successfully put upon the soil. For the benefit of those farmers, who have to toil and pinch from year's end to year's end in the Southern districts, I will give a typical case of the Bundaberg cane grower. Take a selector holding an area of good agricultural land with scrub. He is within fair distance of a sugar-mill. The owner of the mill sends a gang of men to the selector, knocks down and burns out the scrub, plants it with cane, keeps the selector going while the cane is growing, runs a tram siding on to the selection, sends a gang of men to take the crop off, and buys it at such a price that the selector has got his land paid for, cleared, a crop in for four or five years and, in the majority of cases, a nice little cheque to the good. This is, as I said, a typical case. Nearly every successful cane-grower in this district has been liberally helped by the so called 'planters'. The effect has been to place upon the land an independent class of men, hard workers, living in comfort and laying by, year by year, provision for the days when they can work no more.

I have during the past fortnight had plenty of opportunity of judging the treatment of the Polynesians on the plantations and farms in and around Bundaberg. The Polynesians, though in many cases having nice comfortable quarters, prefer the little grass huts which they build themselves, and to which they have been accustomed all their lives. This is but natural, but in some cases it gives rise to the idea that the comfort of the 'boys' is not regarded. This idea is simply absurd in fact, altogether the old cry of ill-treatment or neglect has long since ceased to have justification as far as the planters and farmers are concerned. The Polynesian of today will not put up with injustice, to say nothing of ill-treatment. He wants his 'rights' and if any of them are infringed he will march into town to the Polynesian Inspector.

I have visited many places in this district, large and small, and in no case have I seen the Polynesians otherwise than well fed, well cared for, and a happy contented lot they are. They live well. Their bread is precisely the same as that which the planter eats at his own table. It is made from the leading brands of flour that I

saw in use at Dunn's, Duffield's and Brunton's. The bread was as good as that on the table at the *Imperial*, or the *Gresham*, or at any of the Brisbane hotels. I saw in Toowoomba and Warwick papers recently that sick boys are treated worse than any decent man would treat his horse or his dog. This statement is a libel on our common humanity. Is the sugar planter an ogre, a careless brute, without an atom of manliness in his constitution? On the contrary, the majority consists of kind, considerate men, and many of whom with their families are doing noble work in Christianizing the 'boys'. On every plantation there is an earnest group of Polynesians who have taken their places in the ranks of Christianity and, increasing in number, these worshippers assemble every evening to read the Bible and to pray. At *Fairymead* the good work started by Miss Young, [Note 1] who is at present a missionary in China, continues and the evening services there in the schoolroom would astonish some who think the Polynesian neglected.

The death rate of the Pacific Islanders in Queensland is higher than that of whites, but it is not higher than in the South Sea Islands. The Islander in Queensland at first will find food and clothing disagree with him, and a few do not have good health, but after a time they become accustomed to the change and the death rate amongst the 'old boys' is less than in their own land. It is satisfactory to know that their death rate is not increased by their residence in Queensland. On the islands, phthisis, other forms of disease and tribal wars make up a bill of mortality which has provoked a good deal of consideration. My own opinion is that the general body of Polynesians who come to Queensland leave the country better men in every respect. Their own anxiety to come back again after a brief stay in the islands is a strong answer to those who libel their country with baseless stories of cruelty, and neglect. And many of the 'boys' re-engage when their terms of service have expired. Would they do so if they had hard taskmasters or if they were badly used?

During my journeying in this district I have been frequently asked by farmers how it is that the Southern farmer is in many cases opposed to coloured labour. My reply has been that only a proportion of the Southern agriculturists are opposed to the extension of Island labour and that, in some cases, the opposition is a matter of conscience and in others that the Southern men fancy that they would be at a disadvantage if their Northern brethren could employ Polynesians. The matter of conscience the farmers here can understand, for they have heard the silly tales which have been told of late as to the Polynesian death rate and the cruelty of his employers, but they fail to grasp the feeling of the Southern farmer who opposes the coloured labour from motives of self-interest. This district is without doubt one of the finest maize growing areas in Australia, and the cheap steamer freights will enable the grower here to beat the (Darling) Downs farmer not only out of the North but out of Brisbane also.

As Mr. Adams, M.L.A. said, at a recent meeting, the Bundaberg farmers could flood the Brisbane market with produce if they were not growing cane. Now what I wish to point out to the Southern farmers, especially in this matter, is that every additional acre of land put under cane here makes a consumer of maize instead of a producer. What is the experience in the Isis Scrub? This year the farmers there have

flooded the market with maize but, if the labour extension is granted, their broad acres will next year be under cane. The same remarks apply to the North generally. And maize is not the only item to be considered. A passing thought may also be given to potatoes, pumpkins, and other products. It is only here on the spot that one can fully realize what the prosperity of the sugar industry means to the Southern farmers."

Note 1: Miss Florence Young was later to help relocate those Pacific Island farm workers, who did not wish to return to their native islands, from the Bundaberg area to a Church of England mission on the southern side Moa Island in Torres Strait. Moa is the largest island in the Strait, and its availability for settlement was said to be the result of the removal of its previous inhabitants following a period of tribal warfare. Being relatively large and rugged in topography Moa would have been a difficult island to defend.

During the speculative boom in the property market of the 1880's Australia's commercial banks had lent heavily. In the days of separate colonies there was no central bank to oversee their operations and there were few legal restrictions on their operations. Consequently, by the commencement of 1892, two of these banks had either temporarily or permanently closed their doors.This activity was to peak over the 1892-3 period during which a further fifteen Australian banks followed suit which had the unavoidable effect of increasing the fragility of the Lower Burnett region's economy. Institutions that temporarily or permanently closed their doors during this financial crisis included: the *Commercial Banking Company of Sydney*, the *Australian Joint Stock Bank* and the *National Bank of Queensland*.

On the 21st of March 1892 Walter Adams, M.L.A. addressed a crowded hall in Bundaberg and received a rather hostile reception from an unruly assembly which caused frequent interruptions. When asked if he was if favour of extending the use of Islander labour without first appealing to the country Mr. Adams said that he would support the extension and also that he favoured placing the matter before the country prior to the Parliamentary consideration as otherwise the next Parliament might just overthrow any decision made. He thought that *"There would be no confidence until it had been before the country."*

At the close a vote of confidence in Mr. Adams was proposed with the mayor, Mr. John Rowland, saying that he feared it would be difficult to count hands on the proposal, and upon any counter-proposal, but if the meeting divided, one side to the right the other to the left, this difficulty might be overcome. This suggestion encountered much hooting and hissing, and the mayor then said that he would endeavour to count hands instead but that he would first take a vote as to whether they should divide. A majority was against the division.

Next a proposal was put to have a division upon an amendment re a vote of no confidence but only a small number raised their hands, and no reckoning was taken of the fifty or sixty gentlemen on the platform. Amid cries of *boycott* and *victimizing* the mayor maintained that he was still of the belief that it would be better to divide the meeting and requested them to clarify their reasons for objecting. On not receiving this clarification the mayor then repeated his offer that, if the meeting would divide, he would endeavour to count the results.

However, by this time the meeting was breaking up and Mr. Adams thanked those attending for the hearing that they had accorded him but then went on to declare that he was ashamed of their want of British fair-play and assured them that, if he was not wanted by the people of Bundaberg at the next general election, he would be quite happy to remain at his home. It would seem to be obvious that the early pioneering days of civil co-operation were coming to an end. Following this disappointing town meeting Walter was to stick by his guns and, in his last Queensland Parliamentary sitting in April 1892, when contributing to the debate on the *Pacific Island Labourers (Extension) Bill*, was to declare to the floor - as reported in *BUNDABERG history and people* by Janet Nolan: *"… following the sugar came … many comforts, and the means for educating the children. The owner of the selection became an employer of labour, and is now beginning to provide for the rainy day … . One can hardly wonder that as a man gets land of his own worth cultivating, and near a sugar mill, his objection to Island labour very much disappears."*

The Act itself, as introduced under the Sir Samuel Griffith government, had the effect of extending the legal employment of Melanesian field labour for an additional ten years.

It is a matter of some relevance that, within one year of the creation of the Australian Federation, on the 1st of January 1901, the sugar industry was to apply for, and to receive, tariff protection as legislated by the Commonwealth Government in October 1901. The sugar industry, at this time, was also being impacted by a debate on the repatriation of Islanders that was intertwined with the debate on a white Australia policy. It was also exposed to the early effects of the mechanization that was beginning to be introduced in the cane fields.

Between 1906 and 1908 the Australian Government, under the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901* together with its 1906 amendment, repatriated most of the Melanesian field workers to their islands of origin though a significant number, approximately 2,500 or 25% of the Islanders then present in Australia, were to remain in Queensland on various grounds such as having been married to an Australian citizen or upon other grounds including resettlement as previously mentioned.



Fairymead's First Baldwin Steam Locomotive.

Photograph from the Bundaberg News Mail

Note: This was the first steam locomotive to haul sugar cane in the Bundaberg district. It was one of three locomotives in use at Fairymead from the early 1890's to the mid 1950's. It has been restored by the Thirlmere workshops of the NSW Rail Transport Museum.



The Burnett River Bridges – Circa 1900. With the railway bridge in the foreground.

