# BUNDABERG'S BEGINNINGS

## *The Endeavours of Its Very Early Pioneers*

**with particular reference to**
**Walter Adams MLA**

**Richard Laurance Connor**

**John Kingsley Connor**

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"… the future of Bundaberg no man
can predict."

**Walter Adams**

"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."

**Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail**

*May 16, 1892*

# Dedication

To all of those industrious citizens, including the many who have not been mentioned between these covers, who helped to make Bundaberg and its surrounds the safe and pleasant place of our childhood; and to those descendants of Walter who have kept alive his memory to this day.

**Richard Laurance Connor**

# Acknowledgements

All of those family members, both living and deceased who have contributed their knowledge of family matters over the years;

My wife Patricia for her suggestions and for the tolerance of my many and somewhat colourful descriptions of Microsoft Word;

My daughter Frances for devoting some of her limited spare time to the proof reading of raw text;

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# Foreword

**"We ask for brevity for brevity is good,**

**Whether you are or are not understood"**

Samuel Butler

This is a true story of a wonderful Queensland town (many call it home), and of a great river, the Burnett. It also details the lives of many people who, since the early 1870's, have dwelt nearby.

By utilizing a modicum of physiography and an abundance of painstaking research and dedication, Richard and John Connor have produced an enthralling account of Bundaberg's early days.

I can recall the well-known rugby league announcer of yesteryear, George Burnett Lovejoy, himself a Bundaberg boy, declaring "Bundaberg, the greatest town of all."

Who of Bundaberg's older residents has not heard of Alex Walker, born 186 years ago in Scotland and of The Steuart brothers, John and Gavin - Scotsmen all; and of Robert Knight, born in England 196 years ago? Read on about these and others who are typical of the pioneers who helped with the founding of Bundaberg.

Would you believe:
In 1872 there would have been fewer than one hundred Clydesdale draught horses in the Bundaberg district but, by 1888, this number had increased to over one thousand? or

That in 1882 the largest sugar refinery in the southern hemisphere was located in Bundaberg ?

Thank you Richard for the opportunity to provide this foreword - we trust that this book will be enjoyed by your children, your grandchildren, your friends and by the wider community.

**William Harvey (Bill) Mellor**

The Last Mayor of Gayndah Shire; and
Grandson of William Buxton Mellor.

May 2012

Mr. William Buxton Mellor was co-founder, with Mr. Michael Joseph Reddan of pioneering Bundaberg's

REDDAN & MELLOR
GENERAL DRAPERS TAILORS & MERCERS
Established in 1886




and, Gayndah is, in the historical sense, Bundaberg's sister town on the Burnett River and a base for early explorers of the lower Burnett.

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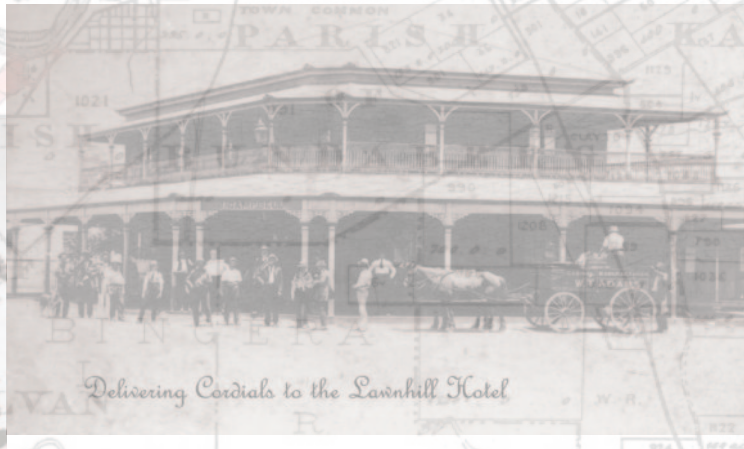


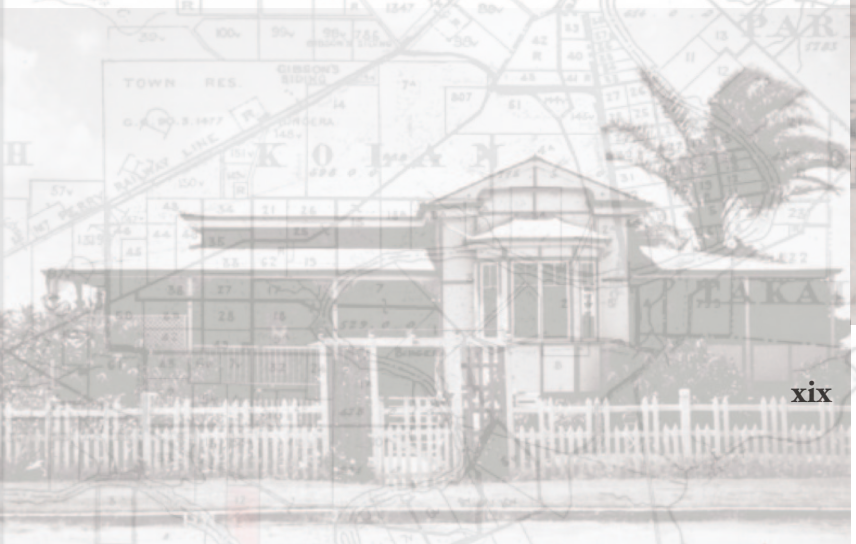










Delivering Cordials to the Lawnhill Hotel



# Preface

## PARTS 1, 3, 4 & 5

My brother John Kingsley Connor was the initiator of this endeavour with his early research into the – amongst others - Adams family and its history. Initial details as to Walter Adams' life indicated that the acquisition of further information, capable of producing a more detailed biography, would throw considerable light not only on Walter's career but on the careers of other pioneers and on the initial development of Bundaberg the town and of its surrounding district. In agriculture Walter was, though far from the first, a very early starter in the Wide Bay District; in commerce he was to set up the Adams Hotel in the first year of Bundaberg's establishment on the south bank of the Burnett River; he was very prominent in the construction of Bundaberg's early infrastructure, and was well to the fore in civic and religious affairs over the first twenty years of Bundaberg's existence. All of these activities would have demanded very extensive interaction with other notable pioneers of the time.

When my brother John's premature death occurred at the relatively early age of 64 years the preparation of these chapters was a work in progress. Shortly before his death John had completed the text for "FARM LABOURER 18 – READ AND WRITE", a paper on Walter Adams' life and times and we had compiled, restored and inserted the illustrations. An initial compilation of this document and its companion document on Walter's descendants had been assembled and had been distributed to several dozen interested friends and relatives for their use and comment. The documents were well received but few comments were returned – I hope that in this case silence means assent. Any comments or information offered as a consequence of this issue were given full consideration and appropriate changes and / or additions were made.

It is sobering to realise that one belongs to the small group of people remaining who had direct contact with the two generations that had, in turn, first-hand interrelationships with the players of that fragment of our early history documented in this study. The thought becomes considerably more sobering on suddenly realising that one has himself attained the age of three score years and ten. When dealing with the normal challenges of life it is easy to overlook the fact that generations do die out, and it becomes too late to ask the questions that we should, with the wisdom of hindsight, have asked of the previous generations. However experience teaches that, even when this source of information was still available, caution may need to have been exercised. The older generation's recollections, like our own, were fallible. As someone (Mark Twain I think) once

very perceptibly observed "It isn't what we don't know that's dangerous; it's what we know for sure that just ain't so."

Our mother always referred to Sommerville, our great-grandfather's plantation, in much the same way as many students of the English language would refer to Camelot. Though the plantation was never the family's place of residence it obviously provided a major contribution to the family's self-image. The plantation passed from the Adams' estate well before my brother's and my time, but we were left with an enduring curiosity as to its real nature and history. For myself the research on Sommerville has therefore been both educational and rewarding.

When we were boys in the 1950's the times of Sommerville did not seem very far away, as much of the Bundaberg area – even down to the dry stone walls of basaltic rock surrounding the original plantations – had not changed greatly from the times of Walter and Mary. However, when one considers the massive changes in the character of the Bundaberg area from the 1950's to the present day, the existence of the old Sommerville Plantation and the town residence of Summerville now has the feeling of being long ago and far away.

On looking back many of life's experiences have probably reinforced a sense of affiliation with the old pioneers. Apart from the usual activities of home chores and schooling, my boyhood in Bundaberg consisted of horse riding and horse racing through the countryside and through the ti-tree swamps north of Bundaberg. This was combined with more useful pursuits, such as helping a school friend to pull his family's cattle from the heavily timbered hills to the west of town, and searching for our domestic milk cows when floods had taken out our barb-wire fences, which then needed restoring. Along the line I also acquired some skills with firearms, a quite usual circumstance in the 1940's and 50's, given the combination of a rifle's ready availability, bush surroundings and military training with the school cadets and in national service.

One of my boyhood jobs was the cutting of our rather extensive lawn with the old wood and cast-iron push-mower. In a good growing season the grass frequently passed beyond the control of the mower, and so I was initiated into the use of the cane knife to bring the long grass under control; though, apart from cutting and trimming the odd stalk for chewing purposes, I had no exposure to the arduous task of cane-cutting itself.

Carpentry and axe skills were picked up by necessity for similar reasons to those above; with some tuition by my uncle Les Adams with the former, and in helping him keep his Yellow Waterholes – and later my own island property – clear of regrowth with the latter. Later life, amongst other things, involved the investigation, surveying, designing and sometime supervision of construction of infrastructure, such as water supplies and other local authority works often for remote communities. In the context of writing the chapters for this book my brother and I have perhaps been fortunate in belonging to that generation which may well prove to be the last to encounter experiences of the above nature almost as a matter of course.

Places visited that have some relevance to this work include:

– the cane lands of Fiji - to stay with an Indian friend's family and to attend his wedding;

– Ireland with its many dry-stone walls – to stay with friends in Connemara and to visit the old Connor/Shannon lands and to observe, particularly in Ireland's south, a countryside that closely resembled the agricultural fields of our childhood even down to the dry-stone walls;

– the deserts of Central Australia spending many months with John relaxing in the centre's quietness, peace and solitude and speculating on the old times;

– the industrial north of England – to pay visits to my wife's relatives - and on to Scotland, its highlands and western islands in a hire car to visit as a tourist only;

– Somerset from whence the Adams family emigrated to Australia in 1849 – and where in Glastonbury Road, Street, there remained a stained glass window which advertised the business of Walter's only stay at home brother, Alfred Adams; and somewhat briefly to widely dispersed areas of the United States of America.

Here in Australia we tend to take for granted circumstances that would be considered most unusual in the old world. The ability to identify the pioneers who established our towns and cities and to be able to detail their works is a characteristic of the new world and of its record keeping abilities. Even so, much can be lost if we become too blasé about this apparent gift. There is therefore some satisfaction in being able to seek out, marshal and document these past endeavours, not to mention the resolving of long standing curiosities.

Bundaberg is fortunate in having such voluminous and detailed historical reference works as those of J. Y. Walker – 1890; Janette Nolan – 1978; and Neville Rackemann – 1992. Life is too short to duplicate work already well done, and so in the following pages I have largely confined my work to a description of the circumstances prevailing in the sugar industry of colonial Australia, and in particular in that of the Bundaberg area, to the relevant pioneering works that made the establishment of this industry possible and to the world wide circumstances that caused the pioneers of Bundaberg to be where they were when they were. This narrow focus is a consequence of the intended purpose – an attempt to describe the atmosphere that prevailed in the time of the very early pioneers and of my great-grandfather, Walter Adams. This in turn is an attempt to round off the work carried out by my deceased brother John in his detailed study of Walter's life.

In reviewing the early history of the Queensland planters, for inclusion in the chapter on this subject, the relevance of the problems associated with the acquisition of a labour force necessary to sustain a very large percentage of Queensland's agricultural industries, assumed the status of a major subject in its own right. On being prompted by some newspaper articles which compared the indenturing of imported labour to the transAtlantic slave trade this subject assumed even more relevance. It is beyond debate that some less than desirable incidents occurred out there in the Pacific Ocean,

a rather rugged place indeed in those days; however indentured labour on the mainland was protected both by legislation and by government appointed supervision. This protection has been well documented in, amongst other sources, contemporary newspapers, the records of government officers and in the proceedings of a Royal Commission. From the year 1807 onwards the Royal Navy had orders to stop any maritime trade in slave labour, but the recruitment of labour from the Pacific Islands was policed by a relatively small number of Royal Navy ships, and the Pacific is a very large ocean. In 1833 legislation was passed in the British Parliament banning slavery in all of the British colonies which included the colony of New South Wales at that time, and later the colony of Queensland following its separation from New South Wales in 1859.

In Walter's case, the inclusion in his personal library of a book that had proven to be a very effective anti-slavery book and that was in the form of an autobiographical work by a former African slave from Benin who was educated and became a figure in British society, begs consideration. The book, *The Interesting Narrative of The Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa The African* was published in Dublin in 1791, and a copy of this book forms the centre piece for a museum on transatlantic slavery established in Liverpool in 2007. Liverpool had traditionally been the main British port for the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

The difference between the use of indented labour in Queensland and of the African slaves in the West Indies and in the southern states of America was stark. This subject is covered in the chapter on the days of the early planters but, at the end of the day, readers will no doubt make up their own minds on the subject, if indeed one can form hard and fast impressions about a time when conditions for all citizens were so vastly different to our own. Perhaps I could give the last word on this subject to John Young Walker who, in the fronting pages of his work *The History of Bundaberg* published in 1890 wrote, "The question of agricultural labour for the farms and plantations I have not discussed in the body of the work; although in the democratic community of Australasia, most of whom came out as free immigrants, it has been worked up into, "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence."

When John and I were burdened with the studies needed to acquire a Master's Degree in Agricultural Science and qualifications in Civil Engineering respectively (shades of Walter's influence?), followed by the time consuming demands of our agricultural science and civil engineering professions and, in my case, the raising of a family, there was little time for historical research to be undertaken on the material still resident in the old Adams family's home. With retirement, and its accompanying increase in time for other pursuits, the old curiosities about the early days returned.

On my part this curiosity was initially directed by my offer, made in the 1990's, to provide Shalom College (the College has an Adams house) with a history of the Adams family's, and in particular Walter's, connection with the early Catholic Church in Bundaberg. The offer was accepted by the Principal of the time. Unfortunately time moves on and, by

the time that I had managed to complete this commission in the year 2005, there was a new Principal and there was no system available at the College to cater for the accommodation of historical material. However the work had been executed, has since been published in the Proceedings of the Brisbane Catholic Historical Society, and hopefully is of sufficient interest to enough people to deserve inclusion in the section on church affairs.

In this material I have also included a copy of an article describing Walter's civic funeral that occupied the greater part of the front page of the Bundaberg and Mt Perry Mail of the 23rd May 1892. To me the article is of considerable interest as it very graphically highlights the differences between the Bundaberg of the 1890's, and that of the present day, in a much more dramatic manner that I think that I could present. It is hoped that the reader may share the same interest.

The discovery, in an old steamer trunk under my brother John's house, of a small, plaited cane folder containing clippings of Walter's parliamentary speeches from his first year in the Queensland Parliament, probably collected by his wife or by his daughter Maria Emily, presented an opportunity to explore Walter's ideas on a variety of subjects. However the subjects covered were selected by issues then currently before the house and, as such, did not necessarily throw light on Walter's main areas of political interest. Further, as his parliamentary library collection attests, it represents a small portion of his speeches to the house and there were to be many later, and perhaps more illuminating, issues to be addressed.

I have postulated, in the material on Parliamentary affairs that the acquisition, ownership and retention of the Gladstone plate would not have been for the plate's aesthetic value and therefore had a differing significance. The most obvious reason for its retention as a prized artefact is an admiration for, or a feeling of affinity with, the person illustrated on the plate. I have therefore included a brief description of the policies and career of Mr. Gladstone as a proxy for at least a significant part of Walter's own views. By their artefacts shall thee know them.

The text and appendices include some material on Walter's commercial operations. I hope that this may, in some measure, be of relevance to any readers interested in the activities of our entrepreneurial pioneers. In complete detail these activities would have been unique to each individual but, driven by common goals and conditions; there should have been a considerable amount of commonality in their nation building experiences. Also in this work I have attempted, wherever possible, to paint a word picture of the thoughts and feelings of the early Bundaberg pioneers, and of the conditions under which they lived and worked. To this end I have included material of a nature contemporary with their time wherever possible to enable those early pioneers to speak up for themselves.

**Richard Laurance Connor**

February, 2009

# Preface

## PARTS 2 & 6

The decision to compile a biographical record of Walter Adams, Mary Shannon and their descendants was prompted by my becoming, by attrition, the custodian of the family's early photograph albums.

Having time on my hands, through the actions of a beneficent, new government, I came to wonder – who were these people looking back at me from the photographs in albums of the past? For most, I had no clue. Curiosity became compulsion – I am assured not unknown in these circumstances – and reference to the family records that still survive, published records and many trips to the Queensland and Australian archives followed.

Residential information has been derived from Postal Directories and/or electoral rolls available on public access at the State and National Archives. Annotations on electoral rolls also provided additional information on marriages, deaths, etc. the dates given are the day of individual registration or, particularly for early and recent records, the date of compilation of the electoral roll. Unless otherwise stated, all locations are in Queensland. For most individuals the records do not extend past February 2000. Individual entries are not given for descendants of less than eligible electoral enrolment age. Military service data were accessed from the *War Memorial Nominal Roll* databases and hard copy service records held by the National Archives.

The process, inevitably, opens some closets which contain dismissed or forgotten skeletons. Given the turbulence inherent in the development of a pioneering society, these skeletons are surprisingly few and relatively minor in nature. However, in the small communities of well over a century ago, and in attempts to achieve Victorian, middle class respectability, they may have loomed much larger at the time. The content has been compiled as a record as honest as I am able with my best efforts to avoid bias.

In my comments introducing each branch of the family, I have confined the scope generally to the children of Walter and Mary and to their children. It is for others to comment on the 'present' generations.

Given the sources of the text, there are inevitable errors and omissions. My hope is that this record will form a base for others to correct and expand so that an adequate record can be left, for those to follow, of the heritage of, "a thoroughly representative man."

**John Kingsley Connor** 2004

*NOTE: Other than in the actual text, records do not extend beyond the earlier generations in this publication. R. L. C.

# Part 1

THE EARLY BUNDABERG PIONEERS

AND THEIR PLANTATIONS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO

**WALTER ADAMS**

OF SOMMERVILLE

# Chapter 1

# A Brief History of Sugar Cane

The following chapter is intended to give a brief description of that which is arguably the main character in this book. It has been included to provide a full picture and understanding of the subject matter under consideration; however it is realized that some or all of this knowledge will be old news to many readers, particularly those in the Bundaberg area. It remains to beg the patience of those readers who may wish to skip a few pages and to carry on into the remainder of the text.

In earlier times, both in England and in Western Europe, the main source of sugar was honey and, to a lesser extent, the seasonal availability of some sweet fruits. Sugar beet was eventually to become the commercial source of sugar to these cold climate lands, but there was a superior source of sugar out there waiting to be discovered and exploited. Natives of the South Pacific islands had, for many generations, been cultivating and harvesting their higher yielding, indigenous sugar cane plant.