Picture from Picture Bundaberg





Top: Gayndah's Drapery. Lower: General Store and Restaurant in the 1880's.

Photographs from the John Oxley Library





Top: The Main Street of Gympie in 1868. Lower: 1869 Shop Fronts.

From Gympie Regional Libraries



A View of Mount Perry in the 1890s.

John Oxley Library



Heusman Street Mount Perry in the Gaslight Era.

Photo: Miss. K. Bennett - The Moore and Bennett photographs. Copied from "PERRY'S PAST" (1998 reprint) by M. Royle



Mount Perry Hotel in 1871

Photograph by C. H. Moore



Mullins's Mount Perry Store 1871-2

Photograph by C. H. Moore









European Farm Workers in the Woongarra – Shortly after repatriation of Pacific Island farm workers

From the Jorgensen family collection





The Adams Hotel - A Comparison

Top: shortly after construction in 1873. **Lower:** shortly before its demolition to allow for the construction of the new Metropolitan Hotel in 1884-1885.

Note: The street lighting, kerbing and new building in the background.

Epilogue



By 1892 sugar plantings in the lower Burnett had extended well beyond the pioneering area of the Woongarra Scrub and the planting of maize was largely abandoned as the farmers considered that they were much better off growing sugarcane crops. The 1891 season had been an unfavourable one for the sugarcane harvest, owing to a rainfall deficiency, and the 1892 season was also to experience a further deficiency, though of a lesser extent. Despite this, the farmers in the Gooburrum, Fairymead and Bingera districts were convinced that there was a substantial financial advantage to be acquired by cultivating sugarcane, rather than maize, notwithstanding the fluctuations in Government policy.

Contemporary reports of 1892 indicate that, though the cane producing areas of *Fairymead* and *Bingera* were well established, the Gooburrum district, even though it had been settled for many years, was only then experiencing the conversion into a sugarcane growing area. The prime agricultural lands under cultivation in Gooburrum had originally been covered with scrub and this had created a fertile topsoil. All cane grown in the district during the then current year's season had been purchased by the *Fairymead Mill* which had provided the growers with an advance of one shilling per ton for the season's crop. As it had been estimated that there were then 1,500 acres under cane in the Gooburrum, this advance would have provided a very significant boost to that district's economy. From the *Fairymead Mill* the cane's tramlines through the Gooburrum district extended for about five miles. The tram track was of a two-foot (600 mm.) gauge, and the trucks were drawn by a small but powerful

steam locomotive fabricated by the *Baldwin Locomotive Works* of Philadelphia, U. S. A. in 1889. The issue of the Chief Secretary's (i.e. Premier's) manifesto had encouraged the *Fairymead* management to request of the Kolan farmers that they cultivate a seasonal supply of 20,000 tons of sugarcane for delivery to their mill. To access this additional supply a branch line had been constructed from the mill's terminus to connect with the Bundaberg to Gladstone Railway Line.

At *Avondale*, following the proposed extension of the Pacific Island labour force's engagement, Messrs. Johnston and Brown's firm had completed the planting of 200 acres of sugarcane on their leased block. Mr. Johnston had recently sold three newly developed farms, and it was intended to put a large portion of their estate under sugarcane during the following twelve months. The 20,000 tons of cane stalks per annum harvested in this district were transported over ten miles of Government railway with this transportation providing a considerable revenue boost to the Queensland Railway Department. From the railway wagons the sugarcane was lifted, in large bundles, onto the *Fairymead* flattops for direct transportation to the mill. Excluding the transportation provided by the Government railway department, the entire cane delivery infrastructure described above had been both funded and constructed by private enterprise.

In 1892 *Fairymead* was regarded as being one of the finest agricultural estates in the country with the design of its integrated sugar production system, from the fields to the wharf, being one of considerable sophistication. Being close to midway between North Bundaberg and the Burnett River's mouth its location gave the *Fairymead* mill ready access to river transport. Aside from the mill itself, the *Fairymead* complex was as large as many rural villages when the cottages of the overseers and artisans together with the stores, offices and the huts of the Pacific Islanders were included in the comparison. The homestead, together with its private grounds, was excellently designed and the layout of the cane fields exhibited the considerable amount of care that had been taken both in their design and management.

Even in the off season there were between fifty and sixty white men employed on the estate as well as a small army of Pacific Islanders, the Messrs. Young having provided, as far as possible, against the termination of Melanesian labour. The wages of the white workers ranged from £1 per week upwards. A contemporary analysis of the financial returns undertaken by the *Fairymead* management, had shown that, of the wages paid by the estate to whites and Islanders over the previous ten years, the whites had received 70% and the Islanders 30% of total wages when general expenditure was excluded. The general expenditure covered the Melanesian farm workers' passage costs and their upkeep inclusive of rations, accommodation and clothing allowance over the full year including the 'off season' period when there was little work for the farm's labour-force.



On the 4th of May 1892 Walter Adams, accompanied by his wife Mary, travelled to Sydney to obtain expert medical advice on the treatment of Walter's serious condition and it was here that he was to die eleven days later, on

the 15th of May. Walter's remains were returned to Bundaberg by rail transport for burial, his funeral being held on the 21st of May 1892.

The funeral took place on a day of very heavy rainfall. The long list of personal friends consisted of representatives from every rank, profession, trade and calling from in and around Bundaberg, including those of humble backgrounds, with many others coming from regional districts far upland and even from as far away as Brisbane. Clergymen of all denominations were present. The district's professions and businesses all had representatives in attendance, some in buggies of which there were at least 132, whilst others in the cortege were in hansom cabs, on horseback, or on foot. Hundreds had lined the streets through which the procession, which had a length of four town blocks, was to pass and as it proceeded along Bourbon Street from the *Club Hotel* those under the main street's verandas uncovered their heads as the hearse passed. Business in the streets through which the cortege passed were entirely suspended and Bourbon Street presented an array of shuttered windows and closed doors. Following the burial at the Catholic Cemetery the large assemblage, by far the largest and most representative ever brought together in Bundaberg, dispersed.

In recognition of Walter's passing the following tribute was proposed and passed at a meeting of the *Bundaberg Chamber of Commerce* for presentation to the newly widowed Mary Adams, the president having moved a vote of condolence which was seconded by Mr. M. Duffy and carried unanimously by the chamber:

> *"Ever an active man in the interests of the town, Mr. Adams was at the inception of the chamber in 1882 and was its first president. All present must feel deeply that the chamber had sustained a great loss. Of the value put on Mr. Adams's services no better proof could have been given by his townsmen than by his election to Parliament and, when in Parliament, he kept up a close and unfailing communication with the Chamber in all matters that might in the slightest degree affect the general interests of the town or district. He was a marked friend of the poor of Bundaberg, and of him it might truthfully be said he was one of Nature's gentlemen who knew how to do a good act without proclaiming it abroad. Many a £5 had he quietly given away, and his kindly assistance would be sadly missed by many."*

The account of Walter's career, published in the *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* of the 16th of May 1892 following the news of his death, and reproduced in *The Brisbane Courier* of the following day, gave a summary of Walter's career as obtained from the former paper's copy of *The History of Queensland*. A reproduction of this summary follows:

> *"Walter Adams, J.P., M.L.A., Sommerville House, George-street, is the proprietor of the Summerville plantation. He is a thoroughly representative man, both on account of his long residence in the district and his prominence as a public man. Born in Yeovil, Somersetshire in 1830 he received his education at Somerton and accepted a position in an extensive machinery factory owned by his cousin. In 1849 he arrived in Australia and made his first essay in colonial business life with no success. He was compelled to enter the employ of a blacksmith eighteen months later and, on settling in Maryborough in Queensland, accepted a like position. Soon*

after this he established a business which he conducted for seven years, at the end of which time he purchased land and became a farmer. Nine years later he commenced business as a contractor, and for two years carried on business in this line. In 1871 he settled on the Burnett and selected land, continuing his occupation of a contractor, combined with hotel keeping, and constructed the first Government bridge in this district, also the first piece of road work. He laid the first telegraph line from the township to Burnett Heads, and in many ways made himself the pioneer in the foundation of a thriving settlement.

Realizing how important Bundaberg would become, he sold the whole of his Maryborough property, and invested the proceeds in local lands, which have returned him the profit due to his foresight. Mr. Adams was one of the first members of the Progress Committee and held his seat for many years. He was elected an alderman at the municipal election in June 1881 and filled two consecutive terms as mayor. He was re-elected on every subsequent occasion to the council but was finally compelled to resign owing to his election as member for the district. He was at one time an alderman of Maryborough and Chairman of Works, resigning this position only on leaving the district. He was gazetted a J.P. in 1886 and on contesting the electorate of Mulgrave on the retirement of Sir Thomas McIlwraith in the same year was returned as a Conservative member by defeating the Liberal candidate, Mr. J. C. Walker. He was re-elected in 1888 without opposition, since which time he has filled his seat in the Legislature. He has filled the position of president of the School of Arts Committee and was for many years a member of the Hospital Committee and vice-president of that institution. He it was who was instrumental in founding this and many other public affairs."

In his last will Walter Adams bequeathed to his wife Mary his complete estate apart from moneys secured upon real estate mortgages. Freehold properties that were held by Walter at his death, including the *Metropolitan Hotel* and his private residence *Sommerville House* at 118 George Street, were to be administered on trust for Mary to receive rents, profits and residence during her lifetime. On Mary's death they were to fall into, and form part of, the Adams's residuary estate.

Mary Adams was to survive her husband by almost twelve years and died on the 26th of February 1904. She was buried next to Walter in the family's plot in the Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery.

It seems appropriate to conclude with opinions of Walter Adams as expressed by peers and contemporaries.

The *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* of Monday, the 16th of May 1892 stated:

"We but re-echo the general sentiment of both town and district that only with difficulty will the community be able to find another man of equal qualities and attractiveness of character to replace him who has fallen in his 62nd year. Ever zealous for the welfare of the town and people he represented, the many institutions that now embellish our social life in Bundaberg, and in the establishment and development of which he was the foremost worker, are lasting reminders to us of him who is no more. Respected by those of equal status in life, he was no less revered by

many of humbler ranks - and among these are many who in silence received from his kindly hand and will sadly miss his unremitting ministrations."

The following is a description of Walter, as included in the Almanac of Mr. Theopilus Parsons Pugh, a man of Walter's time, the fourth Police Magistrate to be appointed to Bundaberg, and who was described by Mr. J, Y. Walker in his *HISTORY OF BUNDABERG*, published in 1890, as *"… one of the oldest pioneers of Queensland, a gentleman of light and learning and the original author and compiler of Pugh's Almanac."* Included in the entry on *Men of the Time* from *PUGH'S ALMANAC* of 1892 – was the following:

"ADAMS Walter, M.L.A., was born at Yeovil, Somersetshire, England, in 1830. He was educated at a private school at Somerton, near the place of his birth. He arrived in Sydney in September 1849, and in 1853 left for Wide Bay, and remained in Maryborough until 1872, for some years holding an aldermanic seat in the Council for that town, being also chairman of the Works Committee. Mr. Adams, in 1872, left Maryborough for Bundaberg, where he took a lively interest in all the affairs of the district. President of the School of Arts for five years, also of the Hospital, and took energetic steps for the establishment of the first Primary school. At the first Municipal election he was elected alderman and has since been twice mayor of that town. In July 1886, on the retirement of Sir Thomas McIlwraith, Mr. Adams contested the seat for Mulgrave, the electoral district in which Bundaberg is situated, and was returned by a considerable majority."

And, in a tribute to both Walter and to Bundaberg itself, the Almanac was to declare that Walter had *"made himself the pioneer in the foundation of a thriving settlement."*



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Queenslander – The;

Queensland Figaro;

Queensland Figaro and Punch;

Telegraph – The; and

Inclusive of articles from the:

Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail;

Bundaberg Star and Burnett Times;

Tribune – also Bundaberg Weekly Tribune, Bundaberg Tribune and Weekly Tribune.

APPENDIX 1

The following is a listing of the colonial Queensland premiers, over the period 1859 to 1893. There are occasions when a Member of the House is described as an adherent to a party led by the acting premier, or the shadow premier, of the time. This can render the following table useful in some situations. Note that from April 1886 the description 'Chief Secretary' applied to the position of Premier.

Period	**Premier & Affiliation**
10/12/1859 - 01/02/1866	Robert Herbert – Conservative
01/02/1866 - 20/07/1866	Arthur Macalister – N/A
20/07/1866 - 07/08/1866	Robert Herbert – Conservative
07/08/1866 - 15/08/1867	Arthur Macalister – N/A
15/08/1867 - 25/11/1868	Robert Mackenzie – Conservative
25/11/1868 - 02/05/1870	Charles Lilley – Liberal
03/05/1870 - 07/01/1874	Arthur Hunter Palmer – Conservative
08/01/1874 - 05/06/1876	Arthur Macalister C.M.G. – Liberal
05/06/1876 - 08/03/1877	George Thorn – Liberal
08/03/1877 - 21/01/1879	John Douglas C.M.G. – Liberal
21/01/1879 - 13/11/1883	Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith K.C.M.G. – Conservative
13/11/1883 - 13/06/1888	Sir Samuel Griffith K.C.M.G., QC. – Liberal
13/06/1888 - 30/11/1888	Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith K.C.M.G. – Conservative
30/11/1888 - 12/08/1890	Boyd Dunlop Morehead – Conservative
12/08/1890 - 27/03/1893	Sir Samuel Griffith K.C.M.G., Q.C. – Ministerialist – See Chapter 12.
27/03/1893 - 27/10/1893	Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith K.C.M.G. – Conservative.

APPENDIX 2

The Tooth Designed Sugar Mill Machinery at *Yengarie*

(The Prototype for the Millaquin Mill)

The following details provide an edited version of a report contained in the *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* of the 18th of November 1869:

At its inauguration, and by the standards of the day, the crowded and complicated *Yengarie* mill machinery appeared to be of enormous proportions and was serviced by punts that delivered cane to the wharf from which it was moved by a cable driven tramway up to the factory. The crushing rollers were then fed by a table of boards attached to an endless chain onto which the cane was deposited from the tramway. The megass was collected from the sides of the rollers by similar tables and delivered to tramway mounted trucks for removal from the plant. The juice from the crushing poured into a lower tank and was then lifted, by a positive-displacement pump, into four raised, open urn-shaped iron boilers located near the mill's roof that were heated by steam. On being raised to boiling point for the clarification process the juice was then drawn off into open, shallow tanks called subsiders and from there it descended into a large collector for delivery to the evaporator.

It was here that Mr. Tooth's patent equipment came into operation. His evaporator was shaped like a tubular boiler placed on its end and was about fifteen feet high by six feet in diameter. To the one side of this were the air-pumps and condensers, and on the opposite side was the heater which consisted of a tube about seven feet high and one foot in diameter, through which the juice was carried by means of a force (positive displacement piston) pump and connecting pipe. The pipe ended at a distributor shaped like a huge watering-can rose. The face of this had over 2,000 perforations from which the juice descended in a shower on to the floor of the evaporator. It is then pumped from the evaporator's base, forced through the heater and rained down again until, by means of constant testing, the consistence of the juice was found to be such as to indicate an adequate degree of evaporation.

The juice in the tube through which it passed was heated by injected steam into the surrounding small pipes and the heated juice was then boiled, in a partial vacuum, at about 160°F. The juice, now converted into a syrup, was collected from the base of the evaporator and drawn off into a reservoir from which it flowed into an ordinary vacuum pan, where the crystallization took place. The mingled mass of syrup and wet sugar was then run off into coolers and passed through the same type of centrifuges as were utilized in the conventional milling process to separate the granulated

sugar from the syrup. In passing through the centrifuges a little water was sprinkled on the sugar to coat the sides of the swiftly revolving cage, thus assisting the cleansing and de-colouring of the sugar. The separated syrup was then returned to the heater to mingle with the fresh juice and to undergo repetitions of the whole process until the sugar was completely extracted. A large quantity of water was needed to provide both the steam and the cooling water that was necessary to drive the mill's machinery so that a force pump, located close to the creek and powered by a steam engine of 10 horse power, was utilized to deliver water to the factory. The large volume of water passing through the condensers was evidenced by the stream of hot water being returned to the creek. Some of the heat contained in the residual steam was recycled for use in the clarifiers to heat the juice in the evaporator, the vacuum pans and other equipment.

The total amount of power employed by the mill was equal to about 100 horsepower (HP). Overall, the 100 HP motive power was employed in drawing the cane trucks from the punts to the mill, in lifting water from the creek, in crushing the cane, forcing the juice to the top of the building, heating, exhausting the large evaporator, forcing the juice through the heater, exhausting the vacuum pan and giving motion to the centrifugal machines.

At the factory's inauguration the clarifying and subsiding operations were carried on in the open air and, although only taking half an hour in all, Mr. Tooth considered this to be so detrimental that he intended, in the following year, to install a process by which the juice, from the moment it leaves the crushed cane until it is converted into sugar, will be protected from the atmosphere. The juice extracted from the crushing would then be fully isolated from the atmosphere until it was delivered as sugar at the conclusion of the treatment process with the moisture having been removed as steam.

Elsewhere on the site there was a substantial sugar refinery in the course of erection and the large iron retorts needed for the manufacture of the animal charcoal used in the refining process were then on their way for delivery to *Yengarie*. This would provide Messrs. Tooth and Cran with the ability to greatly extend the factory's period of operation. It was proposed that the steam power, that would become available at the conclusion of the mill's crushing season, could be employed in the manufacture of meat extract and in other subsidiary industries.

APPENDIX 3

Results of The New Bundaberg and Barolin Marine Auction

Held in the Victoria Hall on 14th February 1883

Notes:

(a) Owing to some lack of clarity in the published data there is room for minor errors in the following listing.

(b) Below are listed the number of lots purchased, the names of the buyers, and the amounts of their respective purchases. The list of purchasers includes some local businessmen.

(c) The following records indicate that the average cost of the New Bundaberg and Barolin Marine allotments in their unimproved condition was approximately 8¼% of the cost of a typical Bundaberg allotment within the developed area of the existing township.

New Bundaberg – 166 Lots – Total Sales, £3,679 10s.