Early European explorers in the Pacific Ocean found that the natives of many of these islands were cultivating sugar cane in their gardens, and the people of New Guinea, in particular, had many varieties of cane that were of a very sweet, thick-stemmed nature with a soft rind. At a later date seeds from these canes were used to improve many of the commercially successful, Australian-bred, hybrid varieties.

It is possible that the Melanesians and Polynesians were the first sugar cane breeders. Certainly, in terms of their long exposure to the sugar cane plant and in their desire to obtain a soft rind and pith combined with the maximum sweetness on chewing, they were the first selectors of the best natural varieties. In

considering the extent of human migration in prehistoric and historic times, and from island to island in the Pacific Ocean – much of which occurred in relatively recent times – it seems likely that humans themselves may have been a significant agent in the dispersion of such a popular plant. In the Pacific Ocean the effect of cyclones and currents should also not be ignored, given the durability of the cane stalk with its waxy coating and the ability of the plant to strike from stalk fragments.

Sugar cane and the accompanying production of raw sugar migrated, via southern Asia, to India and the south of China well before the beginning of the Christian era. Sugar being then an expensive commodity it was economical to transport it in relatively small quantities from the southern Asian cane farmers to the Near East, by caravan over the land-based trade routes, and by coastal dhow in maritime trading. Inevitably the sugar cane plant was to follow the commodity itself, to be cultivated in the arable lands between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers.

When the Arabs, under the flag of Islam, conquered northern Africa and large areas of Southern and Western Europe in the seventh century they extended the plant's habitat from the agricultural areas of the two rivers to the warmer countries of the Mediterranean. The importation of sugar from the Mediterranean area to England occurred considerably later, probably as recently as the 15th century.

At that time, the Venetian merchants were leaders in the transportation and trade of luxury goods to the other ports and cities of the Mediterranean Sea. This luxury trade included the trading in spices and sugar. They became major sugar refiners in their own right and established a pattern of trading and manufacture which survived into the twentieth century. Raw sugar, grown and produced in the cane fields of Egypt, Spain and other warm regions of the Mediterranean, was purchased by the merchants and refined in Venice, for trade with their nearby European markets. For storage and maritime transportation purposes the refined sugar was moulded into conical shapes, much in the way that wine and olive oil storage jars had been configured since ancient times for similar purposes.

At a later date, and on his second voyage, Christopher Columbus introduced sugar cane to the Caribbean. Here it flourished to such an extent that the area was to become regarded as the world's sugar bowl.

Later again sugar cane from the Cape of Good Hope was taken aboard by the First Fleet, while en route to Botany Bay, and was probably transferred from there to Norfolk Island as, in 1788, Lieutenant Philip Gidley King the then commandant of Norfolk Island reported to Governor Phillip that the sugar cane there was thriving very well. However there appears to be no record of cane having been grown on the Australian mainland until Thomas Alison Scott introduced it from Tahiti in the Society Islands in 1817.

The census of 1836 found that the Colony of New South Wales (there were no separate Victorian or Queensland colonies in those days) had populations of 77,096 people and 3,000,000 sheep. Three years later The Australian

Sugar Company was formed in London by a company promoter, Francis Kemble, and the Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Kent, William Knox Child, who had concluded that the colony's commercial centre Sydney would be an attractive location for a sugar refinery. However, though the necessary equipment was consigned to Sydney, this company was dissolved and a new company, The Australasian Sugar Company, under the management of Edward Knox, emerged to take over and utilize its assets. The manufacture of the refined sugar, from raw sugar obtained from the Philippines, commenced in 1842 when the company was selling lump sugar at 4½d per pound and fine sugar pieces at 2¾d per pound. However supplies of raw sugar for refining purposes did not become available from sources within the colony until the late 1860's.

To grow sugar cane in the Australian colonies successfully Pacific Island labour had to be imported and The Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited, which had been formed in 1855 under the guidance of Knox, was to extend its activities outside Australia by establishing a sugar industry in Fiji in about 1880. The cane was being returned to its place of origin; the wheel had turned full circle.

## SUGAR THE TRADABLE COMMODITY

The organic chemists' name for ordinary household sugar is sucrose and it is found in many members of the plant kingdom though in variable quantities. Some examples of other commercial sources of sucrose are sugar beet, the Canadian sugar maple and honey made by the bees from the nectar of flowers. The bees can also have a major effect on the production of other important commercial crops, where their activity can be critical for the crop's pollination.

The earliest colonial sugar pioneers made raw sugar by methods that had been used in Asia, mainly in India and the south of China, for thousands of years. Here individual stalks of sugar cane were fed into wooden, crushing rollers which were turned either by hand or by a beast of burden such as a draught horse (in Australia) or more likely by water buffalo (in Asia). In all cases the thrust was applied to beams set over circular paths surrounding the crushing rollers. The juice from the rollers was concentrated by boiling over wood fires in open pots. Following concentration the juice was poured into cooling vessels where the sugar crystallized out of the syrup. The crystal and syrup mixture was then transferred into moulds where further cooling occurred and the mix became a solid suitable for consumption or trade.

The more modern milling procedures, that became practical following the development of the steam engine and that became the norm in the Australian colonies, will be described in significantly greater detail in the following pages.

The sugar produced is now transported both by land and sea in very large quantities and a significant amount is refined into the white sugar form.

# THE NATURE OF SUGAR CANE

In appearance the sugar cane plant resembles a type of bamboo, with regularly spaced joints or nodes, but it does not have the characteristically hollow bamboo stem. It is a genuine grass, of the *Saccharum* genus, and traditional varieties could reach a height of three to four metres. However a contemporary crop's height will be subject to the most recent developments in new cane varieties and is generally more compact with higher sugar content.

The canes of a single plant can form a clump called a stool. Commercial varieties of cane with thick stalks can produce five to eight stalks to a stool, whereas the stools of varieties having thinner stalks may produce up to fourteen or fifteen. The side leaves tend to die and fall off as the plant grows but sufficient are retained in a dry form to provide tinder for the stripping of the cane by fire where this is required to provide the most economical form of harvest. Such a procedure may be required where a natural disaster such as a cyclone disturbs the naturally occurring vertical growth habit of the plant. A green leaf top is always preserved on each stalk and this consists of slender leaves up to one and one third metres in length.

The cane plant flower is typical of that of the grass family, though on a larger scale, and consists of a grey to purplish plume of a feathery nature and up to one and one quarter metres long. A field in full flower is said to be arrowing and can present a very picturesque scene. Under favourable climatic conditions the harvesting of the seed, which forms consequent to this flowering, is essential for the breeding of new cane varieties. However this would not normally be of great interest to the typical cane farmer who plants his new crop by laying 300 mm long cuttings, or setts, of the cane stalk flat in a furrow then covering them with 50 to 75 millimetres of soil. Varietal development has produced more disease resistant cane and more compact stalks having significantly higher commercial sugar content.

The leaf of the plant utilizes a green coloured substance, called chlorophyll, to form the sucrose and it is possible that the sugar cane leaf may be the most efficient sucrose manufacturer of the plant kingdom. The chlorophyll in the leaf absorbs energy from the photons delivered by sunlight and utilizes this energy to combine carbon dioxide from the air with water from the ground to form the sugars glucose and fructose. These building blocks then combine to form the sucrose. This process, where the chemical element carbon is combined with the water's constituents of hydrogen and oxygen to form a carbohydrate, i.e. a hydrated carbon, is called photosynthesis. Carbohydrates formed in this manner are one of the most important food groups for man and for the herbivore family of animals.

Following manufacture by the sugar cane leaf, the sucrose is transferred to and stored in the cane's stalk, where it is held until required for the plant's future sustenance. A new generation of cane stalks will grow from any plant base that has been left in the ground following harvesting.

A ratoon crop is said to have been produced when the plant bases from the previous crop has been preserved in the ground.

The cultivation of a good ratoon crop means that a further harvest can be made without having to incur the expense involved in ploughing out the remnants of the old crop to make way for the new crop's cultivation and planting. However crop quality will deteriorate without replanting and hence the replanting becomes desirable, possibly after two harvests, to maintain an economic operation.

The sugar cane plant requires abundant, regular moisture, plentiful sunlight and a well-drained soil of reasonable quality. It requires about one thousand litres of water from the soil to produce one kilogram of sugar and, subsequent to its use by the plant, nearly all of this water is transpired. In order for the crop to become rich in sugar it will need a period of relative coolness and a reduction in soil moisture at maturity. This combination has the effect of checking the cane's growth with the consequent raising of the stalk's sugar content

The stalk consists of a fibrous, hard rind surrounding more fibres and pith which contains the sugar-bearing cells that are soft and thin-walled. These must be broken down in the mill by the application of friction and pressure to release the sugar-bearing juice. Harvesting commences in the winter months. Under the old manual cutting methods the stalks were cut off at ground level, the residual side and green top leaves removed, ether with the knife or by the prior burning-off of the cane plot, and the stalks placed on flat-top rail wagons for transportation to the mill. Cut cane delivery from the field to the cane-train on its permanent rail-lines, was originally via horse drawn, later mechanical traction, vehicles travelling on light, demountable and movable rails. Now however mechanical harvesting, with cut cane placed in bins for delivery to the mill, has become an almost universal practice in Australia, and artificial irrigation has also become widely practised.

When averaged over a season the processed stalks contain about sixteen per cent sucrose by weight. The remaining weight consists of some twelve per cent of fibre, seventy per cent of water and approximately two per cent impurities. A typical Australian mill's processing of the cane stalks produces approximately one tonne of the raw sugar from seven and one quarter tonnes of the sugar cane.

Evolution of the industry in Australia has resulted in a stable, viable system where a large central mill has feedstock delivered by an efficient short-haul system from many small owner operated farms. In a world of rapidly changing technology and commerce who knows where things will go from here? For example, if the rind, or bagasse, is found to be capable of producing a valuable foodstuff and/or food additive, a reversion to the older system of small local mills pumping their juice to the central mill, with export of the processed rind to a separate manufacturer, could again become the norm. The dried bagasse can also be used as a fuel source or as a weed inhibitor or soil conditioner.

# Chapter 2

# The Road(s) to Bundaberg

## THE EXPLORERS

The story goes that once a song was written called *The Road to Bundaberg*. However the title line did not scan very well and was subsequently altered to the more lyrical *The Road to Gundagai*. The rest, as the colloquial expression has it 'is history' and a very popular song was born.

In the following passages there will not be one but several 'roads' or routes mentioned as having opened with the passage of time as the attractions of the Bundaberg area became better known and of more interest to travellers and settlers; and as commerce demanded more convenient transport of goods and people.

Some routes of special significance are:

- By sea to the mouth of the (then to be named) Burnett River – Assistant Surveyor James Charles Burnett – in 1847;
- Down the Burnett River from Gayndah – Alexander Walker with his brother Robert and Messrs. Barnard and Parker in the early 1860's; and
- Overland from Baffle Creek – the Steuart Brothers in 1866 – The Steuart brothers, John and Gavin, deserve to be the subjects of a book in their own right;
- By sea – The first ship of any size to enter the Burnett was the *Elizabeth*, under Thomas Miller, which entered the river to deliver a saw mill in early 1867. Regular communication by coastal shipping from Maryborough was commenced by Mr. George Greathead in 1868 - (This shipping business was subsequently sold to Captain F. Roberts);
- Overland – From Gayndah via Mount Perry – the first stage (Gayndah to Mount Perry) by William Robert Knight in 1862; and the second stage (Mount Perry to Bundaberg) by William Knight

with Mr. Finch in 1872. The Mount Perry to Bundaberg track was subsequently shortened by Messrs J. and J. Smith, over the upper part of the route, and by the Steuart Brothers and Mr Thomas Watson at the lower end;

- Road access – From Maryborough the first track was from Tantitha to Gingin Station then via the Booyal Crossing to Henry Palmer's Eureka Station and then, eventually, on to Maryborough. Mr. Alex Walker subsequently opened a track from Bundaberg to Bingera Station which then continued, via Eureka Station, to join the Maryborough to Gladstone mail run. Alexander Walker personally met the expense of the Bundaberg mail's passage in the early stages of this branch run's existence. In 1868 this track was rerouted through the Burrum, following a survey by the Steuart Brothers with the help of some local aborigines, and a subsequent shortening of the new track was affected by Mr. G. S. Maunsell and Sergeant Gallacher;

- By rail – The Bundaberg–Mount Perry railway line opened in 1884; and the Maryborough–Bundaberg railway line opened in 1888; with the Burnett River railway bridge to the north opening in June 1891.

And of the pioneers mentioned above:

**Alexander Walker** was born in 1826 at Garrock County of Kinkardineshire, Scotland and arrived in New South Wales at age 22 years in 1848. He moved to the Mary River area and then to Norton's Camp (soon to be Gayndah) where he opened a store (reputed to be the fourth building to be constructed in the settlement) and stocked two cattle station properties. He also was to hold the licence for the Gayndah Hotel over the period 1860 to 1864. He subsequently relocated down the Burnett and stocked Branyan Station (later consolidated with Bingera Station, the amalgamation retaining the name Bingera) with cattle, possibly in 1863-64. Prior to his tragic death he was a very public spirited citizen of the new settlement of Bundaberg, active in both civic and religious affairs.

**The Steuart Brothers** migrated from Scotland, where, as described by Janette Nolan in her work, *Bundaberg - history and people*, John had been working in a lawyer's office in Lanark prior to their departure to the Colony of New South Wales as young men in 1848. They were very active in the colony in a variety of endeavours including gold prospecting, droving, shipping and storekeeping, and as pioneers were prominent in the establishment of other settlements before arriving in the Bundaberg area. They were the first to set up camp in (North) Bundaberg where they acquired, and lost, a selection. However they were to continue their pioneering activities in the Bundaberg district for many more years. Though Gavin Steuart's memoranda of Bundaberg's early settlement had been lost on his journey north to the Daintree he was able to provide John Young Walker with valuable historical information following his relocation to the Daintree River area which took place in the early 1880's.

**William Robert (Robert) Knight** was born in England in 1816 where, at age 19 years, following the remarriage of his widowed, headmaster father and disagreement with his stepmother, he and his brothers migrated to

Australia in 1835. He acquired land in Warwick and transported goods between that town and Gayndah. By 1850 he and his family were living in Gayndah where his son George was born - probably in 1860. Both Robert and his wife Lydia were intelligent and well educated. Lydia was described as a tall, severe lady who could "use a gun like a man" and Robert was said to have the tall litheness of the natural horseman. In establishing a route to Mount Perry Robert laboured under uncomfortable conditions which involved living off the land on bush animals and birds and by encountering difficulties with the local aborigines. He purchased horses from Bingera Station and also took horses that were considered to be unmanageable from the Walkers to be broken in for work at the station. Alex Walker was considered to be 'not a superior horseman,' his tragic and premature death was caused by damage to the head as a consequence of a fall from a horse. The Knights finally settled in the Kolan area and both died at Arrandale, Lydia in 1891 and Robert in 1897. Their granddaughter Lily married John Cyril Reddan of the Reddan and Mellor storekeeping business originally founded by Michael Joseph Reddan and William Buxton Mellor in 1886.

**George Greathead** – whilst running his shipping business – resided in Maryborough where he was a partner with Mr. F. W. Gladwell in the Central Sugar Factory. Following the sale of his shipping business he relocated to Bundaberg and took up two selections in what is now the Kepnock area. His eldest daughter Anne was born here in one of the selections' slab huts in 1870. He purchased the Hopewell plantation and mill, but in the following uncertain times had a severe bout of anxiety and depression and committed suicide. His wife Ann and son George persisted with the mill to some modest success and George was later to pursue his own career in the sugar industry.




Details of Early Settlement and Other Features
(District Map)
Lowmead
Baffle Ck
Rosedale
Barajonda
Murrays Ck
Watalgan
Mira
Yandaran
Avondale
Moorland
Burnett Heads
Waterloo
Fairymead
Summerville
Woondooma
Gaeta
Old Kolanga
Kolan
Invicta
Bucca
Bargara
The Hummock
Mt Gaeta
Monduran
Kolan
Sharon
Bundaberg
See Local Area Map
Tararan
Bingera
River
Kalbar
Elliott Heads
Bullyard
South Kolan
Gin Gin Creek
Electra
Gin Gin
Guivelda
Area Map
New Moonta
Wonbah
Currajong Ck
Wallaville
Pine Creek
St Agnes Ck
Gregory
Boolbunda Rock
Walla
Goodwood
Wolca
Cordalba
River
Mt Perry
Booyal
Apple Tree Creek
Isis Junction
River
Oaky
River
Childers
Isis
The Goodnight Scrub
Creek
Paradise
Dallarnil
Mingo Crossing
Degilbo
Burnett
Biggenden
Brooweena
Gayndah
CoalstonLakes

# Chapter 3

# The very early Planters & Pioneers

As earlier mentioned, the first man known to have grown sugar cane in the Australian mainland was Thomas Alison Scott who, as a young man, had managed sugar plantations in the West Indies. He obtained canes from Tahiti in 1817 for planting in the Sydney Botanical Gardens. In 1823 the government appointed Scott to take over the growing of a sugar crop at the Port Macquarie penal settlement utilising convict labour and in 1827 he succeeded in making some raw sugar. However the experiment failed due to unsuitable soils and climate, though Scott claimed to have provided both cane for planting and advice to farmers when the industry made a second, successful start in northern rivers area of New South Wales and in Queensland. Scott also provided some cane cuttings to Captain Louis Hope, the proprietor of the first commercially successful private plantation in the Australian colony.

The very earliest records of sugar cane being grown in Queensland date back to the original early European settlers. Commandant Bishop who preceded Captain Logan had, in 1826, written a report which stated, in part, that the sugar cane planted by the late Commandant six or eight months ago, "flourishes exceedingly and most luxuriantly." It appears that sugar cane was being grown successfully only one or two years after the first Queensland landing.

In the year 1838 Mr. Mayo, who had experience with plantations in the East Indies, planted a small patch of land in the Moreton Bay area (now the Redland Shire) with sugar cane from Mauritius. This was probably the first attempt of a private planting in Australia.

The American Civil War interrupted the commercial supplies of cotton and, as a consequence, unsuccessful attempts were made to help meet the demand created by growing

cotton in north-eastern Australia. Many of these unsuccessful planters then turned to the planting of sugar cane as a more viable substitute. The Queensland census of 1861 indicated a population of 34,000 persons and, in the following year, the State Government passed the *Coffee and Sugar Act* which was intended to encourage the establishment of viable industries to provide employment for this increasing population. The *Coffee and Sugar Regulation Act* of 1862 made available selected lands at a nominal rental and with an associated right to purchase the rental property. The Bills immediately stimulated enterprise in this area. One of the first to realize the benefits of its provisions was Captain Louis Hope of Ormiston, near Moreton Bay. With land at 12 shillings per acre Captain Hope planted twenty acres of sugar cane in 1863 and, by establishing a sugar mill, pioneered the way for the establishment of the sugar industry on a commercial basis. By 1867 six mills in Queensland were producing a total of 168 tons of raw sugar.

At Mackay, the first sugar cane known to be planted in the far north was planted by Mr. John Spiller in 1863 and, in the following year, a complete mill was erected on the banks of the Pioneer River.

Sugar cane was grown extensively on the banks of the Brisbane and Logan Rivers and the planters installed many small sugar mills. Even the largest of these mills, built on what is now called Bulimba Creek, relied on draught-horses and not steam to power the mill machinery. The Brisbane suburb of St Lucia was named after the sugar producing island of the same name in the West Indies, due to the sugar cane grown in the area. Here mixed agriculture commenced in 1852 with Robert Cribb being the district's first farmer. The American civil war presented an opportunity to grow cotton but this venture ceased with the war's conclusion in 1865. William Dart obtained sugar cane planting stock from Mauritius in 1869 and installed his own horse-powered mill on the river bank at St Lucia and, the battery for the mill being supplied by Smellie and Co. of Brisbane. The first batch of cane to be milled was supplied by Alexander Watt who was Dart's neighbour. Following unfavourable growing seasons in the St Lucia area in the late 1870's sugar cane planting ceased here and by the early 1880's these farmlands had been given over to land developers.

Elsewhere in the south-eastern Queensland region the sugar industry prospered and sugar cane was the prime crop in this region for many years. The period 1870 to 1880 was, in general, a very prosperous one for the cane planters and this enabled many of them to consolidate their financial position and to improve their properties. These early planters were in the main successful even though they had to overcome the disadvantages caused by their lack of both cane growing experience and capital. In addition they were employing field practices and mill technology that would have been considered out-dated by the sugar industry in the West Indies.

Indentured labourers from the islands of the Southwest Pacific had been brought to the Brisbane area in 1863 by Captain Robert Towns to work in the cotton plantations. To recruit his labour Captain Towns had given written

instructions to Captain Grueber of the *Don Juan* and verbal instructions to sandalwood trader turned recruiter Henry Ross Lewin that ordered both Grueber and Lewin to, "on no account attempt to force or take people against their free will and consent" as the New Hebrideans were, "a poor, timid, inoffensive race."

Even though Towns had provided a mess hall and sleeping huts for the Islanders prior to their arrival on his plantation the *Brisbane Courier* accused Towns of bringing slave labour into the Colony, and went on to accuse the Government of callousness in condoning the activity. Following the setback to cotton planting in 1865 these people, known as Kanakas (from the Melanesian word literally meaning man), had their employment reassigned to the sugar industry. At this time actual slavery, though banned in all of the British colonies, was still in use on the competing plantations of the Dutch colonies, and of those in Puerto Rico and in Cuba. The resolution of the issue of slavery in the American States would not be resolved until after the conclusion of their civil war in 1865.

The use of indentured Kanaka labour in the Australian colonies was to become a cause of disputation, over a period of nearly forty years (1863 to 1904), between pro and anti Kanaka factions. The end to indentured Pacific Island labour, proposed under Queensland legislation to occur in December 1890 but, for practical reasons, actually executed in 1904, was finally precipitated by an Australian-wide Government Treaty. This treaty offered Islanders, then resident in Australia, the choice of either repatriation or of full resident citizenship rights. The same treaty granted equivalent citizenship rights to labourers from other countries such as India, China, Burma and Malaya.

It should be remembered that conditions on many of the Kanakas' home islands were far from perfect due to inter-tribal wars and other causes and, as a consequence, many islanders opted not to return to their home islands at the conclusion of their period of indenture. Some from the Bundaberg area were relocated to Moa Island, the largest island in the Torres Strait, where a Church of England mission was established for the purpose. Moa Island's original population, according to Torres Strait lore, had earlier been lost to inter-tribal warfare. It is probable that Florence Young, a member of the prominent Bundaberg plantation family, was the main driving force behind the establishment of this mission. Other Islanders stayed in Queensland to live as ordinary citizens; some to become planters or businessmen in their own right.

The very first settlers in the Bundaberg area were not planters but timber getters seeking ash and white cedar timber for the making of cask staves. The casks were required for storing the tallow produced by the boiling down of surplus cattle at the Baffle Creek establishment. At this time, in 1866, these cattle had no other ready market, and the shipping of live cattle was not a viable option.

The captain of a small coastal ship had reported that timber for this purpose may be available near the mouth of the Burnett River. An expedition from Baffle Creek was mounted by John W. Steuart and his aboriginal guides, comprising a male and his female partner, into what is now the Bundaberg area to investigate the possibility of obtaining the large quantities

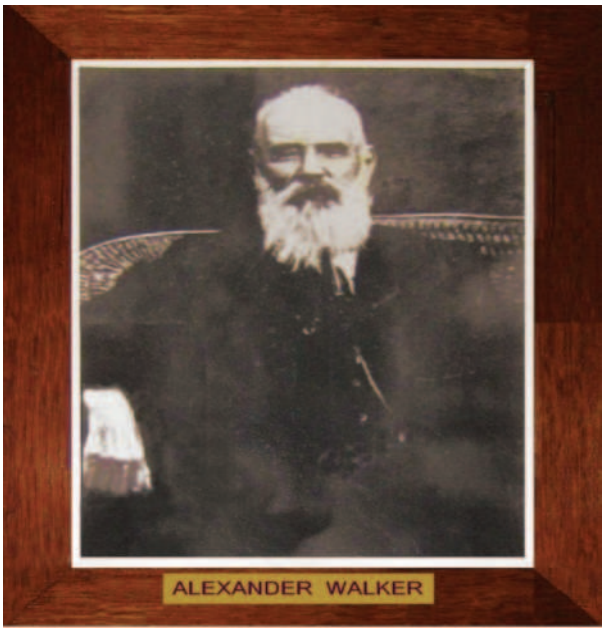
of timber required for the rendering works. Travelling along the coast they arrived at what is now Rubyanna, via Tomato Island. They then backtracked and re-crossed the Burnett River at Tomato Island to reach Tantitha. Here they were met by John's brother Gavin who had travelled from Baffle Creek to Tantitha via Yandaran with the pack-horses.

Following this expedition, John and Gavin set up camp near the present site of the North Bundaberg Railway Station and, on Christmas Day 1866, they set about establishing a 320 acre selection under the *Coffee and Sugar Regulations Act* of 1862, on the north bank of the Burnett. They gave the name Woondooma to this selection which was approved in April 1869. They then erected a small, five horsepower mill on the site.

Their business was not successful and Woondooma passed into the hands of Farquhar and Dunn in 1878. Mr. Dunn the resident partner died in April 1880, and by 1890 Mr. Farquhar had become the chief partner in the Hummock, then one of the finest Woongarra plantations. Other selections made under the *Coffee and Sugar Regulations* at the time were Fairymead, Rubyanna and probably Millbank.

The Steuarts' contribution to the Bundaberg settlement has been recorded in the (misspelt) street name of Gavan in North Bundaberg. When the Steuarts arrived on the river the European population of the district consisted of five men at Tantitha, two at Bingera and three at Kolan.

The Steuart brothers chartered the ketch *Lady Bowen*, under the navigation of the Baffle Creek pilot Lawrence Jansen, to deliver supplies to their camp. Their own boat was consigned with these




**Alexander Walker**

supplies and, with the aid of a pocket-compass, they proceeded to draft a rough chart of the river. This they supplied to the Port Office at Maryborough, thus enabling Mr. Thos. Miller of that port to send his schooner, the *Elizabeth*, under Captain Coode into the Burnett River. Following other major pioneering works in the Bundaberg area the Steuart Brothers left Bundaberg and relocated to the Daintree River area, John in 1877, and Gavin in the early 1880's where they were again the earliest pioneers, though now in a less forgiving and more demanding environment.

Prior to this exploration by the Steuarts, Mr. Alex Walker with a party of men from Gayndah had also explored the Burnett River downstream as far as Barolin and on to the South Head, and they had also declared it to be navigable.

Whether dictated by fate or genes there will always be some who must constantly follow their star to the expanding, outer limits of either the geographical or intellectual boundaries. Such people were the Steuarts who, through their endeavours deserved much more success and recognition than they obtained in real life; perhaps they always tried to reach just that little bit too far. Much of their energy was expended on ventures that benefited the community as much as, if not more than, themselves; and their own affairs appear to have been conducted with insufficient resources to provide any meaningful margin of safety. Some people, such as the Reddans and the Mellors, prospered by helping to consolidate the advances in developments that had already been made, while others like Walter Adams, through a fortunate mix of confidence, competence, a sense of adventure and no doubt some luck managed to succeed whilst keeping a foot in both the pioneering and consolidation camps. I think that it was John Paul Getty who once remarked that to become rich one had to rise early, work hard – and strike oil!

The first recorded planter in the immediate Bundaberg area was Thomas Watson who made a successful application for a selection of 320 acres under the *Coffee and Sugar Regulations Act* of 1862. The selection, named Mabbro was approved on 20th October 1868. Mr. Watson subsequently sold 100 acres of this selection to Samuel Johnston, originally of County Derry, who had immigrated to Australia in 1840. Johnston commenced installation of his Bundaberg sawmill in late 1868 following his relocation from the Fitzroy area where he had been conducting his previous sawmilling operation. Gavin Steuart was to state that Samuel Johnston's mill was to provide a major boost to the early development of the Bundaberg settlement, and John Young Walker later observed that Mr. Johnston, the owner of the Waterview Saw and Sugar Mills, was to become one of Bundaberg's most prosperous citizens.

Mr. Watson had arrived on the Bundaberg scene via Bingera Station, then owned by Mr. Alexander Walker of Gayndah. For a considerable time his wife and daughter were the only white women inhabitants of Bundaberg. They were domiciled in the substantial slab hut with shingle roof that Thomas had erected and behind which the Mulgrave Hotel was later constructed.

By the beginning of 1868 the District-surveyor, John Thompson, using his wife's name, had established a 1200 acre selection called Rubyanna. He was joined in the venture by Mr. R. Kendall, formally a mathematics master at the Grammar School and later Town Clerk of Ipswich. The venture furnished employment to a large number of people, and also provided impetus to agricultural settlement in the area, but was a commercial failure.

The names of Bingera, Barolin, Branyan, Tantitha and Kolan are familiar to all residents of Bundaberg; but what were they? The simple answer is that they were the first cattle properties in the Bundaberg area. But, as in many issues of this nature, the people who were later to study the district's history were to find that the matter was far from simple.

The first squatters to arrive in the Queensland colony were settlers searching for large areas of land to provide permanent grazing for their sheep flocks. The initial wave of these squatters were to find that, because of the prevalence of spear-grass

and of diseases caused by the moisture prevailing east of the Great Dividing Range, the coastal lands were not hospitable to sheep husbandry. Following a population increase provided by more or less steady immigration, and with the dramatic acceleration in this immigration upon the advent of the gold rushes, a more reliable market had opened for cattle products. This in turn had provided a corresponding rise in demand for properties suitable for cattle grazing. As the Bundaberg area had been bypassed by the first wave of settlement, prospective squatters such as Alex Walker were encouraged by the 1847 *Orders in Council* to investigate the area in a search for cattle, rather than sheep, lands.

The earliest, surveyed stations between the Burnett and Elliott Rivers were Branyan, stretching along the south bank of the Burnett, and Bingera, south of Branyan Station and north of the Elliott River. Barolin Station, was to overly the remaining area east of the Sloping Hummock and between the two rivers. The northern bank of the Burnett River, opposite the future Bundaberg Township, was occupied by Tantitha Station with the Kolan Station being located further upstream.

Though the stations mentioned above are of considerable significance to the very early history of Bundaberg, their changes in ownership, history of stocking, and modifications due to the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868 are outside the scope of this work and are, quite frankly, beyond the limits of my knowledge. Nor are they covered by my available references. However Neville Rackemann, in his book, *BUNDABERG From Pioneers To Prosperity*, explores the nature, vicissitudes and evolving changes in ownership of these stations in considerable detail and this work provides an excellent reference for any person who wishes to explore this particular segment of history.

With respect to Branyan and Bingera Stations even Mr. Rackermann is forced to remark, "Even with research carried out over a long period, it is doubtful whether all the facts will ever come to light." One aspect of the matter does seem to be clear; research carried out by Mr. Ron Harvey of Bundaberg indicates that Alexander Walker and his companions were the first to reside on Branyan Station with Bingera Station apparently remaining unoccupied. At a later time, and having accumulated the titles to the remnants of both Branyan and Bingera Stations, Robert and John Ridler combined the two stations under the single name of Bingera Station. This holding was to revert to the ownership of Alex Walker in 1875. The Barolin lease was acquired by Alfred and Arthur Brown; Tantitha was originally leased by the Hassalls in 1860 and Kolan by Robert Tooth.

However the era of the cattle station in the immediate vicinity of the future Bundaberg Township was to be relatively short owing to its replacement by agricultural expansion. Some of the early plantations, which were soon to replace the early cattle stations, were:

On the north side of the river:

- The Youngs' plantation Fairymead – taken up under the *Coffee and Sugar Regulations* by Messrs. Hassell and Ogg;
- Richard Palmer's Millbank – to the west and described below;

On the south side of the Woongarra scrub:

- The plantations of George Greathead (Hopewell) and William Archer (Everton), who arrived together from Maryborough in 1869 – and some others;

At the opposite end, along the river bank from the site of the future Kennedy Bridge (completed in 1878 by Mr. W. W. Lapham) to Rubyanna:

- The plantations of Messes R. Kendall, Kirby, Jealous, R. Lee (Sherwood) and M'Gill;

  Along the Barolin Track on the eastern side reached from the river bank the next contingent from Maryborough, their selections being surveyed by Surveyor Barnes in March 1872:

- The plantations of Messrs. Adams (Sommerville), Noakes (Springhill) and Faulkner (Woodlands). Prior to this Mr. Faulkner had been an unsuccessful prospector in the goldfields of California, New South Wales, Victoria and of Gympie in Queensland.

And in the Woongarra Scrub proper:

- The plantations of W. Price and of Richard Jones settled in 1871 which were later to become part of the Duncraggan estate.

It was not realized at the time that the Woongarra lands overlaid a freshwater aquifer that was, up to at least the early 1960's, discharging into the chain of waterholes located just east of Bundaberg (later to be tapped for the town's water supply); on the south to the waterholes of the freshwater Elliot River; and on the eastern seaboard to the Pacific Ocean. The ground-water surface was just above high tide level near the sea and it could be found within about 1.3 metres of the ground surface in a large part of this eastern area. The pumping of town and irrigation water from bores was eventually to halt, and then to reverse, these outflows.

The availability of this plentiful, shallow, underground water was, no doubt, the reason for the existence of the dense Woongarra Scrub with its,

> *… interlaced mass of rampant vegetation, mighty trees bound together above by vines like the cables of a frigate, and matted below by intervening thorns and briars to such that path there is none till it is cut through the solid greenery by axe and billhook … myriads of fireflies … wallabies by the score … boots full of blood drawn and disgorged by the leeches, which cling to every limb and leaflet of the dank vegetation … the doves which form the majority of the bird population … the flash of the metallic gleam and scarlet and golden plumage of the regent-bird … the mosquitoes unintermittent in their attentions … you may possibly disturb tallegalla (the bush turkey) … casting your eye upward through a rare break in the overshadowing canopy you may see in the empyrean the widespread wings of the Australian eagle … and haply, turning your glance earthwards … the basilisk glance of the black or tiger snake or even the lazy wrigglings of the harmless carpet python.*
>
> J. Y. Walker.

(Note: the brown snake, though abundant in the area generally, seemed to prefer the open forest and grasslands - R. L. C.)

Again J. Y. Walker, in his *History of Bundaberg – A Typical Queensland Agricultural Settlement*, is to the fore in describing the initial clearing of this scrub:

*A patch of five, ten, or twenty acres is marked off; and the work of clearing begins. The first operation is technically called "brushing." This consists in cutting at the ground all vines, and undergrowth, and all saplings which are amenable to the bill-hook. Then follows the felling of the larger timber. This is rather a nice job, and affords scope for the exercise of considerable skill and "woodcraft." In this, as in all other cases, it is experientia that docet. A skilful "feller" (no pun here) will cut, usually about two feet from the ground, the smaller trees first, then tackle the larger timber, and, observing the "hang of the wood," will cut nearly through over a considerable area, till coming to a dominant tree, with a decided hang, he will cut it entirely through, sending perhaps half an acre down with a single crash. Carrying this practice out, over the area to be felled, the trunks will probably be found lying in parallel lines and the tops so matted together in a flat heap that in six weeks or two months, a running fire started at one end under the impulse of a brisk breeze will burn, not only the matted light stuff which carries the fire, but also most of the solid trunks, and leave the ground clear and ready for its first crop. Seldom, however, do matters turn out quite so well as indicated. There is usually some piling and chopping to be done before the crop can be put in; and a bad fire is a tremendous disaster.*

*It may be seen from the general denudation of the district surrounding Bundaberg that 'bad fires' have not been frequent. No horses or implements can be employed in this first operation of scrub agricultural settlement. The crop (usually maize) is put in with the hoe alone; and sometimes from the interlacing of the reticulation of roots there is difficulty in stirring soil sufficient to cover the seed. Nevertheless, by this rough mode of manipulation, enormous crops are raised; and in about four years, with a very little stumping the plough may be put in.*

*In the meantime, while the scrub is drying, that is between the felling and the fire, perhaps the farmer is "a few pounds to the good," and can afford to set about the building of his first house which may afterwards become a barn. This must needs be of split slabs - we do not build log-houses in Australia; and there are no roads to sawmill, nor money to spare for weatherboards or squared scantling, which is so much easier and pleasanter to build with. There is plenty of ash in the scrub, which splits nicely, also Flindosa (called in the south Crow's Ash) and, in some of the scrubs, Moreton Bay Pine, from which slabs might be procured. But all three are perishable. He would prefer a flooded gum, if he could find one. These are monstrous isolated specimens of the Eucalypti growing in the damp pockets of the scrub or on the alluvial deposits of the rivers. They attain enormous size, and usually split freely. To a new chum settler the discovery of one of them within reasonable distance is a windfall. It may furnish material for his house and all his first outbuildings. There are very few of them now left in the district of the lower Burnett. The breaking up of one of these giants of the forest is quite an event in the district in which it occurs. Many have been attempted, and, from sheer lack of manual and*

*mechanical power to manipulate such masses of timber, have been left standing, half-felled.*

And, *But while the settler in the scrub has abundant compensation for the labour required to fell and work up these enormous 'flooded gums' in the mass of valuable building material he thereby acquires, there is another majestic vegetable growth which it gives him nearly as much trouble to dispose of. This is the small-leaved fig which occurs throughout the scrubs at intervals more or less frequent. It attains occasionally immense dimensions and looking over the scrubs from an outside elevation the tops of these giants may be seen like lofty pyramids and domes of lofty green towering above the surrounding jungle. Starting life as a parasite from some seed dropped by a bird in the fork of another tree, it drops to the ground around the parent stem slender filaments or rootlets, which taking hold, swell in bulk, speedily coalesce into a single stem and ultimately crush the life out of the supporting tree.*

*By-and-bye innumerable vines and creepers climb into the lofty branches and tumbling over in a cataract of green; twist themselves among the tops of the adjoining trees, interlacing the whole in one inextricable mass. Below, the surface roots run along over acres of ground, swelling around the butt of the tree into buttresses which form detached chambers of considerable size. The felling of one of these trees necessitates of course the previous felling or half-felling of a large surrounding area, involves the labor of many days, and when the final crash comes its reverberations are heard throughout the neighbourhood. On one such occasion when more than an acre of scrub was half felled, dependent on the one long dominant monarch, the stroke of the axe produced a crash so tremendous as to startle a farmer's wife fully half a mile away … . The timber, however, is utterly worthless for building, being, when green, soft as soap, and, when dry, porous as pumice stone. Though of such immense bulk, it does not long cumber the ground, burning like tinder after a year or two's drying.*

When Edward Aldridge, generally acknowledged as the founder of Maryborough, established the Baddow Station, now a Maryborough suburb, in the period 1848-49, the brothers Richard and Henry Palmer were with him as station owners in their own right and were later to become very early planters in the Bundaberg region.