21, Whittall, £354; 20, D. B. Hunter, £620; 5, W. G. Farquhar, £121; 1, J. Cherry, £25; 2, A. Cook, £33 10s.; 4, J. Green (Melbourne), £94; 2, H. Partridge (Sydney), £58; 2, F. T. Byrne (Brisbane), £48; 17, E. Scott, £394; 9, P. Brennan, £254; 5, C. P. Morgan, £145; 1, J. Roddam, £31; 2, J. Francis, £31; 9, Mrs. P. Ramsay, £261 10s.; 8, G. Lindhert, £202; 1, E. E. Negus, £20; 4, Hon. J. Douglas, £84; 2, Crowe, £24; 1, Lanske, £11; 3, A. P. Barton, £32; 2, E. G. Porter, £48; 2, C. Boch, £31; 2, H. Shuttleworth, £40; 1, H. Corser, £16; 1, Anders Anderson, £20; 1, H. Harris, £21; 1, Thulo £11; 2, T. Morton, £37 10s.; 1, J. Cuss, £16; 1, M. Jensen, £5; 1, M. Nelson, £5; 1, H. Fletcher, £11; 1, C. Dandilands, £6; 3, C. Powers, £81; 1, Maroney, £6; 2, J. S. Meiklejohn, £31; 4, V. Power (Brisbane), £100; 2, Walters, £32; 8, Dr. May, £212; 4, H, C. Thorburn, £80; 2, Geo. Conroy, £24; 1, J. Falconer, £25; 3, E. B. C. Corser, £75.

Barolin Marine Township – 66 Lots - Total Sales, £1,011 10s.

12, Shand, £234; 1, H. Shuttleworth, £20; 2, W. E. Curtis, £34; 1, Barton, £25; 4, Dr. May, £85; 1, T. Morton, £21; 1, Whittall, £18; 1, E. Collemen, £15; 3, A. Anderson, £70; 1, G. Singer, £10; 1, J. Roddam, £8; 2, J. R. Woodall, £19 10s.; 1, M'Kcndall, £12; 2, M. Langdridge, £20 10s.; 1, Simpson, £10; 2, Buckback, £14; 4, Geo. Ruddell, £36; 2, Jas. Callier, £16; 1, T. Isambert, £20; 3, John Hebbels, £24; 20, D. B. Hunter, £300.

Barolin Blocks – 2 Lots - Total Sales, £2,950.

360 acres, A. P. Barton, £2,250; 100 acres, A. P. Barton, £700.

Grand Total - All Sales, £7,641 – (At 1883 currency values).



Showing the Location of Summerville Plantation Relative to the New Bundaberg (River Frontage) and Barolin Marine (Ocean Frontage) Subdivisions

APPENDIX 4

Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith's campaign speech as delivered in Bundaberg's *Victoria Hall* on Tuesday, 7th August 1883

This speech, that was delivered to launch Sir Thomas's campaign for the coming election was very lengthy and, consequently, only a listing of the leading points raised in the speech has been given below, not the full text of the speech itself.

The Opening Remarks:

The dissolution of Parliament that had recently taken place;

The depressed state of the colony on his Government's election in 1875 and the following two years of relief works undertaken to create employment;

The prosperity in the colony following his party's election that had not been surpassed at any previous time;

That any credit available for the colony to borrow from the English money market was very limited;

That any increase in the colony's population increased the potential to raise funds on the money markets.

On the Land-grant Railways:

A reference to the *Railway Companies Preliminary Bill of 1880*;

The potential to develop many thousands of miles of railways in the colony's interior;

That the Government railroads were run at a loss to the State;

That the Government was not in a financial position to construct railways throughout the unsettled districts of the State's interior;

The Government's offer of land bonuses to induce capitalists to construct the railways through the interior, and for these financiers to retain and maintain them when constructed;

His concern at the amount of ignorance prevailing throughout the Queensland colony concerning his government's Railway Bill;

The lack of confidence of the House in his negotiations related to Transcontinental Railway agreement; and

He felt that he still maintained the support that he had attracted in the past as public confidence was at the same level as in 1878.

The Colony's Current Financial Position:

That the Government could do no more than to construct those railways that had been already promised;

That the public would demand of Parliament at least eight other railway routes during the next five years;

His was willing to carry on railway construction with borrowed money provided that the money could be borrowed at the current rate of interest;

The Government's need for additional borrowing powers if it were to raise further funds;

That the offering of land grant rewards to constructors presented an excellent means of acquiring the required railways;

That railway construction would benefit the Mulgrave electorate as it would give Bundaberg access to its hinterland's produce;

That the Opposition had reversed its prior acceptance of his government's policy of land-grant railways construction;

Those opposing his land-grants bill were the owners of large estates who resented their inability to incorporate the land granted to the railway constructors into their own estates;

The Opposition, though previously agreeing with the land-grant principle, voted against the Railway Bill when they perceived that there were enough Government members who were willing to cross the floor for them to defeat the proposed legislation;

He felt he was on firmer ground than ever and therefore had the confidence to introduce legislation on the land-grant principle;

He raised the question as to what alternative was available to replace the land-grant principle; and

He knew it was impossible for the colony, at the rate of increase in population to which the Parliament was presently committed or even if the present population was quadrupled, to borrow enough money for the country's development.

On the Railway Guarantee Principle:

If it became impossible to borrow public works money then railways could only be constructed on the guarantee principle;

That the guarantee principle had proved to be more of a failure in practice than had any other principle;

That there was no place where the guarantee principle was utilized except in the Argentine Republic and to a small extent in Peru;

That in India the guarantee railway construction had been discarded many years ago, and he was sure that no other colony would adopt this railway construction principle;

If it came about that there could be no more borrowings at 4% per annum the interest rate was most likely to rise to 7% per annum as in South America;

The mismanagement of the Government railways had been largely due to interference by the public and non-official persons; and

That officials had assisted friends to receive staff appointments, and too often the railways had been operated for the benefit of officials, rather than for the benefit of the railway system itself.

Kanaka, Coolie and Other Labour:

There was no need for kanakas to be employed in the interior of the colony as there were plenty of white labourers willing to work there;

That in 1878 a Kanaka Bill was reintroduced by the previous government because they wished to put coloured labour of any description out of the colony, and yet they were never prepared to embody any clause to that effect in their bill;

The sugar industry was making a promising restart, even though it had previously been regarded as a pathway to certain ruin;

The Government of the day should have taken an honest and distinct course - had they intended not to continue with kanaka labour then this should have been included in their legislation to deter settlers from investing capital in a profitless industry;

The previous Government had drafted a clause which would, if implemented, have put an end to kanaka labour within three years, but the debate had been adjourned on the first night to give the Government time to draft an amendment. Since then there had been no amendment and no further action;

When M'Ilwraith's party was in Opposition, the Government in power received a request to bring in a bill either to regulate or to abolition kanaka labour; the then government chose abolition;

M'Ilwraith's government had introduced a bill and, despite all the odium cast upon his government, it had framed the present Act which regulated kanaka employment;

The planters knew the party that consistently pretended to bring in a bill to terminate kanaka labour was insincere in its claims;

The planters had continued to develop their plantations, and to render them both profitable and growth promoting - to such an extent that the working men had obtained confidence in the benefits provided to them by these plantations;

That it was not a time to attempt to abolish kanaka labour when all colony constituencies believed in its benefits;

His Government had no connection with the fiasco resulting from the landing of the Ceylonese coolies in Bundaberg;

That the first intimation that his government had of this incident was when the ship reached the coast and, on being advised of its presence, he found it hard to believe that it could have occurred;

His knowledge of Ceylon did not allow him to think that men could have so little judgment as to apply there for working labourers;

A telegram from the Indian Government, asking if the transportation had the Government's sanction or knowledge and whether provision had been made for the care of the men transported, was the first official intimation the Government had of the coolies' recruitment;

His reply had been that the coolies' transportation had not occurred with either the sanction or the knowledge of the Government and if coolies were to arrive in the colony then they must arrive under the same conditions as applied to all other settlers;

That most of the colony's seaboard, and some distance inland, needed kanaka labour for successful agricultural production;

He considered that the idea of coolie or kanaka labour being in competition with the colony's white labour force was ridiculous;

The proposition that, if availability of kanaka labour was to be terminated, Bundaberg's economy may prove to be sustainable but Maryborough and Brisbane would have an economic collapse;

His position was that any fresh labour obtained must not be allowed to interfere with the population balance of the colony;

His thoughts on a Mr. Rutledge (see below) who claimed that the panacea for the country was the introduction of German and Italian migrants in such numbers that they would have to work for 5 shillings a week were that, though the Premier believed in immigration, his government would not introduce colonists merely to depreciate the wages of the colony's working men;

He advocated immigration not because it would lower wages but because, when labour was plentiful, men with capital utilized it more and this increased the amount of wages the capital paid which in turn helped to develop the resources of the colony; and

His opinion was that the use of kanaka labour by the sugar planters did not interfere with the labour balance of the colony in any adverse way but had helped to increase the colony's overall employment and wages position.