Henry Palmer went on to become Mayor of Maryborough (1861), the Member for Port Curtis in the Queensland Legislative Assembly, and a leading pioneer in the Wide Bay sugar industry. On the 29th December 1869 Mr. Palmer selected 480 acres on the north bank of the Burnett River. This was resumed from the Bingera Station, and renamed Sharon Plantation. It was located about 1.5 miles upstream from the city centre's Burnett River traffic bridge. The schooner *Countess of Belmore* delivered the new machinery for Henry Palmer's plantation, Sharon, on the opposite bank of the Burnett River in July 1876.

Richard E. Palmer was the first man known to both grow and process sugar cane in the Bundaberg region. It took his farm workers two years, starting in 1871, to clear rainforest and plant 74 acres of sugar cane. Mr. Palmer named his selection Millbank. A mill building was erected at Millbank and consisted of a corrugated iron shed with a split slab floor. The

Walker Foundry in Maryborough built the mill plant which incorporated a double-gear mill with four foot wide rollers. These rollers, three Wetzell pans for boiling sugar cane juice, and centrifuges to separate dark-chocolate coloured molasses from yellow sugar crystals, produced Bundaberg region's first commercial sugar in August, 1872. This mill was destroyed in the flood of 1875 and the *Maryborough Chronicle* of the 24th June 1876 recorded that the Good Hope Sugar Mill had been purchased by Mr. Palmer and relocated from its Maryborough location to act as a replacement mill on his Millbank selection. The memory of this long vanished sugar cane field, with its mill site, is now preserved in the name of the West Bundaberg suburb of Millbank. Buss and Penny subsequently acquired the Millbank plantation in 1883 and cleared a large portion of the forest land for suburban residences.

In 1881 the, 'Yankee notion' Victor Sugar Mill was demonstrated in Walter Adams' back yard. It was said to cost a trifling £60 to £200 and operated without steam power. One of these mills was purchased by Mr. S. Rowe and another by Mr. R. Thompson. A great deal of manual labour was required to operate the mill but Mr. Rowe did manage to produce some sugar in the first season; he then abandoned the equipment and instead opted to pump his juice to Millaquin. Mr. Thompson, on finding it necessary to employ expensive labour to work his mill was forced to sell his plantation to the Pemberton Grange plantation, the property of Messrs Buss and Davidson.

The Thompson mill was transported by Martin Wessel to his farm on the Kolan where he was fortunate to have some stalwart sons who helped him in its operation. Unfortunately the sons' opinions of the mill do not appear to have been recorded. This mill was subsequently replaced by full vacuum pan sugar-making equipment.

Other early, second generation mills were erected at:

- Avoca Plantation – S. & V. Maunsel - purchased in November 1880 for £3280, the equipment arrived from Glasgow in April 1882;
- Kalbar – Doctor May – commenced operation in June 1882;
- Bonna – Mr. Pringle – commenced operation in October 1883;
- Tegege (on the Kolan) – Richard Jones (former owner of a property sold into the Duncraggan plantation) – in 1884
- Oakwood – Buchanan & Denny a juice mill;
- Cuba – McDouall Brothers – later dismantled; and
- Fairymead (1884) and Bingera (1885) also acquired mills at about this time.

Some of these early mills were on the cultivated, alluvial river flats, or on the river bank itself, and were subsequently subjected to flood damage.

By 1888 the mills on Mon Repos, Springhill, Waterview and Windemere Plantations had followed the much earlier Millbank example and had been converted to full mill status. Most other mills, including that on Sommerville, remained as juice mills utilizing the Millaquin facilities.

# Chapter 4

# The Establishment of a new Town

Following the disastrous floods of 1870 a decision was taken to establish the township of Bundaberg on the south bank of the Burnett River, where the ground was significantly higher than that of the land on the northern bank which is situated between the existing Burnett River and an earlier, now buried river channel. The surveying of the town layout was carried out by Mr. Thompson and his assistant Mr. Edwards and they preferentially adopted aboriginal place names for the streets, though in an Anglicised form.

Work on the town's relocation must have progressed very rapidly as the Adams Hotel in Bourbong Street was up and running by 1873 at the latest: and in 1886, a relatively short thirteen years later, this near new hotel was being demolished to make way for the much more substantial, two story brick and mortar establishment that had, since 1879, been renamed the Metropolitan Hotel.

The following photographs of the original Adams Hotel have been included for two reasons; the first is obviously related to their historical significance but the second, and why both photographs have been included, is that they provide means to act as a benchmark for the dating of other very early Bundaberg photographs.

In the photograph, taken shortly after construction (1872-3), it will be noted that there is no street gas lighting and no kerbing. However in the second photograph, taken before the renaming of the hotel as the Metropolitan, in 1879, it will be noted that there are both gas lights and kerbing.

As an example, the leading photograph taken along very early Bourbong Street, has street lighting but no kerbing, which would suggest that it was probably taken between 1873 and 1878. The shadows indicate that the



**Adams Hotel** – shortly after construction



**Adams Hotel** – shortly before being renamed the Metropolitan Hotel



**Bourbong Street** – in the mid 1870's, looking west

photographer was facing west, and the pointed shadow of the unseen façade to the north would seem to indicate a locality near the then town centre, probably at a point on the north-eastern corner of the Bourbong and Maryborough Street intersection. It will be observed that the gas street-light, with its attendant ladder, is identical to the one appearing in the later dated photograph of the Adams Hotel corner.

## PLACE NAMES

According to Mr. J. Y. Walker Bourbong (Boorbung) Street was named after the Aboriginal name for a chain of waterholes between the town and Rubyanna; and Targo (Tchago) Street was named after the locality where Saltwater Creek meets the river. Tantitha, Walla, Bingera and Woongarra Streets have similar indigenous place name derivations. Bunda was the name given by the aboriginals to Mr. Edwards, who designed the town layout, and this may have been their way of accepting him into the tribe. Surveyor Thompson added the suffix berg (for burg - representing a town) to Bunda to arrive at the name of Bundaberg, that is to say Bunda's town.

The Steuarts had very good relations with the local aborigines, and they often shared information with historical writer J. Y. Walker with whom they also had a long, ongoing association. Mr. Walker's explanation of the place name derivations is therefore quite credible. It is of course also quite possible that

Mr. Walker himself may have had similar good relations with the original inhabitants.

## SOME OF THE TOWN'S FIRSTS

Some significant first events for the new town were:

- Captain Roberts, the purchaser of George Greathead's coastal shipping business, and who commanded a small boat of 13 tons between Bundaberg and Maryborough, constructed the first house on the riverbank near the future hospital site;
- the first steamer to visit the Bundaberg Port was the *Sir John Young*;
- the first selection made under the new *Lands Act* of 1868 was made on Splitters' Creek by Mr. R. Kendall;
- The first two land sales of Bundaberg allotments were made in Maryborough at an upset price of £8 per acre. The allotments did not sell freely or at high prices, and many of them remained unsold;
- The first wharf on the north side of the river was erected by the Australian Steam Navigation Company;
- The first store on the north side of the river was established by Mr. H. J. Ford but he was flooded out, and narrowly escaped drowning, in the flood of 1870;
- A branch of the Bank of New South Wales was opened in April 1872;
- The first land sale in Bundaberg took place on 22nd August 1872, and the first transaction was the purchase by Mr. T. E. Thornton of Portion 3 of Section 10 adjoining the School of Arts Reserve in Bourbon Street for £4 10s. (The subsequent rapid rise in Bundaberg land prices by 1890 resulted in a single similar allotment at the extreme end of Bourbong Street, with some wooden buildings erected, was advertised for sale as being cheap at nearly £4,000);
- The opening of the first south bank store by Mr. A. Cathcart, acting as agent for Messrs. Southerden of Maryborough, later to become the store of Buss and Williams and - in 1876 - Buss and Company*;
- Also in 1876 a coach service to Maryborough and the first racing programme.
- A brewery was established by Messrs. Steindl and Fleming in 1883; this partnership was dissolved in 1888 and Mr Steindl then created a second brewery; and
- The distillery was established in East Bundaberg in 1888 at a cost of £5,000 - the famous Bundaberg Rum had arrived.

*(NOTE: As previously mentioned, two former employees of Buss and Company, Michael Joseph Reddan and William Buxton Mellor, were to open their competing store of Reddan and Mellor in 1886.)

## AND SOME RELEVANT STATISTICS

The list of customs returns given below shows Bundaberg's rise in purchasing power in the early years following settlement:

By excluding the very early years, the average annual compound percentage increase in returns over the ten year period from 1875 to 1885 was in excess of 24%.

In 1880 the volume of sugar crop in the Bundaberg district was 900 tons; and this, by 1890, was estimated to have increased to 1800 tons. In 1888 the total value of Bundaberg's exports was £362,500 of which amount £308,422 was the value contributed by the export of sugar, leaving only £54,078 for other productions. With no sugar it is obvious that there could have been no prosperity for Bundaberg, and the town itself would only have been a small and penurious village. In all of Queensland there were 205,737 acres under cultivation and of this 51,815 acres were under cane, that being one quarter of the total. From 1883 to 1887 sugar of all classes had fallen 50% in price while, at the same time Kanaka labour costs had risen by 50%. This, and other factors mentioned below, caused very considerable stress to the sugar industry; though Bundaberg, with its rapidly expanding production and central mill, was better off than most other districts in this regard. By the mid to late 1880's the very depressed state of the Queensland sugar industry, together with the significance of the finances of the industry to the colony, had precipitated a Royal Commission into the industry. Some details, as submitted to the Queensland Parliament by this Commission follow.

| SEASON (From 1st August to 31st December) | RETURNS |
|---|---|
| 1871 | £192 - 15 - 9 |
| 1872 | £ 1,162 - 2 - 11 |
| 1873 | £ 2,092 - 6 - 2 |
| 1874 | £ 1,283 - 11 - 7 |
| 1875 | £ 1,643 - 12 - 2 |
| 1876 | £ 1,569 - 11 - 8 |
| 1877 | £ 1,650 - 11-10 |
| 1878 | £ 1,719 - 4 - 6 |
| 1879 | £ 4,004 - 15-10 |
| 1880 | £ 3,456 - 11 - 1 |
| 1881 | £ 5,473 - 18 - 3 |
| 1882 | £ 8,316 - 9 - 2 |
| 1883 | £ 10,989 - 18 -10 |
| 1884 | £ 13,452 - 6 - 8 |
| 1885 | £ 14, 306 - 5 - 0 |

## SATURDAY NIGHT IN BUNDABERG

The following article is an extract from the *Wide Bay & Burnett Directory* of 1887. It gives a vivid account of the life of the bustling town centre of Bundaberg in Walter's time.




**Early Bourbong Street** – with the Buss Emporium on right



**Bourbong Street** – looking east past the Metropolitan Hotel

*Anyone coming to Bundaberg in the daytime, on any of the days of the week except Saturday, would most likely pronounce the place a regular "sleepy hollow". During the hot, sweltering afternoons, before the sea breeze wakes up at sunset, one might fire a cannon ball along Bourbon Street – the main highway – without hitting anything more important than a stray dog. The streets are all wide, and there is a dimness of vista in the mile or so of straight street that one never forgets. But appearances are all deceptive, and in this case, particularly so. Wait til the business day comes round – the Saint Saturday of the store keepers. The street is fairly well frequented from breakfast time, and as the morning wears on, there are visible a number of country people, some on horseback and others in buggies. The first call is invariably at the Post Office and is generally followed by a stroll or drive round the street over-looking and running parallel with the river, where some of the banks are to be found, and where the Lands, Customs and Polynesian Immigration offices and the Court House overlook the Burnett. As noon comes along it is evident that the town has half as many people again in it as it had the previous day. There is something like a continuous stream of people on the sunny side of the street – the left hand side from the Post Office – always the business side to be noticed. Some auctions are going on, judging by the red flag sticking out of a tall three-storey building and sundry boards standing outside on the footway with a lot of people lolling in and out of the very wide portals. There is a bit of a lull for an hour or so while the luncheon is being attended to, but the afternoon is lively enough as a rule, if that terrible visitation of a wet Saturday does not come on.*

*The country folk have a distinct look of their own – a sturdy, well-to-do somewhat obtrusive sort of prosperity about them, with more pronounced complexions than the pale town-dwellers. There are scores of German farmers and their wives who appear to be very fond of talking Teuton in small groups, while "mien daug" is frisking about close at hand. Many of the store keepers stand at their doors, waiting to meet farmer this or farmer that, and as a general thing, there is a good deal of gossip mixed up with business, and not seldom a turn into the "Palace" close at hand to finish off. The planters are of a different character and generally come in on horse-back and appear busy and preoccupied. Judging by what fearful and extraordinary calumnies have been circulated down South about the Queensland planter, one feels a thrill of surprise in finding him precisely the same as any ordinary well-dressed man. He does not carry a cow hide, and he does not as a rule drink raw brandy to drive him to the necessary stage of Harriet Beecher Stowe ferocity, and, in fact, to meet and speak to the average planter would give no other idea than that he was a cultivated gentleman as likely to commit suicide as to be guilty of any brutality towards the boys under his care. It is strange, by the way, that the white men who work on the plantations often complain that the Kanakas are treated far better than they are. As for the lads themselves, they say nothing in English, but as they are always laughing and look fat and sleek, and shiny in the sun, they probably don't care a straw one way or the other.*

*The exodus of visitors takes place from four to six o'clock. The daily mail comes in from Maryborough at about five, and after the*

*letters are taken there is nothing to hinder the planter or settler any longer. By dusk the town is quiet as ever. But on Saturday nights, there are signs of revival. After tea-time, soon after the gas gets lit up – yes, gentle reader, we have gas and very good gas too in Bundaberg – you see young Bundaberg and his wife starting on a tour down Bourbon-street which will take some couple of hours, and the close of it will see them loaded with small parcels and with the memories of divers neighbours' yarns of domestic troubles, and so on. From all quarters you will see swarms of Kanakas coming quietly down the middle of the street, with all the gorgeousness that money and 'trade' drapery can make them. A tall straw hat, with a cheap silk neck tie that would shame the sun at noon day, with a pipe, generally a clay – sometimes a briar or meerschaum – all this, with much guttural chattering and laughing makes up a Bundaberg kanaka on Saturday night, and he never travels singly. It is a lie to say that they are the cause of rows between themselves and white men. They don't get drunk, but some of the white men generally do, just to show the superiority of civilisation over heathendom, and they will sometimes go out of their way to raise a fight. But such things have become a very rare occurrence, and a walk through the main street of Bundaberg on such a night is much safer for an unprotected woman than the main thoroughfares of Brisbane, Sydney or Melbourne would be.*

*As you go along from the Post Office, now that the night has come on, you will notice a considerable illumination in a big store to the left – the leading store of Bundaberg, a place that has been a sort of foster nurse to half the business houses in the town. It is lofty and spacious, and is generally filled with people from one end to the other. Everybody knows that "Buss's" is thoroughly dependable, and a child with a letter ordering goods would be served just as well as the P.M. himself. The firm is one of very few in this colony that seem to preserve the traditions of such houses that Dickens had in his mind's eye when he wrote of Chuzzlewit Bros. No employee ever leaves Buss's except to set up for himself, and when it is added that some half dozen of the best firms in the town have all started from this source, it need hardly be said that the firm is an honoured one. The large ironmonger's shop – a very handsome iron and plate glass front it has too – has, for one of its partners, one of the old assistants of the big store. There is another iron monger opposite whose proprietor is probably the best known man in the town, and to right and left of him are the leading chemists, a notable firm of auctioneers, the biggest butchering establishment, belonging to Skyring Bros – one of whom was a Bundaberg pioneer – and the shop of the chief watchmakers and jewellers. Then there is a waste piece of ground and a number of smaller shops, conspicuous among which, on account of its own black and gold decorations in the midst of such dinginess, is a very pretty little drapers' shop. Further down at the corner, is a firm that has been connected with Bundaberg for many years, and who are still occupying the same quarters as they did when the town was half its size. That, however, is to be remedied ere long. This brings us to the centre of the town, for where the cross streets meet burns an extra strong gas lamp – 50 candle power – around which there are numerous crowds of pater and mater families*

*chatting and gossiping. Every now and then, someone who has drunk not wisely, but too well – always a white man – will lurch along on the arm of some bosom friend whom he loves with an evident excess of affection. Then comes a long struggle to clasp the lamp post, which he clings to as a last resource, no matter how the big hotel, all ablaze with light, on one side of him, and the Stationers' Hall on the other side appear to be going round and round and over each other in the air. Hark! What is that singing and tramping in the distance? As they come nearer, you may see some red coats gleam in the light of the streets – it is the "Salvationists" and they are on a parade with the idea of possibly picking up such poor specimens as that lamp post pendant. They sing strange songs, do these curious folk, but as nobody but the policeman or the semi-drunken friend is at hand, perhaps the army had better take him away as they do. They have dealt with worse cases than that since they came up here to camp.*

*That great white building with the wide roomy balconies running all round the corner is the leading hotel in the town for which a fabulous rent is said to be paid and which is always busy and bustling even in dull times. And there is a shop at the other side of the street that seems equally free from any tendency to fluctuation. Tonight there are people inside and half in and crowding the pavement all around, for this corner is a stopping place that very few people manage to pass by. Inside are all the newspapers a Mulgrave man wants, and books and stationery, and tobacco, and half a hundred other things. The shop is so big, that there are any amounts of loafers who have only come in just to look at a book or two or to buy some cigars for the Sunday. It is suggestive of Cole's Book Arcade in Melbourne, where some thousands filter in one end and out of the other on Saturday nights and, although Young's is passed through in the same way by hundreds of people, no pilfering ever takes place. Further on there are a few stores including a gay confectionary place much patronised by the youth of both sexes, and a store that would remind you very much of the old-fashioned shops at home. After passing by a few iron mongers' shops, you get into the Kanaka and Chinese quarters. There are several shops in which the yellow ones sell various things – very various things – to the guileless kanaka and Johnny is run for pretty closely by the white store keepers. It is related that on the occasion of a little conflict taking place in the town one night several of the storekeepers besought the mayor to keep the boys out of the town on such occasions. This he did so well that the said storekeepers had only themselves to wait upon for three weary Saturdays, and they went and implored the mayor to let in the lads again, which his worship did, feeling, however, a strong desire to keep up the fun for another month or two. There are a couple of bright new white stone stores on the other side of the street, one a very pushing firm of grocers and the other an equally enterprising couple of drapers. Beyond this the lights cease and away right ahead are the gas lamps on the bridge crossing the Burnett not far from Millaquin.*


TANTITHA
STREET
STREET
STREET
STREET
TARGO
STREET
RAILWAY
STREET
BRANYEN
STREET



Walter Adams



Mary Adams

# Chapter 5

# Walter Adams

## His career as a plantation owner

As there is an amount of family material still available for use as historical reference, and because of earlier, relevant research in this area by my deceased brother John and myself, Walter Adams has been singled out for more detailed coverage.