Past Legislation:

That he took pride when looking back over the legislation passed during his party's tenure;

His acknowledgment it may have appeared to others that his Government's approach had been tyrannical and high handed;

That, in those situations where he had received the most criticism for his actions, it was later acknowledged that these actions had been justified;

That he had received abuse for trying to bring the colony into direct communication with the home country;

That the monopoly in the sea traffic arrangements between the home country and Australia had, in the past, acted in favour of the other colonies and to the detriment of Queensland;

That there was general acknowledgment as to the increased prosperity in the coastal towns when the established merchants could deal directly with England;

That the ability to deal directly with England had been achieved by his determined stand in subsidizing a mail company to initiate direct traffic between the home country and the colonies;

That Queensland was the only colony that had a four-penny rate for half ounce letters sent in bulk consignments, giving Queensland postage a considerable advantage over that of Sydney and Melbourne.

APPENDIX 5

A list of the Queensland Exhibits assembled for London's *Indian and Colonial Exhibition* of May 1886 as detailed in the Brisbane Courier of 22nd December 1885

The only specimen of machinery in the display was a quartz-crushing device which was manufactured for the Queensland Government by Messrs. John Walker and Sons of Maryborough. It was intended that its inclusion would serve to direct attention to the colony's mineral specimens which could, in turn, assist in conveying to the British viewers some idea of the potential for the development of the great mines whose resources still lay undiscovered in Queensland.

Specimens from the Hodgkinson goldfield obtained by the Commissioners' appointee, Mr. Clarke, comprised nearly 2,000 specimens of ore and he had also obtained representative collections from the Palmer and Herberton districts. The Ravenswood, Peak Downs, Crocodile, and Norton fields were also represented in the display as was Mr. Clarke's ore collections from Charters Towers and Tinaroo with some of the Charters Towers samples being remarkably rich in mineral. Samples typical of the mineral resources of the Stanthorpe and Gladstone districts were supplied by local committees.

Privately provided samples of minerals for exhibit included:

Copper ores and other specimens from Mr. H. Salmon, Clermont;

Rich auriferous quartz from Mr. Howard St. George, of Maytown;

Iron ore samples from Mr. J. Harris J.P. with paint pigments made from them by Mr. K, T. Staiger;

Argentiferous galena in very large blocks from the Ravenswood Silver Mining Company;

A magnificent collection mainly of copper carbonates and red copper oxides from the Cloncurry Copper Company;

Specimens of galena weighing nearly 6½ cwt. from Messrs. Ashton Brothers of Sellheim River, Northern Queensland;

A splendid mineralogical collection, principally of samples of copper, from Mr. W. S. C. Adrian of Nebo;

A large block of copper weighing about 1½ ton from Mr. R. H. Sheaffe of the Leichhardt River;

Ores of various kinds and ingots containing lead, silver and gold, from the Ravenswood Gold Smelting Company;

Plumbago from Mr. C. S. A. Drain, of Mount Bopple;

Splendid specimens of molybdenum from Mr. J. G. Francis of Mackay;

A collection of minerals from Messrs. Beckett and Mills of Mount Britain;

Beautiful specimens of gold from Mr. Thomas Mills of Charters Towers;

Tin ores from the Bulimba Smelting Works; and

Minerals from Messrs. Donald Brothers of Ravenswood.

The Charters Towers Local Committee had contributed quartz sulphides. Some of the sulphides of silver recently unearthed at Ravenswood were also on display and Mr. F. Mauve, the then current inspector, exhibited a collection of mining implements. The Ravenswood sulphide specimens being of a very substantial nature were 10 inches in thickness and had been mined at a vertical depth of 650 feet. They assayed from 500 oz. to 5,000 oz. of silver per ton.

The working crushing machine model on display had the quartz ore for its feedstock supplied by mines of various goldfields in the colony. Each of the goldfields displayed gilded blocks showing the total amount of quartz ore that had been mined, and the quantity of gold that had been produced from these ores. Mr. Clarke had prepared a revolving microscope with which the finer specimens of the mineralogical exhibits could be given a minute examination.

Samples of the coal measures of Queensland were forwarded by the Stafford Brothers of Bundamba and by the Borehole Company, whose colliery was in the same locality. A large block of coal, about 6½ feet in height, which had been cut to uncover the contained fireclay, was exhibited by Mr. James Robertson of Torbanlea Colliery, Maryborough, while additional specimens of coal had been received for the display from the Walloon Coal Company.

Another important feature of the Queensland Court was the display of timbers … . The samples the commissioners had secured were prepared for the show by Messrs. Pettigrew and Sons, of William Street. The exhibits consisted of 400 to 500 logs each 2 foot 6 inches long with the bark left on one side and of pieces of wood in book form either polished, varnished, or veneered.

A large variety of timber samples had also been received from the following private exhibitors: Messrs. J. W. Jackson and Company of Mitchell (which included some fine specimens of bloodwood and of cypress pine); Messrs. Walsh and Brook, of Cardwell; Messrs. J. Fairlie and Sons of Maryborough; Mr. O. E. Adams of Goondi Plantation, Johnstone River; the Gladstone local committee and 500 varieties from Mr. T. Han of Burketown. Messrs. Fairlie and Sons' exhibit comprised a very large cedar plank with some specimens of joinery. Mr. Isaac Burgess also provided two large logs of solid cedar, one having a length of 12 feet 8 inches, with a girth of 20 feet 5 inches providing

3,859 super feet of solid timber; the other with a girth of 18 feet 5 inches containing 3,266 super feet of solid timber. From the Mackay district Mr. J. Brown provided a handsome obelisk which consisted of 2,063 separate pieces and Mr. W. D. Cooke, the local engineer, supplied a table of his own construction. Both items were made from the district's indigenous timber.

The wool exhibit was of a scale commensurate with the importance of the colony's pastoral interests and included large numbers of black and white samples, in fleece and in bale, of all the colony's wool varieties. It was expected that one result of this display would be to show that wool of the best quality could be grown just as well in northern, as in southern, Australia. Amongst the principal wool exhibitors were: Messrs. Gore and Company of Yandilla; The Darling Downs and Western Lands Company; Messrs. Shanahan and Jennings of Westbrook, Darling Downs; Mr. C. B. Fisher of Ellengowan; Sir E. Wienholt of Goomburra; Messrs. Marshall and Slade of Glengallan, Warwick; Messrs. Fanning, Nankivell and Company of Tambo; Mr. O. Armytage of Alton Downs Station; Mr. W. Allan of Braeside; The Queensland Land and Pastoral Company of Dandine; Messrs. Hodgson and Ramsay of Etonvale; Mr. B. M'Kay of Mackay; The Queensland Pastoral Company of Pikedale; Mr. J. D. Macaush of Canning Downs; Mr. George Clarke of East Talgai; Mr. F. Struver of Pine Creek; and Messrs. Chermside, Riley and Company of Vindex, North Gregory. A manufactured woollen product was provided by the Queensland Woollen Manufacturing Company.

Of all classes represented in the colony's display the sugar-planters appeared to be most alive to the importance of having Queensland adequately represented at the Exhibition. Despite the many serious discouragements that they had encountered they had, judging from the number of their exhibits, rallied round the commissioners with praiseworthy zeal. Samples of their saccharine products had been forwarded by: Messrs. Penny and Company, Mr. W. Adams, Messrs. A. H. and E. Young all of Bundaberg; Mr. J. M. M'Bryde, Messrs. Paget Bros., Mr. A. Henderson and Mr. H, M'Creedy, the Melbourne-Mackay and the Mackay Co-operative Company – all of Mackay; Mr. M'Kenzie of Seaforth; The Hamleigh Sugar Company, Lower Herbert; Mr. A. A, Robinson of Helensvale, Coomera; The Mourilyan Sugar Company; Messrs. Nolan and Wanliss of Johnstone River; Messrs. Wood Brothers of Herbert River; The Colonial and the Gairloch Sugar Companies; Messrs. Swallow and Derham of Cairns; The Queensland Sugar Company of Geraldton; Messrs. Cran and Co. of Millaquin Bundaberg; The Yeppoon Sugar Company of Rockhampton and others. Waste products from sugar mills, suitable for use as cattle food, were provided by Mr. W. K. Witty.

Great difficulty had been experienced by the commissioners in getting farmers to take an active interest in the Exhibition no doubt due to the continuance of the adverse seasons which had left the Queensland agricultural industry in a poor position to benefit from the general competition … . Farm produce samples were displayed by:

Mr. A. Hutchinson of Gympie, and by Mr. H. Franklin of Pine Creek, the samples being of a varied and comprehensive character;

Arrowroot was displayed by Mr. Doherty, Messrs. F. Lahey and Sons of Pimpama; Mr. D. Hart of Mosman River and Mr. J. L. Cowley of the North Pine River;

Rice, coffee and ginger were displayed by Mr. Hart;

Coffee was displayed by Messrs. J. K. Burnet and Dickson of Buderim Mountain; Mr. Baillie of Pimpama and by Mr. Costello of Mackay; and both arrowroot and coffee were included in a display provided by the convict establishment of St. Helena;

Wheat and flour were displayed by Messrs. W. and O. Hayes of Warwick; and

Indian wheat that had been grown for the commissioners at Tambourine.

This marks the end of the agricultural exhibits.

The Central Queensland Meat Export Company of Rockhampton provided an animal-based product and a rival product of the same description was supplied by the Hogarth Australian Meat-preserving Company of Oakey Creek. A model of the Poole Island meat works at Bowen was exhibited by Mr. A. J. Vagg. Tallows, smoked tongues, neatsfoot oil, blood and bone, and similar products were contributed by Mr. J. H. Gilbert of the Alligator Creek Works.

The chief exhibits of local industry were specimens of the saddlery, tailoring, tinware, boots and shoes together with the arrowroot, coffee etc made and grown at the convict establishment on St. Helena Island. Despite the general disinclination of local manufacturers to provide exhibits there were a few commendable instances of individual enterprise. Mr. E. E. Jarman, of Queen Street provided a very fine display of saddlery and splendid assortments of leather work were supplied by Mr. Peck of Brisbane and by Mr. Stephens, with additional leather work coming from the Toowoomba tanneries. Horse riders found an attraction in a saddle made by Mr. William Purcell, of Rockhampton, designed for use in the breaking-in of horses and for ordinary station work Note 1 and it was also said to be suitable for military use.

Messrs. A. Forsyth and Company of Kangaroo Point provided a variety of ropes of their own manufacture, some of Queensland fibres.

A display of silk, cocoons, and coffee was forwarded by Miss Gibson, of Stanmore, who assigned the latter exhibit to the Prince of Wales, in the hope that his Royal Highness may then have felt inclined to taste Queensland product. Mr. P. P. Johnson of Rosedale also intimated that Great Britain's Heir to the Crown may, if he pleased, have a hundred weight of potato flour from his display.

Amongst the other manufactures exhibited were:

Woollen product by the Queensland Woollen Manufacturing Company;

Wools coloured by vegetable dyes by Mr. Swan of Leichhardt Street;

Soaps and candles by Mr. W. Hancock of Ipswich;

Dugong oils, bacon, beef, and hides by Mr. Jas. A. Hamilton of Dunwich;

Pepper and coffee by Mr. C. F. Chubb;

Grass-tree gum and kangaroo sinews for surgical use by Mr. G. J. Wickham of Toolburra;

Pickles, jams and similar, Mr. C. Hardy of the Eight-mile Plains;

Golden syrup by the Brisbane Refinery Company;

Tanning barks from Bundaberg;

Soaps by Mr. R. Ruddell also of Bundaberg;

Flour by Mr. Jas. Dougall of Allora; and

Canes from Mr. A. Meston of Cairns.

Building stones from the Helidon quarries were shown by Mr. J. A. Pearson and several varieties of this material were also displayed by the Gladstone and Rockhampton Committees. A building stone, of a similar nature to that used in the erection of the Government Printing Office, was supplied by Messrs. Carroll Brothers of O'Connell Town. Blocks of white marble and of granite were sent by Mr. H. Friend of Gladstone whilst Campbell and Sons, of Brisbane, and Mr. W, Greaves of Warwick also provided building stones and marble. Mr. J. Harrison of Bundaberg and Mr. J. Northing of the Beenleigh Brick Works sent specimens of their bricks and clay, while additional bricks and pottery were contributed by the Waterstone Brick Company and by the Dinmore Brick Works.

Wines manufactured in the colony were represented by products from Ipswich, Toowoomba, Warwick and Rosewood. Samples of rum were provided by Beenleigh, Loganholme, Caboolture, Normanby, Milton, the Melbourne-Mackay Sugar Company and the Pleystowe Sugar Company Distilleries. Ales and stout were provided by the City Brewery Bundaberg and the Townsville Brewery Company. These beverages, together with some spa water and cordials from Helidon, Ipswich and Bundaberg made up the Queensland liquor and cordial list. Mr. D. Clarke of Maryborough, and Mr. T. Ingham of Rockhampton provided samples of medicinal eucalyptus preparations.

Amongst the miscellaneous exhibits there was a large collection of clam shells of immense size, mixed with other coastal shells and a large collection of pearls and pearl-shell from the Torres Straits supplied by Mr. Frank G. Brown. Native curios and weapons were displayed by Messrs. Walsh and Brook of Cardwell, Mr. E. Morley of Clermont and by Mr. F. J. Murray of Blackall. Large glass cases of native birds came from Mr. Bytheway of Gympie and from Mr. B. M. Hyne of Maryborough, while a case containing a fine entomological collection was displayed by Mr. J. C. Baird, of Cooktown. Another curio was a stuffed snake [Note 2] 21 feet in length, which would be one of the largest ever found in Australia, and which was forwarded by Mr. George H. Brewster of Cooktown, together with other specimens of natural history which included the skin of a large alligator [Note 3] provided by Mr. P. A. Raymond of Mackay. Queensland animal skins made into hearthrugs, chest preservers, capes, etc were on display … as were kangaroo skins from the Stanthorpe Committee.

Mr. Shane, of the Botanic Gardens, Bowen, sent an example of a humpy, or bush hut, and Mr. F. A. Blackman of Breakfast Creek an interesting model of a stockyard, completely furnished with appliances. A model of a Cobb and Co. coach gave the cockneys some idea of the vehicles in which travellers in the Queensland bush were jolted along on their uncomfortable journeys. Mr. H. Farley, of Stanthorpe, contributed an interesting model of a tin mine, every section of which being made according to scale … . A novel and ingenious sundial or 'settler's clock' displayed the name of its inventor, Henry E. Fisher of Woolloongabba.

Thanks are due to Mr. W. Samwell, gold warden at Georgetown, for an excellent collection of weapons used by the aborigines and of some water colour views of the Etheridge district. He also sent water samples from some of the local boiling springs, which are said to have waters of great medicinal value. These samples were exhibited complete with copies of their chemical analyses. New Guinea was represented by curios collected and forwarded by Captain Liljieblad, of the Ellangowan missionary steamer, the Hon. John Douglas, Mr. H. Milman, P.M. [Note 4] of Cooktown, Mr. Livesley of the *Courier* staff and Mr. Foxton. Examples of local art were illustrated by the water colours and oil paintings of Mr. William Austin, Mr. J. A. Clark and Mr. W. Jenner.

The Government Printer sent specimens of his department's work; Mr. Bailey, the Government Botanist, supplied a collection of orchids and other live plants; Mr. M'Pherson, of the Queensland Museum, prepared a collection of Queensland fibres and the Education Department provided specimens of scholastic work and the Commissioners themselves exhibited an old bullock dray, pack saddles and similar colonial artifacts to exemplify the nature of bush life. This particular display was reinforced by essays written by Mr. P. B. Gordon on the subject of wool, Mr. Horace Earle on commerce, Mr. A. J. Boyd on life in the colony, Mr. Robinson on education in Queensland, Mr. H. Tryon on native animals, Mr. H. L. Jack on Geology, Mr. K. T. Staiger on the colony's mining industries, Mr. D. Bancroft on pharmaceutical products, Mr. T. Wright on horticulture, and by Mr. P. Fletcher on the colony's agricultural and sugar producing industries.

Note 1: This item sounds very similar to the traditional Australian stock saddle.

Note 2: Almost certainly a python.

Note 3: A crocodile and, coming from Cooktown, almost certainly of the saltwater variety.

Note 4: The Police Magistrate?

APPENDIX 6

The following article from the *Brisbane Courier* of the 21st of May 1892 outlines the revised procedures required of the Government inspectors for them to comply with the updated regulations contained within the *Pacific Island Labourers Acts*.

PACIFIC ISLAND TRADE – THE REVISED REGULATIONS
THE OLD AND THE NEW

The revised regulations under which kanakas are to be introduced into Queensland were considered by the Executive Council yesterday and being finally passed are now available for publication. Two matters have received treatment – the first is the regulations made under the *Pacific Island Labourers Acts, 1880-1892*, and the second the instructions which are issued to all the Government agents who are employed in the trade. The matter has received a good deal of consideration, and it is understood that the agents themselves were consulted as to the best mode of carrying into effect the suggested remedies for past abuses before they were finally drafted for approval.