Walter was born in Yeovil, Somersetshire, England in 1830 and educated at Somerton nearby. He arrived in Sydney in 1849, worked for a time with The Australian Agricultural Company in the Hunter Region. In 1853 he relocated to Queensland where he married Mary Shannon in Gayndah in 1854 with the Rev. E. Tanner, who had been admitted to holy orders by the Anglican Bishop of South Australia, officiating at the ceremony. (Appendix A2)

Gayndah, which had been settled only a few years prior to this, was then a typical frontier town and held an important role in the overland travel route to the lower Mary and Burnett districts. Walter, with his new wife, moved to Maryborough where his first known experiment with planting occurred. On the 8th October 1860 he purchased three blocks of land totalling 13 acres 2 roods 24 perches (later augmented by an adjacent block of 4 acres 32 perches purchased on 21st December 1869) and commenced farming on land near the town at The Pocket on the flood plain of the Mary River. (Appendix A14b)

Also in 1860, Mr Edward J. Aldridge, the founder of Maryborough, introduced sugar



**Current cultivation at The Pocket** near Maryborough – Mary River in the background

cane into the Wide Bay district and planted his first crop at a place called Copenhagen near Maryborough. Walter drew on Mr. Aldridge's seed stock and in 1864 he produced stands of cane which, as described in the *Wide Bay and Burnett Directory* of 1887 were, "in the jungle near Maryborough, at a place called Somerville considered to be 'finer than anything … seen in Mauritius' by an expert Thomy de Keating who arrived at Maryborough from that island in 1865". It is probable that Walter was referred to Mr. de Keating by a Mr. Sheridan, who held the position of Sub collector of Customs at Maryborough. (Appendix A5)

As there was no machinery for crushing cane anywhere in Queensland, the early crops were fed to cattle (or chewed as a confection). The Sub collector also sent samples of the cane to the *Courier*, probably the leading paper in those days. A reader of that journal, a Mr. Benke, took a journey to Maryborough, where he induced Messrs Gladwell and Greathead to start central mills, so that the farmers could grow cane. In the great Mary River flood of 1864 Walter's cane plantings were covered, the water rising four feet up the cane stalks. However the cane was none the worse for its two months drenching, and subsequently grew more vigorously than ever.

In 1871 Walter Adams left his Maryborough contracting business and resigned from his aldermanic duties with the Maryborough Council, including the office of Chairman of the Council's Works Committee, possibly influenced by the move of Mr. Henry Palmer, the recent Mayor of Maryborough, to take up Bundaberg land. On the 28th January he purchased three allotments in the fledgling town of Bundaberg at an auction held in Maryborough. (Appendix A3) The population of Bundaberg town at the time would have been about two hundred persons, and in the district generally about five hundred.

In March 1872 Walter selected a block of 240 acres between the Burnett River and Mon Repos on the edge of the Woongarra Scrub and this became his principal rural holding. In the contemporary records it was variously described

as Summerville Plantation, Sommerville Plantation and Somerville Plantation. It was a mixture of agricultural land and second-class pastoral land, with much of the 'pastoral' land being ti-tree swamp.

Charles Faulkner and George Noakes, both of whom had moved from Maryborough with Walter and who had selected adjacent blocks, chose higher land where virtually the total area was suitable for cultivation. Cost may have been a consideration for Walter since, not only was the purchase price greater for agricultural land, but also the prime soil was covered by scrub which cost £10 per acre to clear. The Sommerville land did however have the advantage of closer proximity to river transport.

It was Walter who was later to shorten and improve the transport route between the Woongarra plantations and Bundaberg Township by constructing (initially at his own expense) the first bridge over the By-Wash. This became known as the "Adams Bridge" and facilitated transport to the town for all of the Woongarra plantation owners. It was later replaced by the by-wash weir and bridge, constructed near Steindl's Brewery, to separate the fresh by-wash water from the salty river waters.

Horace Burkitt, Commissioner for Crown Lands at Bundaberg, in his report of May 1876, valued Summerville and its improvements as follows:

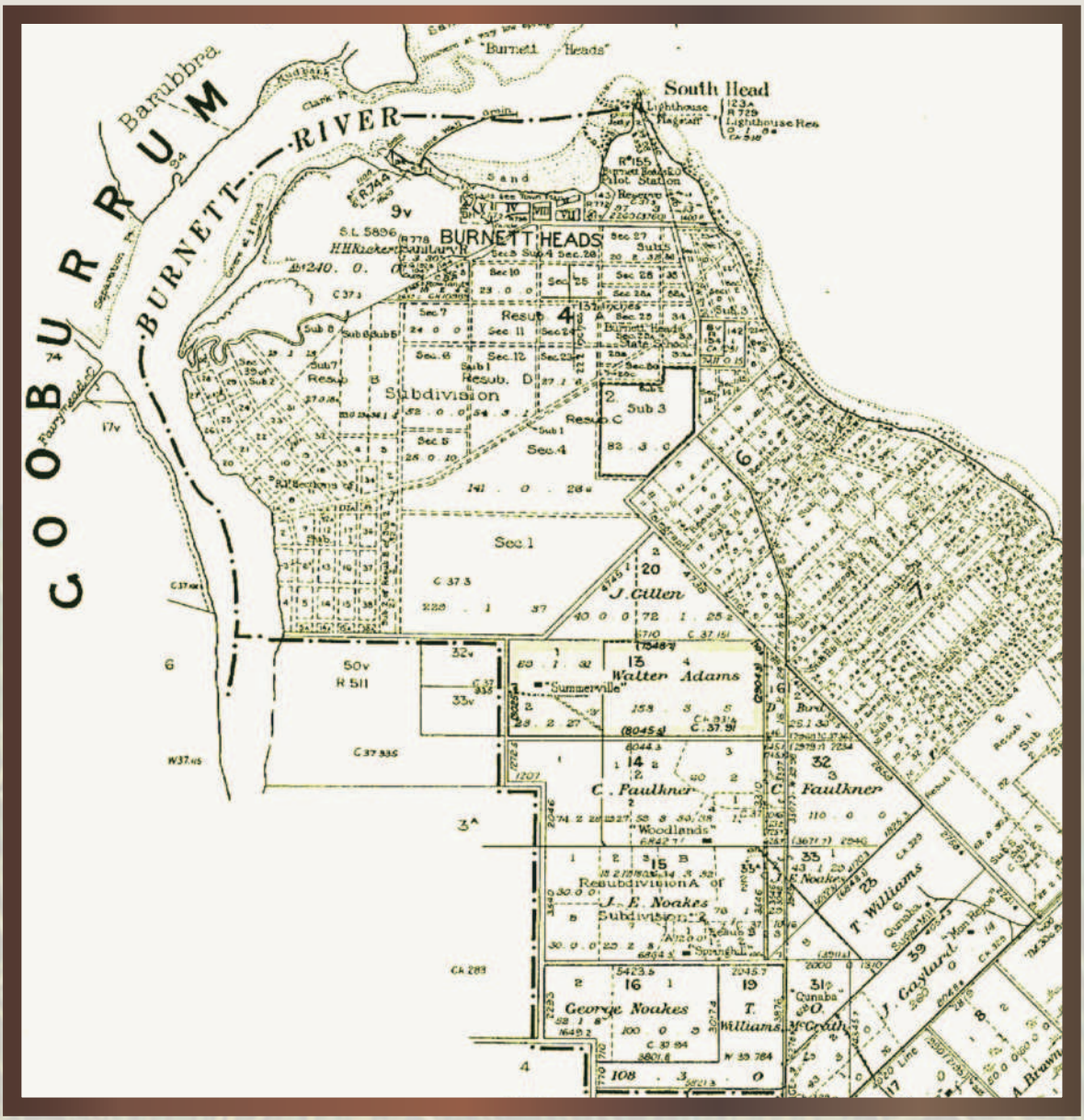
| | |
|---|---|
| All 200 acres cleared and under crop | £100-00-00 |
| 15 acres of scrub fallen | £37-10-00 |
| About 20 chains of fence, split post, sapling rails | £10-10-00 |
| 2 piggeries / slabbed | £ 6-00-00 |
| 2 water holes | £ 8-00-00 |
| 2 log barns, thatched at £10 each | £20-00-00 |
| 1 Slab and shingle cottage | £14-00-00 |
| Being a total of | £195-00-00 |

The selection also had 40 acres under maize valued at £200. Mr. Burkitt concluded that, at the time of his visit in June 1875, the place "had all the appearance of a well worked maize growing farm." On the 10th June 1876 a Certificate of Fulfilment of Conditions by Selector under the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868 was granted.

A condition of selection ownership under the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868 was continuous and bona fide occupancy of the selection by a selector or his Bailiff. Walter's Bailiffs on Sommerville were from:

February to June 1872 – D. Kennen (with the two sons of the selector (George and James) assisting in the clearing);

# THE LOCATION OF SOMMERVILLE PLANTATION AND ITS NEIGHBOURS



– June 1872 to August 1873 – Mr. Digby;

– August 1873 to August 1874 – Walter's elder son George Manus; and

– September 1874 to July 1876 – Thomas Chase. Mr. Chase arrived at Maryborough on the *Great Queensland* on 9th October 1874 with his wife, Ann, nee Steel, and twelve children who ranged in age from 22 to 3 years. A thirteenth child, Richard Burnett*, was born in 1875. Descendants of the family were to remain in the Bundaberg district.

*(Another Richard Burnett was the son-in-law of Walter's brother Henry, who had a bakery and confectionary business in Singleton N.S.W. One of Richard's sons, Joseph, was killed in action in the Indian Ocean on 20th November 1941 whilst captain of the *H.M.A.S. Sydney*. Any direct connection between Thomas Chase and Richard Burnett is unknown at this time.)

It is likely that John Henry Edma Bertheau became associated with the management of Sommerville Plantation soon after marrying Walter's daughter Mary Ann in January 1876; however the earliest electoral record to suggest this was in 1884 when his residence was given as the Woongarra Scrub. His close identification with the management of the affairs of Walter and Mary appears to indicate that he was the son-in-law who was to fill the void created by the death, by pneumonia, of George Manus in November 1888. It was John Henry who acted as Sommerville Plantation's informant to the Royal Commission on the sugar industry published in the Votes and Proceedings of Queensland Parliament in 1889.

The original cash crop of Sommerville Plantation was maize. This was an important crop in the early agricultural days as, where the native tree stumps had not been removed by hand following clearing or where they had not rotted out - a natural process which usually took place over a period of 6 to 7 years - cultivation had to be implemented by hand and hoe. With stumps removed the horse plough could be utilized (no stump-jump plough in those days). Maize (or corn) was, to the farmer of the 1870's, that which diesel fuel is to the farmer of today as the only source of power then available in the agricultural field was either man-power or Clydesdale horse-power. With ploughed or cultivated fields devoid of grass these horses needed to be fed on grain. The average Clydesdale horse provided the power equivalent required to lift a 550 pound weight one foot in one second i.e. one horse power.

Maize, which had to be grown or purchased – possibly augmented by molasses when available – would have provided the high energy food needed for these hard working animals during the period of ploughing for cultivation. Some of the larger plantations had up to 100 horses and it is probable that Sommerville had from 12 to 15 working animals. In the off season Walter's horses grazed in his large horse paddock, located between what is now the Bundaberg high school and the racecourse, far removed from his agricultural land at Sommerville. Daily commuting between the horse paddock and the agricultural land would not have been feasible, and neither the spare daytime necessary for grazing, nor extensive pasture, would have been available to the horses drafted for work on the plantation. Originally the virgin soils gave very high maize yields with two harvests




**John, Mary Ann Bertheau and family**




**George and Lillie Adams**

per year, and prices initially were high at 6 to 7 shillings per bushel. In 1876 the crop failed due to weevil attack and the plummeting of prices to as low as 1 shilling per bushel compounded an already serious problem. Diversification was essential so Walter tried both wheat and sugar cane and sent samples of these products to the Paris Exhibition of December 1877.

By 1876-7 the Burnett maize-growers were also suffering from three other principal impediments to their means of living, and the development of their industry. These were high freight charges, irregular shipping accommodation and exorbitant, uncertain commission charges. An example of excessive commission charges was the case of a maize consignment of 472 tons to Cooktown (the

extreme northern port of Queensland at that time). The cost of the maize ex Bundaberg plus freight and commission to Cooktown, less the net proceeds, gave a transaction loss of £156 16s 10d.

Additional problems arose due to the avarice, or poverty-driven short-sightedness, of some growers, who tried to ship maize consignments that were unripe, insufficiently dried and imperfectly dressed so as to obtain a premium price for early grain. This gave Bundaberg maize a bad name and it became unsaleable, except by auction. Frequently a few green bags of grain, over-heating in the closely-packed hold of a ship for a few days, destroyed the whole consignment.

Mr. Skyring, who had been a large buyer of maize in the preceding year, convened a farmers' meeting in January 1877, which was well attended. He had lost nearly £1,000 on his last season's transactions, owing to his honourable fulfilment of the engagements into which he had entered with the growers, and his integrity had gained the gratitude of the struggling farmers. At the meeting he proposed to establish a local market, to buy only sound maize on the shoot, to allow a limited margin for all charges and to take all subsequent risk of shipment and sale. The proposal commended itself to the farmers who adopted the recommendations. As a consequence, the buyers of local maize returned. A cooperative association of Wide Bay and Burnett maize farmers was subsequently formed for the establishment of local markets, the protection of their special interests, and the sale of their own produce. These circumstances helped to provide the much needed stability to the local maize industry

Sommerville was one of the smaller plantations in the Bundaberg district. The following table compares the 1888 statistics for the Sommerville Plantation, with those of the Bundaberg district's largest plantation, Fairymead. This comparison is as follows:

| Plantation | Sommerville | Fairymead |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | Walter Adams | A. H. & E. Young |
| Acres under cane | 120 | 1,252 |
| Value of Mill and Plantation | £10,000 | £75,000 |
| Value of Rolling Stock and Implements | £402 | £3,966 |
| Number of Whites Employed | 8 (M) - 0 (F) | 47 (M) - 4 (F) |
| Whites Wages and Rations, p.a. | £631 | £5,000 |
| Number of Islanders Employed | 27 (M) - 3 (F) | 276 (M) - 0 (F) |
| Islanders Wages, Rations & Return Passages, p.a. | £846 | £5,860 |

A GATHERING - PROBABLY AT SOMMERVILLE CIRCA 1890





PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE SAME LAND IN 2004





# Chapter 6

# Significant Mills

## Their owners in the Bundaberg area

### The Crans of Millaquin

Edward William Knox, the son of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's manager Edward Knox, successfully trialled the establishment of central sugar mills in the Clarence River area of northern New South Wales in the early 1870's and this model was soon to be trialled further north in Queensland. Though some smaller mills continued to operate, an entry in an 1896 sugar journal observed:

> *The epoch of small mills and large areas of semi-cultivated land is passing away. The small mills are now very few and far between … .*

Following disastrous years for the sugar industry generally in 1876-77, particularly in the northern areas of the state, a more prosperous era for the Bundaberg sugar industry was to eventuate when, as was foreshadowed in the *Mail* of February 22, 1878:

> *The Messrs. Cran of the firm of Tooth and Cran, of Yengarie (near Maryborough - R. L. C.) are now on a tour of inspection to the various farms and holdings in this locality, and, we are pleased to learn, are more impressed than ever with the great agricultural capabilities of the district. Once the sugar industry is fairly established here, the district will rapidly become, what we have frequently prognosticated for it, one of the most thriving and prosperous districts in Queensland, subsidising and enriching as the industry will be to many minor industries,*

*which, in their turn, will absorb a deal of labor, and thereby help to build up a large, industrious and progressive population. We have it almost for positive that the firm mentioned are, on proper and satisfactory grounds being shown, prepared to erect sugar-mills, on certain conditions, at convenient places along the river and to establish a large refinery here - larger, even than Yengarie, and purchase the cane-juice of all growers and in any quantity … .*

In the words of Mr. J. Y. Walker:

*The Bundaberg farmers were sufficiently alive to their own interests to move at once in the matter. On March 7 a large meeting convened by Mr. A. C. Walker of Bingera was held in the Commercial Hotel at which the subject was fully discussed, and the following committee was appointed to confer with Messrs. Tooth and Cran with a view to the early realisation of the expectations raised, namely, Messrs. W. Adams, A. Walker, E. Tanner,* A. Dunn, J. Nott and R. Jones.*

(*NOTE: The same Rev. Edward Tanner who had officiated at the marriage of Walter and Mary in Gayndah in 1854, and who had been the pastor at St. Paul's Anglican Church in Maryborough for the two and a half years to July 1875 - R. L. C.)

A letter received from Mr. Robert Cran in reply to enquiries by the committee secretary Mr. Tanner, gives the state of affairs at this early stage. It states in part:

*We are most favorably impressed with your district, and we think there is a good opening for investment of capital which would be profitable to all parties as well as the district in general. The investment of such a large amount of capital, you will understand, requires consideration and encouragement; the matter is under consideration with us, and in reply to your enquiries:*

*I. Whether it is our intention to establish works in your district? We have every wish to do so, but until our arrangements are complete we are not prepared to give a decided answer.*

*II. Where? We have no decided place. We think on the South side, so as to take the Woongarra Scrub by one main juice-pipe with branches to each crushing plant, the juice from the riverside to be conveyed by barges.*

*III. The rates per gallon? Our price per gallon would be the same as at Yengarie. Our price here last season was £21 for 2,240 gallons of juice marking a density of 10 degrees on Beaume's saccharometer. Price varies according to the market price of sugar in the colony.*

*IV. The mode of crushing? This is a matter I have been making some inquiries concerning, and I think had better be left until we meet the committee, which I propose to do so soon as our arrangements are so far complete as to be able to speak decidedly what we would be prepared to do.*

Protracted negotiations followed with the Crans requesting a guarantee that a sufficient acreage of cane would be planted before committing themselves to so large an undertaking. On receiving satisfactory

assurances in this regard the decision to erect a large refinery was made. A desirable site was obtained on the river bank immediately adjoining the Burnett Sawmills; and on June 7, 1878 the *Mail* reported that,

> *Mr. John Cran during the week has been making several arrangements in connection with the preliminaries necessary for so extensive an undertaking, and has set a brick maker, Mr. H. Schliemann, at work in order that the bricks required for the boiler foundations, etc., will be in readiness by the time their engineer, Mr. Thomas, can spare the leisure to inspect the place. The firm is rather surprised at the incredulity of some of the farmers, and is determined to go on erecting the machinery as a proof of its intentions at all events.*

In August 1880 Mr. R. Cran and the engineer Mr. Thomas arrived to lay out the site of the refinery buildings.

Mr. Cran senior travelled to England to purchase the necessary machinery and, in January 1881, a tender was let for the erection of the buildings. The contract for the supply of 400,000 clay bricks, to be used in the remainder of the construction, was won by Mr. Schliemann, in September 1881. Manufacture of the bricks took place mainly in the twenty acre paddock in which the refinery was to stand.

In November a strong cyclonic wind damaged a portion of the partially erected building causing a loss of £2,000 and a delay in the construction. The first cargo of machinery was landed from the barque *Scottish Prince* in January 1882; and in October of that year Millaquin, the largest sugar refinery in the Southern Hemisphere, started active operations, "the enormous mass of complicated machinery" erected under the supervision of Engineer Mr. Thomas worked smoothly.

The season of 1883, turned out to be a long and prosperous one and it was a testimonial to the tact and business talents of the managing director Mr. John Cran that no friction of competing claims arose among the numerous affiliated crushing mills attached. Sommerville Plantation provided one of these crushing-mills, the machinery for the Sommerville mill having landed in August 1882.

The separation of the growing of the sugar from the manufacturing was so satisfactory that the system was extended; and it became apparent that, for the Woongarra area alone, either Millaquin would need to double its receptive capacity or another refinery would be required to process the proposed output.

The meaning of this, as an indication of local development, is more fully realized when considering the capacity and connections of the refinery. The mill had a daily delivery, from the dozen or so crushing mills with which it was connected, of 95,000 gallons, the daily manufactured produce from which amounted to 50 to 60 tons during a season varying from six to eight months. The steam-power required was generated by seven large furnaces with a gross seasonal consumption of about 14,000 tons of coal. This was initially conveyed by sea, but was later carried by rail from Howard. About 5,000 tons of limestone was imported from Rockhampton to be burnt at Millaquin for mixing in the juice tanks of the crushing mills.

Subsequently, and following density measurement, the juice was conveyed from these tanks, by means of force pumps, to a large sunken storage tank located in the refinery and capable of containing 100,000 gallons. The pumping was maintained for twenty-four hours a day, throughout the crushing season. The final process in the long mechanical refining chain resulted in the discharge of a continuous stream of sugar crystals onto the third floor of the sugar-house.

The refinery manufactured its own gas for illumination purposes and the large amount of animal and vegetable charcoal required for filtering and other processes enabled an additional local processing industry to be set up. The pipes which conveyed the juice were laid underground, and formed a network of about twenty miles total length, the most remote juice mill being about eight miles from Millaquin.

The initial cost of this refinery was about £160,000; with significant later additions for appliance improvements. The cost of a mill overhaul was about £3,000, the annual wages varied according to the length of the crushing season from £10,000 to £15,000 and the annual working expenses varied from £45,000 to £60,000.

## THE YOUNG FAMILY OF FAIRYMEAD

The Young family relocated from New Zealand and took up 3,200 acres of land on the northern side of the Burnett River, downstream from Bundaberg at Tantitha in 1880. The property, which consisted mainly of virgin land, was named Fairymead and was acquired from the original owners, A. H. and A. Brown. The Browns in turn relocated to the Maryborough area. Arthur, Horace and Earnest Young's previous farming experience appears to have been in the grazing of sheep, a far call from the culture of sugarcane.





**Church of England Mission** – the Moa Island Church

While Arthur and Horace consolidated the position at Fairymead, Earnest together

with his father and his sister Florence, went to England to order the machinery for a mill which was to cost over £40,000 with extensive additional machinery to be acquired at a later date. Unfortunately the Young's father, who was a party to the commercial venture, died whilst in England.

Fairymead's first commercial crop was harvested in 1883. Fairymead juice was initially delivered to the Millaquin treatment facilities on the opposite side of the Burnett River by river transport. However by 1884 the Fairymead mill, which provided both heavy maceration and double crushing, was operational.

Florence Young was later to become very active in missionary works for the Church of England (Anglican Church) and was quite successful in this endeavour, particularly in her ministries to the Kanakas as head of the Queensland Kanaka Mission. Walter Adams was to comment favourably on Florence's missionary work in the context of a speech which is recorded in Hansard and which contained comment on the presence of seven hundred Islanders at a function to mark her departure for China. Florence spent her later years as a missionary in the China and Pacific Island areas and was instrumental in the establishment of an Anglican mission on Moa Island in the Torres Strait, as described later in this work.

## THE GIBSON AND HOWES FAMILIES OF BINGERA

William Gibson together with his sons Angus, William, James and John commenced sugar growing and milling on a selection at Hemmant in the vicinity of Brisbane in the early 1860's. The name that they ascribed to their holding, Clydesdale, could well be an indication of their place of origin. In the early 1880's William's eldest son Angus extended the family holdings to additional areas including some – mostly virgin – red-soil scrub land at Bingera, approximately one-quarter of which was heavily timbered. The land of some 2,300 to 2,600 acres was acquired for £1,200 from its previous owner Morten Jensen who had been growing maize on the property for the Mount Perry miners. Mr. Jensen, originally from Denmark, then returned to his old trade and took up carpentry work with the Railway Department before again returning to the land.

Under difficult economic circumstances William formed a partnership with the brothers Nathaniel, John and Harold Howes and the 1882-84 period saw land clearing and planting of sugar cane, together with major infrastructure construction. Over 800 acres of land were cleared of forest and much of this timber became the construction material for the buildings and fences. The construction work included the sugar and saw mills, agricultural buildings, fencing, irrigation pump with its pipeline from the nearby Burnett River and a three mile long spur line to the Bundaberg to Mount Perry railway line which, fortuitously, had been completed in 1884.

Previously coal considered to be of high quality had been discovered on Alex Walker's Bingera property. This had become a major factor in Bundaberg's earlier promotion of its bid for the Bundaberg to Mt Perry railway line and was the same coal measure that Walter

Adams and his associates had pursued with very limited success on the other side of the Burnett River. However Bingera did not follow Millaquin Mill's example and burn coal to provide its energy. Instead it purchased and burned the wood that had been accumulated by its neighbours in clearing their own lands, a win-win situation for both the mill and for its surrounding properties.

The mill commenced work in 1885 under the management of William Gibson who was able to apply the knowledge gained from his Brisbane experience. The total capital invested in the estate was £73,000, of which machinery and buildings cost £40,000, and tramways, wagons and implements £5,000. By 1887 Gibson and Howes had 1,000 acres under cane. The total wages for 1888 was over £12,000 of which over £9,000 was for white labour. The plantation in that year employed 98 Europeans 8 Chinese and 200 Kanakas. By about 1890 Gibson and Howes' Bingera mill was purchasing the cane from about twenty-four small farms. Using machinery patented by Faucher and Clark, first quality sugar production was achieved with no molasses residue and on a relatively large scale for this time.

Privately owned mills such as Bingera and Fairymead soon evolved into central mills, processing the sugarcane of neighbouring growers, as had always been part of William's business plan for Bingera. Their infrastructure was to help serve as a bulwark for the Bundaberg industry over the difficult years experienced by all plantation owners in the 1880's. Over this period their milling operations evolved into operations that, in many ways, paralleled those of the Millaquin Mill.

## AUGUSTUS PURLING BARTON OF MON REPOS

Duncraggan plantation was the selection made by Richard Jones in March 1871. By 1884 it had incorporated the Woodbine Mill which had been assembled in1882 by Buss and Jones.

Augustus Purling Barton had taken up land for a sugar plantation, named Mon Repos, in the Woongarra area somewhere prior to 1886. He had previously established Moolboolaman cattle station on Gin Gin Creek in the early 1860's, having arrived in the Wide Bay district from England in 1851. Mr. Barton also acquired the neighbouring property of Duncraggan from Richard Jones, and in 1888 imported milling plant from Glasgow.

Over the period 1887-1888 the Mon Repos mill, together with mills at Windemere (the Notts), Springhill (the Noakes) and Waterview (Samuel Johnston), was reclassified from, "juice mill" to "complete sugar manufacturing". Mon Repos and its mill was later taken over by the Queensland National Bank and renamed Qunaba (Qu-Na-Ba). However Mr. Barton retained his interest in Duncraggin

A side issue for the Mon Repos area was its choice as the land base for the laying of the New Caledonia trans-oceanic cable. This was a combined effort between the joint Queensland and New South Wales Colonies and the Paris based Societe Francaise Telegraphes Sous-Marine. The laying of the first section of this cable was commenced in August 1893 by the cable laying steamer *Francois Arago*. There is little evidence of the cable station remaining

today (2009), and Mon Repos beach is now more famous for the annual nesting of its loggerhead turtles.

## A QUESTION OF QUALITY

The following article from the *Tribune* of August 3, 1889 comments upon the quality of the 1888 season's sugar, in this case from one of the smaller producers (the Windsor Mill) owned by John Gaylard of Woongarra. The article gives some insight into the prevailing 'state of the art' and of the then current perceptions of sugar as a commercial product. It said in part:

> *Windsor Plantation is high up in the hall of fame in connection with exhibition prize taking; and these specimens show the old prestige is in a fair way of being maintained.*
>
> - *The first white is a clear, dry beautifully grained sugar;*
> - *The second white, though not so clear, is quite dry and would rate well in its class;*
> - *The first yellow is bright, well grained and apparently as perfect as such sugar is made; while*
> - *The second yellow is a very excellent sugar for domestic use - far removed from ration and what would have been considered luxurious a few years ago.*

# Chapter 7

# The Royal Commission of 1889

The holding of such an enquiry as this Royal Commission was very much in the tradition set following the English public's ready acceptance of the philosophies of Jeremy Bentham as detailed more fully in *England – Not so Merry*. At the time of the Royal Commission, England was considered to be the sugar market of the world, and to compete with the British colonies, including the colony of Queensland, the countries of France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland and the U.S.A. had all introduced bounties ranging from £3 to £8 per ton on sugar produced. Then, as now, subsidies to Australian farmers were relatively small, or non-existent, and bounties were not available to the Queensland planters who had to compete on the world stage. It should also be remembered that there was no free trade between the Australian colonies at this time.

Other factors, suggested to the Royal Commission as possible causes of considerable angst to planters in the sugar industry over this period were:

- mismanagement, extravagance and inexperience of early planters;
- financial embarrassment owing to working with capital borrowed when much higher sugar prices prevailed;
- loss through the drought of 1887;
- disease;
- exhaustion of the soil at Maryborough (This was long before the introduction of superphosphates; the ploughing in of legumes such as cow-pea would later be used to reintroduce nitrogen and humus to the soil – R. L. C.); and
- loss of confidence in the industry.

However the Commission was eventually to conclude that:

– Instead of the depression in the sugar industry being attributable to the ignorance and incapacity of the planters as a body, they had, on the contrary, shown great enterprise, directed by a careful study of their work;

– The inability to pay on borrowed capital was an effect, rather than the cause, of the depression in the industry;

– The main cause of the difficulty in obtaining the necessary advances from the banks to carry the planters on was the potential for abolition of black labour that, it was thought, would occur in the near future. (That was anticipated to occur by the 31st December 1890 by then current Queensland Government legislation. This was later amended to 1904. R. L. C.)

In his submission to the Royal Commission into the sugar industry, which reported to Parliament in 1889, John Henry Edma Bertheau gave witness to the following:

*Sommerville, (Walter Adams, owner) has had eight years' experience in the cultivation of sugar cane; total area of estate, 240 acres; 120 acres under cane, and 2 acres under bananas; 110 acres crushed last season; made 165 tons of sugar, and 1,800 gallons of molasses, the latter thrown away; capital invested in estate, £10,401, which returned no interest in 1888; working expenses for 1888, £2,774; employed 8 Europeans and 30 Kanakas; paid on an average £15-12-00 per annum to coloured labour; total wages paid in 1888 to Europeans and coloured labour, £933-13-00; considers Kanaka labour most suitable for field work; Europeans employed in field work are not willing to do it when horses cannot be worked; when the land is perfectly free from stumps Europeans working horses and machinery will be able to do some of the work now done by black labour but not cutting or trashing; cultivates four acres for each black labourer employed; Europeans, if able to use plough, horse, and hoe, could cultivate no land profitably; blacks employed in field work do not suffer in health, but Europeans do; cost of felling and burning-off scrub, £5 an acre; cost of stumping it to make it fit for the plough, £12 an acre; cane has not suffered from disease or vermin – crop of 1888 suffered to a very trifling extent; cost of machinery, £5,219 17s. 6d.; part made in Glasgow, and part in Maryborough; cost of annual overhaul and repairs, £100; has grown no other tropical productions in addition to sugar cane but bananas*; considers the causes which have depressed the sugar are:*

– *first, Government interference with Kanaka labour, causing capitalists to hold aloof;*

– *second, beet and bounty-fed sugars in competition; and*

– *suggests, as a remedy for the depression, repealing or extending the Act re Kanaka labour, and endeavouring to bring about reciprocity with the Australasian colonies; suggests for the promotion of other tropical agriculture, a system of irrigation.*

*(NOTE: This banana crop was probably for local consumption, not export, as the 1889 Royal Commission had been told:

*When the banana fruit has been, with trouble and expense, brought to the port of shipment,*

*the exporter has a serious difficulty to contend with in getting it to market. The grower secures on an average 1 shilling per bunch for bananas, the freight to Melbourne is 1 shilling a bunch payable in advance, and the Customs duty on them in Melbourne is 4 pence a bunch, or 33 per cent of the price received by the grower. But this might be borne if he could get his fruit safely and properly carried. Unfortunately for the settlers, only one line of steamers is at present trading to the Northern ports that of the A.U.S.N. Co., which therefore, has a monopoly of the trade, and this company has adopted a form for their bills of lading which practically exonerates them from all responsibility whatever for the cargo shipped. Shippers have no choice but to accept the terms offered by the company or not to ship. More than half of the bananas shipped have to be carted to the manure depot when they arrived at Melbourne. It should be mentioned too that whilst, the distance from Fiji to Sydney is 1,872 miles, the Fiji bananas are landed there in seven days, whilst the transit from Port Douglas to Melbourne, a distance of 2,017 miles, takes fourteen days. This requires Queensland growers to cut the fruit green, which gives the Fiji fruit a better reputation. To compound the problem fruit from Queensland, but not from Fiji, is regularly plundered in transit to such an extent that consignees frequently refuse to continue to deal with the growers.*

On the production of cane sugar the Royal Commission recommended that:

*After full consideration of the subject, therefore, we have the honour to submit the following recommendations for the improvement of the condition of the sugar industry:*

1. *We recommend that the Government should make inquiry in Java and Borneo about the qualities of the cane of which small quantities were imported by the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. and the Mourilyan Sugar Co., and if satisfied that it is as valuable as it is represented to be, should procure a shipment of plants sufficient to plant twenty or thirty acres of land in a nursery which, to avoid all danger of importing any disease, should be established on one of the islands on our Northern coast – say one of the Palm Islands or Fitzroy or Dunk Island.*

2. *We recommend that your Excellency's advisers should open negotiations with the colonies of Victoria and South Australia, for the purpose of ascertaining on what terms and conditions (if any) those colonies could admit Queensland sugars duty-free.*

3. *We recommend that assistance should be given either to public bodies or to individuals to enable them to provide means of irrigating all cultivated lands in localities where a sufficient supply of water can be obtained.*

4. *We declare it to be our opinion that, if all coloured labour be withdrawn from the plantations, the extinction of the sugar industry must speedily follow and we therefore recommend that the introduction of Polynesian labour be permitted to continue, at all events for some years longer than the period now limited.*

NOTES:

(1) In its summation the Royal Commission

was to concur with all three of the Sommerville suggestions; and

(2) The return of islanders under the act was effectively suspended until 1904 at which time remaining islanders were given the option of staying in the new country of Australia, following the merging of the colonies, or returning to their islands of origin.

The following table gives the official figures of kanaka labour importation numbers into all Queensland ports for the years 1880-85. Of these numbers, about one-fourth would have been assigned to the Maryborough and Bundaberg districts. It will be noted that, although Kanakas had been brought into the country on a limited basis prior to 1880, it was considered there was no organized immigration before that year.

| Year | Number Imported |
|---|---|
| 1881 | 2643 |
| 1882 | 3129 |
| 1883 | 5273 |
| 1884 | 2330 |
| 1885 | 1916 |

## COMPARISON OF SUGAR MILLS IN THE BUNDABERG DISTRICT

Utilizing data provided to the Royal Commission by the Bundaberg Planters Commission, and complete to the end of 1888, the following table gives a comparison of the size and value of those Bundaberg District plantations that possessed their own sugar mills.

## BUNDABERG THE BRAVE

A footnote to the *Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Sugar Commission* presented to the Queensland Parliament in 1889 for the district of Bundaberg states with reference to the Bundaberg district and its then 86 farms and/or plantations:

> *This appears to be the most flourishing district in the colony. A large number of planters and farmers simply crush the cane and send the juice to the refinery.*

## VALUE of Complete SUGAR MILLS in the Bundaberg District 1888

(Table Abbreviated)

| Owner occupier | | Plantation | Acres under cane | Value of Mill | Total value of Mill & Plantation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A. H. & E. Young | Fairymead | 1252 | - | £75,000 |
| 2 | Ditto. | Hermitage | 115 | - | £3,000 |
| 3 | Gibson & Howes | Bingera | 1150 | £40,000 | £63,000 |
| 4 | Nott Brothers | Windermere | 650 | - | £50,000 |
| 5 | A. P. Barton | Mon Repos | 500 | - | £50,000 |
| 6 | S. Johnston | Waterview | 270 | - | £30,000 |
| 7 | Buss & Davidson | Pemberton Grange | 380 | - | £30,000 |
| 8 | Rubyanna Sugar Co. | Rubyanna | 450 | £10,000 | £35,000 |
| 9 | Thomas Penny | Millbank | 250 | £ 8,000 | £21,000 |
| 10 | Qld. Investment Co. | Kalbar | 330 | £9,000 | £20,000 |
| 11 | West & Blissett | Goodwood | 400 | - | £20,000 |
| 12 | R. Jones | Tegege | 260 | £ 8,906 | £16,586 |
| 13 | J. Gaylard | Windsor | 150 | - | £16,000 |
| 14 | Mrs. Greathead | Hopewell | 250 | £8,800 | £15,000 |
| 15 | H. Palmer & Son | Sharon | 300 | £8,500 | £14,500 |
| 16 | Buss & Penny | Ashfield | 220 | £8,500 | £13,500 |
| 17 | Olsen & Grother | Kalkie | 180 | £6,700 | £11,437 |
| 18 | Bonna Sugar Co. | Bonna | 200 | - | £11,198 |
| 19 | Walter Adams | Sommerville | 120 | - | £10,000 |
| 20 | Martin Wessell | Bellevue | 127 | - | £9,000 |
| 21 | R. Lee | Sherwood | 150 | £3,300 | £5,425 |
| 22 | R. C. McDouall | Cuba | 70 | £2,500 | £3,500 |
| 23 | Noakes Brothers | Spring Hill | 550 | - | £28,000 |
| 24 | W. G. Buchanan | Branyan | 150 | £6,500 | £16,500 |
| TOTAL of the 24: | | | 8474 | £119,406 | £567,646 |

# Chapter 8

# Agricultural Labour and its Problems

The subject of labour, and its influence on the sugar industry, was intended to be covered here in a few short paragraphs. However, when one becomes immersed in the literature, reports and newspaper articles of the time, a fascinating story of conflicting needs and demands emerges. The nature of the subject, as presented by the contemporary material, tends to take over and leads one on in an attempt to understand a very complex interplay of forces.