Many of the regulations are unaltered, while others have been reconstructed, either for the purpose of making their meaning clearer or to remove any ambiguity. There is no alteration in the mode of issuing the licences, but under the heading "Ships, accommodation, &c," the comfort and privacy of female passengers are more stringently looked into. The old regulations provided that the women's compartments "must be properly separated from the compartment for men and having no communication with it or with any other part of the ship except the deck." To that has now been added the provision, "No male islander and no male member of the ship's company shall be allowed to enter the women's compartment when occupied by women unless accompanied by the Government agent." As might very naturally be expected, there is an important alteration to the regulation as to the firearms and liquors carried on board ship. The new regulation reads as follows: "A ship will not be allowed to carry any greater quantity of firearms and ammunition than is required for ordinary ship's use, or any greater quantity of fermented or spirituous liquors than is required for medicinal purposes and for a daily issue of spirits to an extent not exceeding one-eighth of a pint per day for each member of the ship's company. The licence will not be delivered to the master of the ship until the Inspector of Pacific Islanders at the port of departure has received a certificate from the principal officer of Customs at that port stating what firearms and ammunition and fermented or spirituous liquors are on board, and certifying that they are not more than is required for ordinary ship's use and for medicinal purposes respectively. Fermented and spirituous liquors, except rum, must be carried in glass. They shall not be issued except for the purposes aforesaid, and on the order of the Government agent, which shall be recorded by

him in his log. On the return of the ship to Queensland the arms and ammunition and fermented and spirituous liquors remaining on board will be examined by the principal officer of Customs at the port of arrival who will report the result of the examination to the Inspector of Pacific Islanders at that port. In the provision as to boat accommodation the old regulation as to there being three boats is adhered to, and the addendum is made that "each boat intended to be used for recruiting must be provided with a breaker or breakers of an aggregate capacity of not less than 18 gallons, to be approved by the shipping inspector." The most important alteration, however, is that the regulations of the 10th March 1892, relating to life saving appliances, and made under the *Navigation Act of 1870*, must also be complied with. One of the most important departures is as to the mode of inspecting the vessel before the licences are issued. Formerly the inspector at the port of departure had to satisfy himself as to the medical comforts, water supply, etc. Now the necessary certificate, to be procured before the delivery of a licence to the master of the vessel, has to be obtained by the inspector under the hand of the medical officer or health officer at the port of departure. The certificate must state "that proper provision is made for ventilation, and that the ship has on board a modern and approved medical work on the treatment of diseases, and also a proper supply of medicines, medical comforts, instruments, and other appliances necessary for diseases or accidents incidental to a sea voyage, and for the medical treatment of the passengers as required by the 12th section of the *Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880*. The inspector has also to obtain from the shipping inspector at the port a certificate that proper provision is made for ventilation and that the ship has a proper supply of cooking utensils, water tanks, and vessels for the supply of water to the passengers during the voyage, and that all the provisions of these regulations with respect to the ship have been complied with. The inspector has to forward the certificates to the Immigration Agent at Brisbane. Pigs and dogs are not to be carried on any of the labour ships."Formerly they might have been taken if proper accommodation was provided.

The provisions as to recruiting have been thoroughly revised and, in many cases, reconstructed. There are, however, very few fresh departures. A new regulation provides that "the Government agent, the master, and all the ship's company must at all times during the voyage sleep on board the ship. If from any reason any of them are prevented from doing so the circumstances are to be fully recorded in the ship's log and also the Government agent's log." The old regulation as to recruiting at any island being forbidden by the Minister in Queensland by a general direction published in the *Government Gazette* is adhered to in the same terms as before, but in the provision as to the master of a vessel being under the direction of the Government agent more imperative language is used. In the old regulations the master was required to obey "the reasonable directions" of the agent; now there is no qualification and the word "reasonable" has been struck out. With regard to the diet of the islanders two new clauses have been introduced, which provide that the Government agent may require the master to obtain, when it is practicable to do so, a sufficient supply of the food to which the islanders are accustomed at their native islands, to be used in substitution for that as prescribed by the 12th section of the *Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880*. The agent may

authorise, and, when practicable require, the substitution for use of an equivalent quantity of the food to which the islanders are accustomed at their native islands.

The phraseology of the clause directing that labourers are to be recruited in the presence of the Government agent has been altered, but the original sense is retained, the clause reading as follows: "Recruiting is not to be allowed under any circumstances in the absence of the Government agent, and he must inform himself by personal observation and inquiry that every intending recruit understands the nature of his engagement." The directions as to the mode in which the boats engaged in recruiting are to act have also been slightly altered. Under the revised regulations recruiting must in all cases be carried on by two boats working together – that is to say, a "recruiting boat" and a "covering boat". The Government agent is to go in the latter so that, in case of attack by natives, he may have a reasonable chance of warning the recruiting boat which should be offshore from him. The water breaker in each boat must be filled with fresh water when the boat leaves the ship, which must not, except when the safety of the ship renders it necessary, be kept further than three miles from the shore, or five miles from the boats, while recruiting is proceeding. Two Europeans at least, not counting the Government agent, must be present in every boat which leaves the ship to recruit labourers. No firearms or liquor are to be taken on board or unladen during the voyage. If this regulation is violated the Government agent is "peremptorily required to refuse to permit any further recruiting on that voyage" while the following fresh penalty is imposed – "The master of the ship will not be allowed to be employed on any ship engaged in the trade."

Fermented or spirituous liquors are not to be given to any islander, either on his island or in the boats or on the ship, except for medicinal purposes, and then only by order of the Government agent; nor are such liquors to be taken in the recruiting boats. Islanders are not to be recruited who are apparently under the age of 16 years, nor those who are not in sound health, neither are they to be obtained from any island except their own or from the employ of Europeans. Should any islander after being recruited leave the ship, or refuse to go aboard of her, no attempt is to be made to induce him to alter his mind or to force him into service. Women may not be recruited unless accompanied by their husbands, nor without the consent of the chief of the place. All trading with natives must be conducted under the supervision of the Government agent who will note the particulars in his log. And should the person entrusted with the recruiting be, from any cause, unable to perform the duty the master of the ship may, with the approval of the Government agent, appoint a successor but the master himself will not be allowed to assume the office of recruiter. Recruiting on Sundays is also prohibited. This is an entirely now provision. If, at any time while recruiting is proceeding, it appears to the Government agent that, on the return of the vessel to the colony, difficulty may be experienced in procuring the services of an interpreter for any islander proposed to be recruited, the Government agent is to refuse his sanction to the engagement of such islander, notwithstanding the fact that he may be in a position to explain to the islander the conditions of the engagement by means of interpreters at the island. All engagements of interpreters

are to be supervised by the Government agent. It is provided that all native boatmen engaged at the islands must be paid in coin though, should an islander wish trade in lieu of money, it may be given him under the supervision and to the satisfaction of the Government agent. The Government agent, too, has power to refuse to permit any further recruiting if any islander is recruited contrary to the provisions of the regulations, and to require the ship to return to Queensland as soon as the return islanders (if there are any) have been landed. On the arrival of the ship in Queensland someone must be available competent to interpret between every islander on board and the inspector at the port of arrival. Any islander on board whose language cannot be interpreted is to be returned to his island at the expense of the owner of the ship. The health officer or medical officer has to inspect every islander as he or she is landed, and if any of them are unfit they will have to be returned to their native island. The medical inspection of return islanders is also stringently provided for, and if it appears from the medical officer's report that the voyage is likely to be injurious to an intending passenger he is not to be allowed to proceed in the ship without the special direction of the Minister. Returning islanders and their property must be landed at their own villages or passages, unless in cases where they desire to be landed at some other place, when the Government agent may permit them to be so landed. Every such case, and the reasons for granting the permission, must be specially and fully recorded in his log. If a returning islander dies before his arrival at his native island his effects are to be delivered to his friends at the island, if any can be found. If none can be found the effects are to be brought back to Queensland and delivered to the inspector at the port of arrival. The handing over of returning islanders to, or exchanging them with, any other vessel is only permitted under most urgent and exceptional circumstances, and any Government agent allowing it has to record at length in his log the reasons for his action. A new regulation provides for presents being sent to relatives of labourers who die under engagement. In every case such death is to be reported to the Minister and a sum equal to one half of the wages due to the labourer at the time of his death, and of the money to his credit in the Savings Bank, or such larger proportion of such wages and money as the Minister may direct, may be applied in the purchase of goods for his relatives at his native island. The goods may be purchased from the ship's stores at reasonable rates and are to be delivered to his relatives there by the Government agent accompanying the first ship that proceeds to the island, if any can be found. No person is to be permitted to proceed to the islands as a passenger in a licensed ship without the permission of the Minister. The regulation as to the separation of the sexes has been altered in the wording, but the sense is retained. Any door or other means of communication between the quarters for men and women, which may be opened for convenience when in port, has to be kept locked or nailed up when the ship is at sea and when islanders of both sexes are on board. The scale of clothing and provisions has been altered and is now of a more liberal character. As this is a matter of considerable interest we give the daily ration as follows: beef or mutton, 1½ lb.; bread or flour, 2 1b.; sugar, 5 oz.; potatoes 3 lb. or rice 6 oz.; tea, ½ oz.; tobacco per week, 1½ oz.; salt per week, 2 oz.; soap per week, 4 oz.

The yearly clothing allowance is as follows: Males (each): 4 flannel shirts, 4 pairs trousers (moleskin or serge), 2 hats, 1 pair blankets. Females (each): 4 chemises, 4 wincey dresses, 4 flannel petticoats,

2 hats, 1 pair blankets. The meat allowance has been increased by half a pound, and the same addition has been made to the bread and flour. The trousers for the male labourers have been increased from three to four annually, and the hats from one to two. The women are to have four flannel petticoats instead of two, and two hats instead of one. All provisions and clothing are to be subject to the approval of the inspector. Blankets, except with the special permission of the Minister, are to be of not less than 6lb. weight.