The overriding desire of the majority of citizens opposed to indentured labour both on the subject of workers, and of citizenship in general, was expressed in the following paragraph from the Royal Commission on the Sugar Industry presented to the Queensland Parliament in 1889:

> *If Australia is to be a great federated dominion on the basis of the Dominion of Canada, with a dominion parliament and a dominion executive, and the federated colonies are still to retain their present governments and legislatures, then without question, the further admission into any colony of Asiatic or coloured races is definitely, settled, because federation of the colonies means the exclusion of all Asiatic and coloured races from Australia, except to a very inappreciable extent. The public men of the larger colonies of Victoria and New South Wales have already intimated in their several addresses at the recent general elections in those colonies their belief in federation, and their intention at the same time to keep Australia free from all Asiatic or coloured races. Hence it is clear that if Queensland is to join in a federated Australia – and the aspirations of all her public men are in that direction - the request of the planters for the extension of the terms of the 11th section of The Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880 Amendment Act of 1885 is practically disposed of.*

By contrast a Wide Bay opinion as expressed by the special correspondent to the *Age* on the

3rd August 1886 and on the same subject went on to say:

> *The working men of the south are in a manner bribed to obedience, and on matters connected with sugar, they know absolutely nothing. Anyone who wants to get applauded in Brisbane has only to denounce the importation of colored labor, and file crowd will applaud wildly. They would cheerfully, one and all, refuse to undertake the work which the much abused Kanakas do, even if they were paid five times the latter's wages; for one reason, that labor on the cane-field is exceedingly trying to a white man, and for another, that far better wages can be had at any other form of industry. There is no law that is not broken - not even the Licensing Act* (Does the journalist intend there to be a touch of irony here? R. L. C.) – *and it would not be strictly true to say that all the Kanakas in Queensland are employed exclusively upon cane; but when it is considered that field work does not last all the year around, and that it would be preposterous and ruinous to let the hands stand idle by Act of Parliament, it will be admitted that in so far as white men's avocations are concerned, there is but a minimum of interference by the Kanakas.*

In the Australia of the 1880's the inhabitants of cities such as Melbourne, Sydney or even Brisbane had little awareness of the difficulties experienced by their own farmers even though much talk was given over to protection of work for the white settler. In Melbourne, at late 1880's prices, sugar from Queensland had to compete with sugar from Mauritius where labour cost 1 shilling per day with no rations; Java where labour cost 6 pence per day; China where labour cost less than that for Java and in Fiji where the cost of labour was 1 shilling per day. In Queensland, allowing for the cost of introduction fees payable under the *The Pacific Island Labourers Act* including wages, rations, provision for return and all other expense it was calculated that indented labour costs were approximately 16 shillings per week per worker. This was considerably more than the labourer in Europe received to produce beet sugar.

## PACIFIC ISLAND LABOUR

In the 1860's, and on a world-wide basis, sugar cane was grown by coloured labour working on plantations and the Queensland pioneers would naturally have taken this into account as a viable option; however the first Pacific Island labourers were actually introduced into Australia by the pastoralists to act as shepherds of the large sheep flocks.

Indentured labourers from the islands of the Southwest Pacific had initially been brought to the Brisbane area of Queensland in 1863 by Captain Robert Towns, later of Townsville fame, to work on cotton plantations. When cotton planting slumped in 1865 these people, known as Kanakas (from the Melanesian word literally meaning man), were employed in the sugar industry. Indentured Pacific Islanders continued to provide labour in Queensland for a period in excess of 39 years and in Northern Queensland over this period, there were approximately 82,000 Pacific Island men, women (and their children) involved. (Northern Queensland was generally considered to be anywhere from Bundaberg north - R. L. C.). The end to indentured Pacific Island labour was

proposed under legislation to occur in December 1890 but, in part due to the findings of the Royal Commission into the Sugar Industry and in part due to necessity, it was extended to 1904 when an Australian-wide Government Treaty granted the Islanders equal rights, as citizens, with the original white inhabitants. The same treaty granted equal rights to labourers from other countries such as India, Burma and Malaya.

There is no doubt that the recruitment industry attracted some unscrupulous ships' captains into the trade as the British Royal Navy, which had responsibility for policing the transportation, had only a few ships to police the recruitment practices. In response to this the Queensland Government subsequently appointed inspectors to oversee conditions of employment of the Islanders in its own area of jurisdiction, the colony itself.

In the Bundaberg area during the 1880's, where there were approximately 3,000 Islanders employed, this inspectorial post was held by Mr. O'Connell, later M.L.A. for Musgrave, who was appointed in May 1882, and by Mr. Henry St. George Caulfield, who succeeded Mr. O'Connell in March 1887. In January 1886, the work of the officer had so increased that it was found necessary, to appoint Mr. V. C. Laurie as Assistant Inspector of Polynesians. By this time a fleet of small vessels was engaged in recruiting and returning the islanders at the rate of about a thousand a year and Mr. J. Y. Walker observed that:

> *… the holder of this office enjoys no sinecure. It is his duty, under the Act and Regulations in that case made and provided, to supervise all shipping arrangements in connection with this artificial immigration, to protect the islanders against all illegalities and the public against the encroachment of this class of labor on the domain of the white wage-earner, to visit the plantations, to settle disputes and, generally, to supervise and enforce all contracts and agreements. The office has also, lately, been made a labor bureau for the distribution of the local supply, and in this respect has been largely useful. It goes without saying that the efficient discharge of such an office, involving intromissions with so many delicate and discordant elements, demanded not only a full measure of industry but also tact, caution, experience and firmness; and it is due to the two gentlemen who have successively held this responsible position to record that their administration has been conspicuously successful and satisfactory.*

Even though the employment of Pacific Island labour was promulgated as a threat to white workers at the time, the *Wide Bay & Burnett Directory* of 1887 stated that:

> *the opinion among many is, that the Kanakas have not only been no foe to the white working man, but they have actually made matters a hundred fold better for him than they were. Instead of 15 shillings a week on a maize farm, and no alternative, he can, if he be a skilled tradesman, get from £2 to £3 a week in the mills and refineries, which could not exist without the planters' cheap labor. The proportion of money spent in these large establishments is overwhelmingly in favor of the white man. If those Kanakas did not labor in the fields there would be no need for the artisans. It is a curious comment on the fact that the planters have always been denounced as trying to take the bread out of the mouth of the working man,*

*that it has always been the most difficult thing to get a white laborer to remain on a plantation at field work for more than three months at a stretch. It may not be amiss to mention that the opinion of a travelling correspondent for a Sydney daily paper, who had been specially commissioned to inquire into the question of colored labor in the north was, that it was simply impossible to grow sugar with any other than Kanaka labor. This assertion, I have heard so many corroborations of, by men directly interested, and by the Government officials who themselves had supervision of the Kanakas that the assertion may now be taken as axiomatic. … The present member, Mr. Adams, was at one time a determined opponent of black labor in any form but his subsequent experience as a planter compelled him to modify his views.*

As recorded in the *Wide Bay and Burnett Directory* of 1886-87 an *Age* special correspondent reported that the following remarks were elicited from an official of some standing:

*When asked to comment on unsubstantiated charges made against planters re the cruel treatment of their colored employees, "he spoke of one case in which the overseer got fined £5 for assaulting an Islander, the magistrate stating that had the information been laid for grievous bodily harm, six months imprisonment would have been awarded. The overseer had since been discharged. That was the worst case that he had ever come upon, and he had been in office for the past four years."*

… and again, speaking of alleged ill-treatment, he said:

*I have never known any real ill-treatment on the part of the employers themselves. Employers have always been very willing to assist me in anything of the sort. Fairymead (Messrs. Young Bros.) is at the present time particularly well looked after. The proprietors, I know, would do everything they could that would be to the benefit of their boys. They are not allowed out at nights without special permission, and this is the only grievance they appear to have. It is through other boys being let out on Saturday nights that first get drunk, and then fall out with some white man as drunk as themselves. In such rows the white man is, as a rule, the aggressor, and when once the row begins, all the boys within hearing "roll in" irrespective of the merit of the matter. There is very little real harm in the Kanaka. I can go among them at any time and quieten a row if necessary.*

Then came the question:

*Do you think that there is any cause for this imputation of Kanaka slavery?*

Certainly not - I have known the district altogether fourteen years, and, with the exception of a few cases of ill-treatment, which would have occurred in any other district of the same population, there has been nothing to complain of. The boys are, as a rule, very well located, and thoroughly understand their agreements. They come to me continually to know when their time is up, and they keep notched sticks for thirty-six moons or three years. The fact that there are three extra moons to make up the time, seems to be difficult for them to understand.

*Do they re-engage willingly?*

They generally do so; out of three ship loads of Kanakas who came here, only fifty-two went home when their time had expired. That would mean that 100 out of the 152 re-engaged.

*Do you think that the importation of Kanaka labor injuriously affects the district in any way?*

Bundaberg would never have been more than a village without it, instead of the prosperous town it is. There were next to no employers when I came here fourteen years ago, and the town consisted only of four public houses, two stores, and half-a-dozen little humpies; the total population not exceeding 200. This number has now increased to 3000. The farmers who got Kanakas were the first that seemed to do any good for themselves. As a rule, the farmers had lived on what they grew themselves.

*What do you think of the Kanakas?*

I am a great admirer of them. You could not wish for better laborers. They are well satisfied with their treatment generally, and I have known boys re-engage for the third time. There has been only one charge of rape against the Kanakas in this district for the past four years. There are, of course, occasional cases of drunkenness on the plantations, but it should be remembered that there are 2,000 in the district.

However not all commentators were as complacent; some submissions to the Royal Commission resulted in the inclusion in the final report of the following claims:

*In some instances the introduction of coloured labour has proved objectionable. At Rockhampton there are, according to the evidence of the Polynesian Inspector, 200 Kanakas in the district; he was only able to account for 82 of them. It is known that there is quite a colony of South Sea islanders in North Rockhampton, some of whom have married white women, have drays and carts of their own, and are competing with Europeans in the cutting and sale of firewood, and many of them are also employed in other ways. At Bundaberg there are at least 300 South Sea islanders walking about, engaging for short periods, and are thus in open competition with Europeans. It is clear that, even with the safeguards already established by the Legislature, the South Sea Islanders are coming into active competition with white men, and are doing work which by no straining of words can be called tropical agriculture.*

## EUROPEAN LABOUR

On the question of white labour in the Bundaberg area *The Wide Bay & Burnett Directory* of 1887 observed that some rather emphatic results on the subject had been elicited:

*There have been three shiploads of white men come here, the first in the Renfewshire in 1882, which brought something over 300, the other two vessels each bringing the same. Some turned out well, but they all had an idea that they were worth very much more at the start than they were. There was a great deal of difficulty in making them understand that they must be*

*acclimatised, and they used to stick out for not less than £1 per week, instead of taking the first thing that offered. Some of the Renfewshire men were engineers, and these soon found employment; others got ordinary farm work for 15 shillings a week. There were good and bad amongst them, of course. The only employer who gave his experience of white laborers said that they were a nuisance; that they worked fairly well at the start, and then seemed to become dissatisfied about things generally.*

And in explanation of the foregoing, my informant added,

*The men will undertake to do work for which they are entirely unfitted. Such a man, for instance, will say he is a ploughman, in order to get a place; and his employer, in too many cases, will find that he knows little or nothing about it.* (In order to obtain assisted passage the potential migrant had to be able to provide assurance that he, or she, had a particular skill useful to the Colony such as farm labourer. Many who claimed to have such a skill quite often did not, but by then they had been provided with their assisted passage to the Colony - R. L. C.). *And when such men stick out for the highest wages in the face of all this, it is sometimes a matter of great difficulty to deal with them at all, inasmuch as full wages mean a definite loss to the employer. The small farmer cannot afford more than £30 or £40 per year, and his employee has to work hard for it.*

*The Wide Bay & Burnett Directory* went on to comment that the white men would not work on the cane, and the farmers were actually importing South Sea Islanders at £10 to £12 per head in 1878 even though the cost had doubled in 1887, and the price of sugar had gone down by fifty per cent over the same period.

A typical case in point was presented during the interrogation of Robert Mitchell Boyd of the Herbert River District by A. S. Cowley M.L.A. for the Royal Commission. Mr. Boyd described what would appear to have been an almost universal experience where exclusive employment was given to European labour on the cane fields:

*Have you had experience of growing sugar in New South Wales?*

Yes; ten years' experience.

*On what rivers were you?*

Port Macquarrie, the Maclay and Clarence Rivers.

*Did you ever grow cane for a factory?*

Yes.

*What labour did you use?*

White labour.

*Did you make it a success - was it profitable?*

I lost every sixpence I had in the world, and took a billet with £15 in my pocket after the experiment.

*How does the yield per acre down there compare with the yield per acre in Queensland?*

I have known it on the Clarence to average 42 tons an acre for a two-year old crop. That was an exceptional crop.

*What area would that comprise?*

Over 1,300 acres.

*What price per ton was paid for the cane?*

10 shillings on the field.

*To the grower?*

To the grower.

*What labour was used in growing the cane?*

Mostly white labour.

*Can you tell us the wages paid, including rations?*

They varied from 12 shillings to 18 shillings a week with rations. The labourer lived as one of the family.

*You employ fifty Europeans on this plantation directly; how many do you employ indirectly?*

I should say that £19,000 out of' £20,000 a year goes to the white population.

*The bulk of the money spent here goes in some form or other to the white inhabitants?*

Yes; not 5 per cent gets away from them.

*Have you ever had cane cut by white labour-contract or otherwise?*

No.

*Do your white ploughmen stay long with you, as a rule?*

No; the ploughmen do not, as a rule.

*Do you readily find those men in the district, or do you have to import them from outside?*

In nine cases out of ten we get them from Townsville.

*Do you pay their passages up here?*

Yes.

*And by continually losing the men you add to the cost of working the plantation?*

Yes it means nearly £1 apiece to every man every three months.

*You have £85,000 of capital sunk in this estate - I wish to know whether that is actually cash sunk, or includes interest from the date of operations?*

It is accumulated interest for four years on an overdraft that has gone from nothing to £50,000.

*The interest has been added annually?*

Yes; interest is being charged at the rate of 3 per cent.

Later the Commission goes on to say that:

*The climate north of Townsville is essentially tropical, the scrubs are an impenetrable jungle, and from the evidence placed before the Commission it is evident that they will cost an enormous amount of money to clear them and render the land available for agricultural purposes. Further, immediately the scrub is cleared, malaria arises, seriously detrimental to the health of Europeans and destructive to human life, as has already been proved in the construction of a line of railway from*

*Mourilyan plantation to Mourilyan Harbour. It is the opinion of all who have had experience of the districts north of Townsville that the dense scrubs of the Johnstone, and the Barron, and the Tully, and the Russell cannot be cleared by European labour. At present agricultural labour by Europeans on their own freehold land in the districts now under consideration is evaded as much as possible.*

*At Herberton, where the climate is much colder, and where productions of a more temperate zone can be grown, European labour finds a fitting outlet, but without question in the coast districts north of Townsville there is, in a great many instances, a disposition on the part of Europeans to have nothing whatever to do with agriculture, until the land has been cleared and made ready for cultivation. Consequently, if the question - is Queensland able to do without the sugar industry, except on the basis of a white population? - is answered in the affirmative, then undoubtedly a very large portion of the coast districts of the North will not be cultivated, at all events for a long time to come, and from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 of capital which has been vested in the sugar industry will be wiped out of existence, and the whole of the population now dependent upon the sugar industry for a livelihood will, for a time, and until new industries arise, be thrown out of employment.*

In the Logan area, again with a cooler climate, white labour proved to be practical only where the labour was provided by the planter's family in an area where these families had jointly contributed to a co-operative, central mill. It is also possible that there may have been some success where employees did not have to be kept on during the slack season. This would have necessitated the introduction of other industries to provide a sustainable full year income for the workers. This may have been possible to implement in a successful, established community that possessed the capability to support various other industries; but it was not feasible in a community at the pioneering stage unless some sort of artificial support could be provided – a luxury that the governments of the early colonies could not afford.

By the late 1800's economic conditions were dictating the end of indented labour. The powerful Fowler steam ploughs and traction engines with their ploughshares and steel cable cultivators could now clear and plough the land and the development of smaller, owner-operated farms opened the way for the productive use of white labour. The day of the plantation system and the need for the employment of indented labour had passed.

## CHINESE LABOUR

Chinese labour was first used by the mining industry in the 1850's and as late as 1883-89 it was being used by the South Australian Government to construct the Darwin to Pine Creek railway line. This paralleled the use of Chinese labour in the construction of the United States of America's transcontinental lines.

In the district of Cairns the whole of the agriculture outside sugar growing was carried on by the Chinese. There were from 1,200 to 1,500 Chinese in the Cairns district, and the evidence of witnesses, including that of the Crown Lands Ranger, affirmed the fact that were it not for

these Chinese there would not have been an acre of land under cultivation in Cairns outside the sugar plantations. A central rice mill was erected a short distance from Cairns with a capacity in excess of 700 tons of rice. The whole of the rice paddy was cultivated by Chinese labour and their produce supplied the mill.

Testimony to the Royal Commission declared that:

> *Homestead selections were taken up in the Cairns and other districts, both under The Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1876, and The Crown Lands Act of' 1884. The selectors reside on their selections, but for the first five years they leased their land to the Chinese on a clearing lease, at 1 shilling per acre per annum. Thus, while the Chinese fulfilled the conditions of selection, the selector received a profit of 9 pence per acre from the land. At the end of the first five years another agreement was made between the selectors and the Chinese, and the cultivated land was then let at the rate of £l an acre per annum. In one case a homestead selector holding 160 acres had 130 acres cleared in this manner, and he has now for himself eight acres, with a garden planted by the Chinese, while 122 acres are let to Chinese at £1 per acre per annum, and this is apparently the general mode in which agriculture is carried on in a large portion of the Northern coast districts.*

It is probable that much of the Chinese labour-force described here had originally arrived to make their fortunes in the Palmer River goldfields, though coolie labour had earlier been imported to act as shepherds to the large sheep flocks and as labourers in the mining industry. Bundaberg also had Chinese market gardeners and our mother (Marjorie Hammond Connor nee Adams, a grandchild of Walter and Mary) spoke fondly of the pleasure derived from visiting these gardens as a child in the early 1900's. The experience probably served her well as she, pre World War II, was later employed as a violinist on the pre-World War II Oriental Shipping Line.

## BRITISH INDIAN LABOUR

As early as 1839 pastoralists had engaged over a thousand indented workers from the British Indian Colonies. A mention regarding this source of labour in the Bundaberg area was made by J. Y. Walker in his 1890 publication:

> *In 1882 two importations from over-sea excited widely different feelings amongst the community. In September the barque Renfrewshire from the Clyde, landed 305 immigrants, who were received with welcome and satisfaction. In November the steamer Devonshire arrived at the Heads with a consignment of coolies from Ceylon, for some of the sugar plantations. The arrivals excited a perfect furore of excitement and indignation, and, to avoid scenes of violence, were landed at the Heads and allotted to the several promoters of the enterprise and waited conveyance to the intended fields of their future labor. It was not to be, however, 'the working man' rose in his wrath, marched to the Heads and with unseemly violence 'boxed' all the lots, and they were marched to Bundaberg and for protection were sheltered in the yard and outbuildings of the Queen's Hotel. Riotous scenes and collisions with the police ensued, and one respectable citizen was arrested and for his share in the proceedings 'was mulct in a penalty of £5.' The unfortunate Indians ultimately got*

*distributed somehow; but the experiment was not satisfactory and has not since been repeated.*

Subsequent experience with the Ceylonese immigrants was the signal for open warfare between the new comers and the white labourers as the Ceylonese under-bid them, and did their work almost as well, provided it did not necessitate extra hard manual labour.