Transfers of the services of labourers before the expiration of six months from the date of the arrival of the ship by which they were introduced will not be allowed without the special sanction of the Minister; nor will transfers from an employer residing in one district to an employer residing in another be allowed without the like sanction. On the expiration of the engagement of an islander his employer is to at once inform the inspector of the fact, and to state what arrangements he has made for the return of the islander to his native island, or for his re-engagement, as the case may be. The provisions as to the appointment of the committees for the management of kanaka hospitals are the same as in the past.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNMENT AGENTS

The instructions which are issued to the Government agents have undergone very little alteration. As there is a great deal of interest taken in their duties, however, we give them in full below, prefacing that the only additions which have been made are clauses 2, 12, 15, 16, and the, latter paragraph of Clause 17. The attention of Government agents is especially directed to the Acts and to the regulations of the 20th of May 1892, a copy of which is delivered to them herewith. Their duty is to see that the provisions of the Acts and the regulations are strictly observed. They will act as directed by the regulations, and will also observe the following instructions:

1. Government agents, when appointed to a ship, must see that they are furnished with the following papers and forms: (1) Official log or diary; (2) forms of certificate of due return of islanders; (3) forms of certificates of engagement (Schedule I. of the principal Act); (4) forms for inward passenger list.

2. The Government agent must on all occasions, when on duty, be decently and becomingly dressed, and wear a distinguishing badge as follows: Two gold cords round each sleeve near the wrist, two gold cords round the hat or cap, and a crown in gold embroidery on the front of the hat or cap.

3. Government agents are especially to remember that the position in which they are placed renders them responsible to the Queensland Government alone. If the master or officers of the ship interfere with them in the performance of their duties, or refuse to obey their directions, it will be their duty to report the matter to the Government by the first available opportunity, and immediately upon the ship's return to the colony.

4. The position occupied by Government agents towards the master, officers, and other servants of the owners of the ship is one which requires the exercise of much discretion and, while taking every precaution to see that the regulations are obeyed, they are not unnecessarily to interfere with the ship's officers in the discharge of their duties.

5. The Government agent is required, on taking charge of a ship, to inspect all stores and clothing required for the voyage with the view of ascertaining that they are of good quality and sufficient in quantity and is, if satisfied, to certify to the Inspector of Pacific Islanders at the port of departure to that effect.

6. When at sea, the Government agent is required to see that provisions are issued daily, according to scale; but he is expected to act with discretion in cases of sickness, or as to the issue of meat to new recruits.

7. The logbook with which the Government agent is supplied must be carefully kept, and every occurrence of consequence noted therein. The logbook must be written up daily, and no additions must be made after the day's log is closed, nor will any interleaving be permitted.

8. On taking charge of islanders returning to their native islands the Government agent is to muster them from the list handed to him by the inspector at the port of embarkation, which list will contain the native name of each islander, his native island, the part of it at which he is to be landed, and the name of the employer to whom he was originally engaged; and he will on no account allow any islander whose name does not appear on the list to proceed in the ship.

9. He will, before leaving port, carefully compare his list of return islanders with that furnished by the master to the Customs and certify to the correctness of the latter.

10. On final departure from the Queensland coast, but not before, and on being satisfied that all the regulations have been complied with, the Government agent will hand the licences to the master. Should any irregularity be discovered, of whatever nature, after clearance at the Customs, he will withhold the licences, report at once, by telegraph if necessary, to the inspector at the port and await instructions.

11. The Government agent is required to see that every return passenger is duly landed along with his property, not only on his own island but at his own village or district; and on no account must any islander be landed at any island, village, or district other than the one from which he originally came, unless he expressly wishes it, in which case a full explanation of the circumstances must be entered in the log.

12. The Government agent is to take especial care to satisfy himself that a woman desiring to recruit is accompanied by her actual husband.

13. If the Government agent finds it necessary to give any directions to the master with respect to the observance of the Acts or regulations, he is to do so in writing, a copy of which must be entered in the log. He is also to report the matter to the Immigration Agent at the first opportunity.

14. The Government agent is to see that all islanders recruited are engaged for service in a certain locality, in accordance with the licences issued to the ship, and that each one fully understands the nature of the agreement he is about to enter into, as to rate of payment, and especially of duration of service; and if he observes that any recruit desires to come to a Queensland port other than those mentioned in the licences or to which the vessel is not bound, he will explain to the islander the destination of the vessel, and his chance of being employed by the master whom he desires to serve.

15. The Government agent is to pay special attention to the requirements of the thirty-ninth regulation and must not hesitate to act upon it if any islander is recruited contrary to the provisions of the regulations.

16. When a Government agent is instructed to deliver goods to the relatives of a deceased islander he must, on the ship's arrival at the island, make diligent inquiry for the purpose of discovering such relatives, and if he discovers them he will purchase goods to the extent of the money available for the purpose (of which he will be informed before sailing), and will deliver them to the relatives. The circumstances of each case must be fully recorded in the log.

17. The clothing prescribed by subsection 7 of section 12 of the Act of 1880 must in all cases be issued to the recruit immediately on his (or her) arrival on board. Any failure in this respect is to be reported by the Government agent on arrival in Queensland. The Government agent will use his discretion as to requiring the clothing to be worn by the recruits from time to time.

18. The Government agent is to be careful to enter in his log, and to report by first opportunity to the Immigration Office Brisbane, any violation of the Acts or regulations by any person engaged in the Pacific labour trade with which he may become acquainted in the course of the voyage

19. On arrival at a Queensland port the Government agent will at once forward to the inspector a report of the voyage, accompanied by his log, giving particulars of the landing of all returning islanders, and also a list of all inward passengers, specifying the name, sex, native island,

and village or district of each passenger, and whether each passenger has previously been in Queensland or Fiji. The particulars given in this list must correspond with the particulars given in the certificate of agreement (Schedule 1 of the Act of 1880).

20. The Government agent must note in the proper place in the log the dates and places of discharge of every boatman employed on board the vessel, and in the cases of boatmen brought or returned to the colony, a record of the fact must be carefully made and the circumstances under which they have been so brought or returned must be fully stated in the log.

21. The list of the crew given in the log is to be compared with the ship's articles, adding or amending from time to time, as necessary.

22. The Government agent will be informed what fixtures have been measured when calculating the carrying capacity of the ship, and he will on no account permit anything else to be placed in the islanders' quarters except their luggage.

23. The attention of the Government agent is particularly directed to the provisions of the Act of 1880 (section 11), requiring that there shall be available for exercise, on the upper deck or poop, or on any deckhouse, properly secured and fitted on the top with a railing or other kind of guard, at least five superficial feet clear for each passenger that the ship is authorised to carry. The Government agent must on no account permit any fittings to be placed on the deck after the ship's departure from the colony which will have the effect of reducing the deck space allowed for exercise below that prescribed by the Act.

24. The Government agent must see that the outward passenger list, with which he is furnished, contains in the left hand column a serial number (from one upwards) opposite the name of each islander which number, with the name of the islander opposite it, must be recorded in the log on the day the islander is landed.

25. Return islanders, being passengers equally with recruits, are entitled to receive the stipulated ration of tobacco.

26. Special attention is directed to the preparation of the certificates of engagement. (Schedule 1. of the Act of 1880). They must be prepared and completed as the recruiting proceeds and be delivered from time to time to the master to be by him handed to the inspector on arrival. A certificate may contain the result of more than one day's recruiting, in which case due care must be taken to set out, in the left-hand margin, the date, which must be consecutive, on which each recruit was enlisted but in no case should more than five consecutive days' work be included on one certificate.

27. The provisions of the previous clause are, with necessary modifications, applicable to certificates of due landing.

28. When events to be recorded in the log for one day are few, the proceedings of two or more days may be placed on one page, a sufficient space being left between the records of each day to avoid confusion.

29. In the table in the log designed to show the number on board each evening, against the word "others" is intended to be placed the number of native boatmen or native people other than return islanders and recruits, specifying each separately, placed in large characters in the margin of each day's record in the log.

30. The name of the island off which the ship is working must be placed in large characters in the margin of each day's record in the log.

31. It is the Government agent's duty to accompany the boats whenever they are employed in recruiting or landing islanders, or in procuring native food, or trading in any other way with the natives on the islands. The boats must only be employed within reasonable working hours, and if the Government agent is unable to accompany the boats the work must be suspended until he is able to resume duty.

32. The names of all recruits who have been entered on the certificates are to appear on the inward list, numbered from one upwards, in the order in which they were engaged. If any should die, desert, or be released from agreement, the fact is to be recorded, and a red line drawn through the name, but the number is not to be used a second time. Before arrival a summary of the recruits actually on board should be placed at the foot of the list, showing the number from each island, and distinguishing the different groups of islands.

33. A place is to be set apart on the inward list for any identification marks that can be found upon a recruit – marks on the face, neck, or hands being preferred.

34. Relationship existing between any recruits should be noted on the inward list thus: "No. 23 brother of 20, &c, &c," but no notice need be taken of any connection more remote than that existing as between parent and child, man and wife, or brother in the literal sense of the word.

35. In the daily record in the log the name of each recruit obtained must appear, as also the number allotted to him, on the list and on the certificate of engagement.

36. The log, report, and all papers should be complete and ready for delivery to the inspector immediately on arrival.

37. The report of the Government agent should be a brief, clear and complete summary of the events of the voyage, bringing into view any events of consequence, and closing with any recommendations he may desire to make or complaints he may have to prefer.

38. The Government agent should telegraph to the local inspector, and to the Immigration Agent, Brisbane, by the first opportunity on arrival and the last on departure, giving the number (excluding children) of males and females in his charge, and the number of native boatmen and, in the case of arrival, briefly, the nature of any complaint he intends to prefer against any of the officers or crew of the ship.

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