On the subject of Indian labour a contributor to *The Wide Bay & Burnett Directory* of 1887 observed:

*Speaking of the Cingalese my informant stated that they made a good thing by supplying liquor to the Kanakas. They have been a regular nuisance ever since they have come into the colony. They have never done a fair day's work, and in most respects they are as different as possible from the Kanakas. I would not take charge of any number of them for any money … .*

In a Parliamentary address by Walter Adams on the subject of Indian labour maintained in part that:

*He was not a young colonist; he was old both in years and as a colonist, having come out in 1849, and in 1852 he remembered that two shiploads of those very people came to New South Wales without let or hindrance, and he then saw so much of them that he was perfectly satisfied that they were not suitable colonists.*

**NOTE**: In 1837 the N.S.W's Legislative Council's Committee on Immigration recommended the importation of coolies from India. Some were imported; however the Government of the day frowned upon this activity and Governor Gipps refused to grant any bounty for them. In 1842-43 graziers again formed an association to import Indian labour, only to be met by serious opposition from the labourers of Sydney. The labourers produced a petition, signed by more than 4,000 persons, and addressed to Queen Victoria. These workers were part of a large influx of free immigrants, many of whom had been influenced by trade unionism prior to leaving Britain.

The importation of labour from the British Indian Colonies to the colony of N.S.W., together with its aftermath, would presumably have been the issue that had such a strong influence on Walter's opinion. In the late 1840's/early 1850's Walter was employed by the Australian Agricultural Company in the Hunter River area of N.S.W. where he would have been in the position to both view, and hear accounts of, the performance of the introduced Indian labourers.

The above experiences were, no doubt strongly reinforced by the much later Bundaberg experiences mentioned above, where the Ceylonese were given transport to Bundaberg by plantation owners in 1882 to work as agricultural labour and "There was an extremely violent reaction from the local workers. None of the local planters were prepared to repeat the experiment." (Nolan – *BUNDABERG History and People*).

However nothing is ever just black or white; in 1877, a period when Walter was very active in Bundaberg's local affairs, the sum of £50, which was a considerable amount in those days, was raised and transmitted to Brisbane from the Bundaberg district for the Indian Famine Relief Fund.

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# Chapter 9

# A Walk Through the Woongarra

The scrub has been felled, the tree stumps removed, the labourers have cleared the random basalt cobbles and boulders from the fields and formed them into dry stone walls on the boundaries of these fields; regular cultivation is established. The year is 1887 and it is time to take a relaxed stroll through the now cultivated Woongarra Scrub land with a contemporary reporter. Here we will become conversant with the opinions of some of the early settlers as we start on.

## A WALK THROUGH THE WOONGARRA

The purpose of including the following article is to present, as far as possible at this remote time, the words and thoughts of the plain speaking planters, two of whom – Mr. Noakes and Mr. Faulkner – were immediate/ close neighbours to Walter Adams' Sommerville and had migrated from Maryborough to the Woongarra at the same time as Walter. The article is an extract from the *Wide Bay & Burnett Directory of 1887*:

> *In the same way that there are Italians who have never heard of Como and Maggiore there are Queenslanders who are ignorant of the existence of the Woongarra, and who are specially commended, therefore, to leave no line of what follows unread. People who swelter themselves at Brisbane, with the ozone, or rather mud stink of Sandgate as the one and only alternative, would not believe that a tolerably correct reproduction of Paradise was available two days journey from the red hot streets of the half-baked metropolis. It is in fact the garden of the Burnett; a little strip of coast hemmed in on the other side by the river and covered from one end to the other with the richest vegetation a semi-tropical clime can produce. There are some*

*score or so of plantations, in the Woongarra, which are at present enjoying the richest season that has ever came on them – and when (it) is said in the Woongarra it means something. Just as you pass out thence from Bundaberg you pass Millaquin, the great refinery that has pretty well refined the district to twenty times its former value, and all of the crushing mills in the district are connected by piping with the big mill.*

*The main road soon brings you through a mass of bright green sugar cane ready for cutting, which forms part of Mr. Christiansen's plantation. Then comes Messrs. Olsen and Grother who have a plant that turns out 4 tons per day and which is now crushing the cane of Mr. J. I. Walker, of the Poplars. At this plantation there are 50 acres of cane and 20 of corn, the work on which is done by five hands. "My experience of white hands" says Mr. Walker "is not satisfactory. They want constant watching, while the Kanakas are conscientious and do not want looking after every hour in the day". Passing one or two German plantations, a little Lutheran church on the right and the Kalkie state school on the left, the Duncraggan Mill, at the bottom of a gentle descent, is next arrived at. This plantation, with the crushing plant, is the property of Messrs. Cran Bros. and Co., also of Lindah and The Island, near Maryborough. There are 1,000 acres of cane under crop, and there are 120 Kanakas employed, with 12 or 14 white men. The same tale is told of the crop - "Best we ever had - from 2 tons to 2½ tons to the acre." The residence of the managing partner is round the corner, and on the way thither, Mr. Dredge's plantation, Sunbury farm, is passed. There is sugar and maize alike here, as one crop is necessary to alternate with the other. The Government, which knows nothing of crops except from a penal point of view, has decreed that Kanakas must not touch maize even though it is grown for their own consumption. There are only 3 black men on Sunbury, and when their time is up they will go, and none will come to replace them, because of the maize. Attempts have been made to get further labour but they have failed and now the place will have to trust to the tender mercies of the very stray labourer who, with £1 a week and his board, will probably do about half as much as one of the black fellows will do now. Surely if farmers must put up with the refuse of the labour market they should not pay for it at more than its value.*

*Rosewood farm comes next, belonging to Mr. Neilson. Only one white man and a black one were discovered here and they have 30 acres of cane to supervise. Following up the road leading to the coast, Mr. Marthei, the owner of 50 acres, is met. He is a corn grower and another compulsory employer of white labour, and finds the 15 shillings per week they get for their precarious services rather an overcharge when contrasted with the 10 shillings that the boys cost.*

*In a little white cottage resides the Mr. Cran aforementioned, who is supervising the finishing of a crushing mill on the ground to connect with Millaquin, that will cost about £20,000. The wages paid to the black men are about one half that paid to the white, the latter being £80 weekly, the number of white men being nearly one fourth that of the Kanakas. Were the latter taken away the others would also have to shift camp. Mr. Cran, in conversation, stated that he had never seen a*

*white man to work more than four days in the field, and his experience lasted some years. "Such experience would make you gray headed in a week," said he. He spoke very doubtfully of the future of the industry if the boys were taken away, and said it would have a tendency to paralyse all speculation in that direction. The firm at present employs 300 boys altogether, and no complaints had ever been made at any time. As far as boys' rations were concerned they were unlimited, and it was a matter of much wonder to visitors how such large quantities of tucker were absorbed by such slender specimens of humanity. Their state on being landed from the islands was also suggestive of the belief that a square meal must have been a special festival to them there. As for protracted hours - both white and coloured men worked the same, 10 per diem - from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m. with an hour for dinner at noon. Cases of illness, Mr. Cran added, were very rare.*

*A little way further up was the Grange, where the Rev. E. Tanner, who was the pioneer of Anglicanism in Maryborough 35 years ago* (and who officiated at the marriage of Walter and Mary in Gayndah in 1854. R. L. C.), *now resides. There are 80 Kanakas and 6 white men – 5 more than he would have if he could, he added. Even with all willingness and steadiness - rare qualities to find in the sundowner - the work of the field was utterly unfitted for them. Mr. Davidson's house is just beyond, and the owner was discovered working with his boys on a portion of cleared land. One fourth of his crop had been crushed and sent down, and he was waiting for the rest to go. Mr. Noakes, who resided at the next plantation* (and who relocated from Maryborough with neighbours Mr. C. Faulkiner and Mr. Walter Adams and selected land in the Woongarra in 1872 – R. L. C.), *was the lucky man who happened to be sending (cane) juice down, and after we had inspected the land generally he gave me a short account of his experiences there. He is a plain, quiet man who spoke without reference to politics on any side, and as an unvarnished tale, it may be taken as emblematic of many others. "I came here," said he "in '73 (1873) and started on corn, which was then fetching from 3 shillings to 3 shillings & 6 pence per bushel. Things were by no means overpayable at this rate, especially when it is remembered that the scrub was exceedingly heavy and cost not less than £10 per acre to clear. Just as the first troubles were over, maize fell to 1 shilling & 6 pence, and most of the farmers were soon more or less hard up. I have sold to Mr. Boston, the butcher, a four-bushel bag of maize for 4 shillings. That was not 1 shilling a bushel as the bag had to be thrown in. There were a couple of white men employed at 10 shillings per week, and three or four Kanakas. In 1882, just before sugar was introduced, maize was up to 2 shillings, 6 pence and most of the growers were on their beam-ends. I have offered this property of 160 acres for (sale at) £750 about that time, and failed to get a buyer at all. I am glad I did not sell as it is worth £50 an acre to me to-day - that is provided my labour is untouched. I should value the estate as being worth not less than £1000 now. This change was brought about by the cultivation of sugar in the district. We have paid away a liability which rested on the estate at the rate of £2000 a year since that time, and instead of two white men at 10 shillings we can employ five at wages ranging from £1 to 30 shillings. The*

*58 Kanakas get £16 to £18 per year, and under present circumstances and with the magnificent harvest, sugar is undoubtedly paying now. Such is my confidence in my boys," said Mr. Noakes, "that I can leave them all day long without supervision, knowing well that the work will not suffer in my absence, and I know that in case of sudden emergency they will work till late at night without a murmur. Of course I make that up to them at other times."*

*A walk to the boys quarters and to the cook house was convincing enough that the food was in every respect as good as that we had partaken of at the house. The bread was all the same baking. Later on in the evening Mr. Noakes detailed some of his harrowing experiences whilst in quest of a horse driver. And he gave vent to a most emphatic opinion on the class of immigrants that the colony is regularly afflicted with, that deserve echoing in the (Legislative) Assembly or in the office of the Agent-General.*

*"The first man that came," said he "worked one week for £1 and then cleared (out) without saying good bye or anything. I don't despise my own skin, and I would try as I did to get someone to stick to his job but it was no good. I don't believe that some of the men that came had ever seen a horse before they came to Australia. Last year I had 50 acres burnt down and gave a contract for making cane holes at 2 shillings & 6 pence per hundred to two men, one of whom had done such work before. After that nine men came along and asked for work, and I put them on the same job, finding mattocks and other things. Although some of them were making 7 shillings per day, as one of them admitted, within a week of their coming on, six out of the nine men walked off, stating that they could not make wages. The other two stopped on some weeks afterwards."*

*Mr. Noakes further stated that the land was taken up for 10 shillings per acre, under the Act of 1868, one of the best that had ever been passed, and under which he put 10 shillings of improvements on the land. The price of tip-top land before sugar started was £5 - one could buy all he wanted for that price. The land which now forms the site of a butcher shop at Bundaberg was sold for £50 which is now worth £1,000. He was offered an allotment close to the church for a draft horse. That allotment is now worth £300 or £400.*

*Amongst other things, the speaker stated that some of his boys had been with him upwards of ten years and that during the last four or five years he had employed from 50 to 60 boys. Only one case of insubordination had yet occurred amongst his men … .*

*In speaking of discipline, I asked if there were any punishments and I was informed that there was one form which has hitherto proved abundantly effective. That was to make a boy work by himself, something that caused him to be made fun of by his mates, a thing which no properly constituted Kanaka can put up with. A very few hours of such punishment will bring an offender to reason.*

MON REPOS. *One of the handsomest plantations in the Woongarra district, owned by Mr. Barton, one of the best known planters south of Mackay. The plantation is a model one, and in point of general comfort the Kanakas are as well looked after as any similar number of*

*labouring men in the colony. In fact, so far from there being the slightest signs of ill treatment visible Mr. Barton spoke to the boys as he would have talked to so many children, asking them about their troubles and ready to have a joke with any of them. The boys were in splendid condition, fat, healthy and good tempered from a long course of helping themselves ad lib. The bread was the same as that made for the house, and the dwellings were made by the lads themselves, except the main building where the single boys were accommodated. The married ones looked comfortable enough in their little humpies, built of white bark, looking taut and weather tight, and extensively fumigated with the smoke that can only get out the door.*

*Mon Repos has 60 Kanakas at present, of whom 40 are about to leave for home, leaving only 20 to get in a crop of some 250 acres – a task that would be impossible with that number of white labourers. It is not due to official negligence that more men are not to hand, as the 'Young Dick', which had a large number on board for Mon Repos, has lately came to grief en route. As it is it may be two or three months before assistance arrives. There are 6 white men employed as plough men and overseers, whose food is cooked in the house for them. Asked what was his experience, of white men, Mr. Barton said, "I never have many here as there are so many outlets that they can, and do, take advantage of which give them much greater inducements than I can offer them. Men do not come to this country except to benefit themselves. I have never had the slightest trouble with my boys – I have never had a boy in goal and I have never lifted my hand to one. They are the only reliable labour we have at present."*

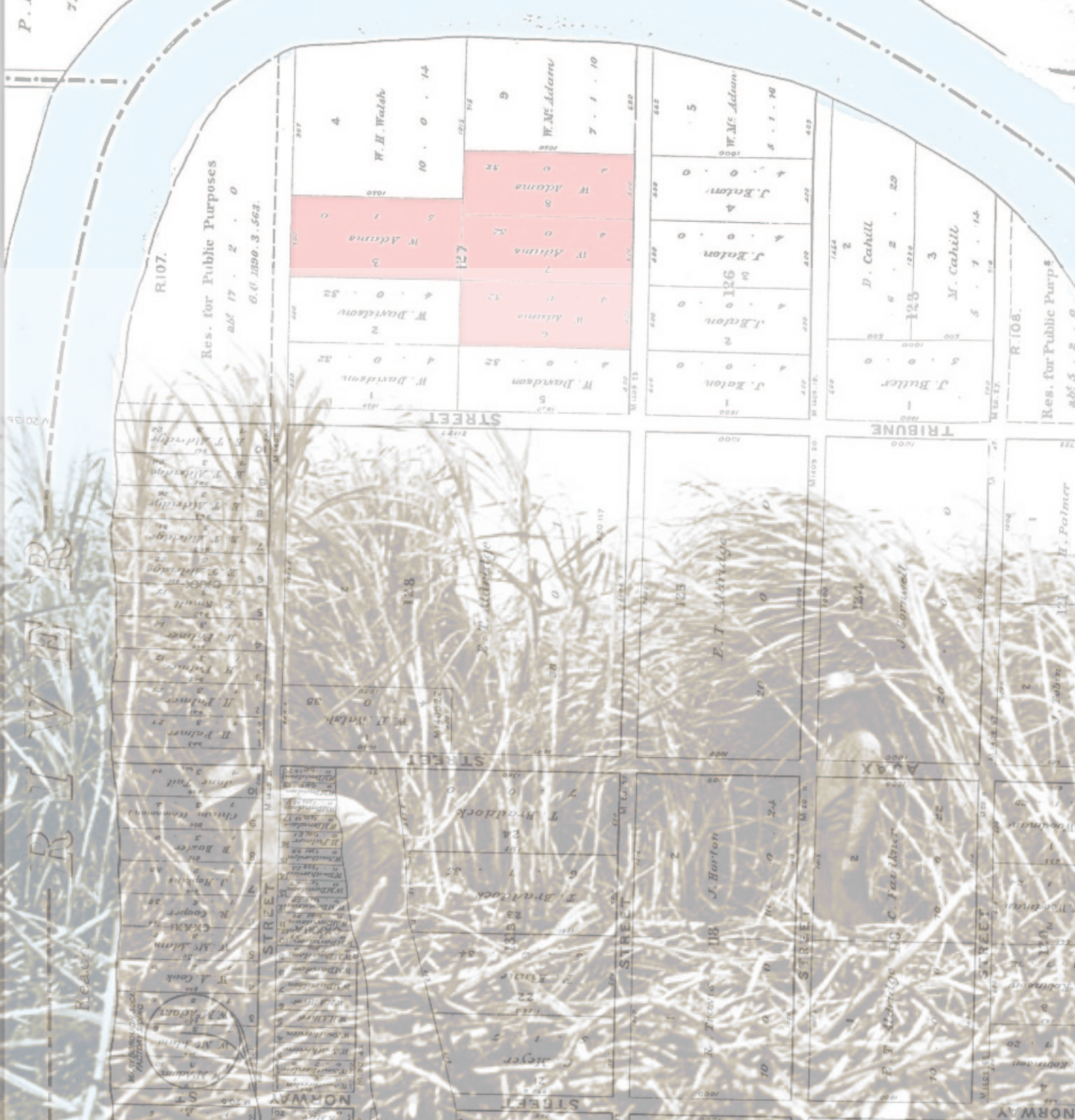
*A gentleman holding a high position in connection with a bank, having its headquarters in Sydney, was a visitor at Mon Repos when I called there. He stated very emphatically that the people of Brisbane could not be aware that the withdrawal of labour from the planters would largely tend to ruin the trade of the metropolis. "Anyone can see," said he, "that most of the timber mills and many of the principal houses depend on the sugar industry more or less directly, and if the smash were to be allowed to take place the results would be deplorable and far greater than appears to be imagined just now." He spoke as one who had travelled in America, the land of protection, in which he had lived cheaper than in Sydney or London, and prophesied that that state of things must sooner or later rule in a young colony like this. In Sydney there was going on revulsion of feeling, the consequence of what already was that some large woolen manufactories were already springing up there, the outlay on which was very large. "As an instance of free trade he added that some of the best woollen manufacturers in Glasgow had gone to Paris and started manufactories there, protected by the duty imposed in France. He strongly eulogized the financial condition of Maryborough which he said was one of the most healthy towns in the colony. "But if they take away the sugar industry it will ruin everything," added he. "I am astonished that the people of Brisbane cannot see that, if the sugar industry is ruined, Brisbane must suffer very severely. It will affect the colony so materially that a lot of the people must shut up shop. An enormous amount of money will be withdrawn from circulation and this must affect Brisbane especially. It would in fact be like stopping one of the arteries of the*

*body. Queensland cannot compete with us in maize; it won't pay here to any great extent. On the Hawkesbury we get 160 bushels to the acre, and the best land in this colony does not grow more than 50 or 60 bushels. The fact is, it is a sugar growing country and it is impossible to fight against nature." From his experience of plantations he was satisfied that it was absolutely impossible to work them with white labour. "The black men generally," he added, "seem to be well looked after by the doctor, which is more than I can say for many communities of white men I have seen." Referring to the financial position of the planters, he stated that as soon as it was definitely known that the labour was to be stopped, all the banks holding mortgages on the plantations would at once proceed to foreclose, as it would be only wasting time to wait longer.*

THE BRIGHTON OF BUNDABERG. *It was not more than half-an-hour's ride from Mon Repos to a repose of another kind - to a cottage by the sea where the wants of man and beast are considered, catered, and charged for. There is a splendid beach in front of the house, and the delicious sense of relief that I experienced as I had a dip in the breakers at the end of an exhausting ride on a sultry day was something to be devoutly thankful for. It was three months since I had strayed so far, and there had come upon the place a change decidedly for the better. It was very much more comfortable, had a far better table than before, and on the hill overlooking the beach was divers gymnastic apparatus that were new to me. There was also a bath house that wanted no key to unlock or stray sixpence for the unnecessary and verbose attendant. I found subsequently that the house had changed hands, as the new proprietor did not come in till dark, bringing with him a large iron target that is destined for the Defence Force to shoot at, and which is to be stuck somewhere close handy. The house, with one or two others, is all that is tangible of Barolin township, but on Sunday and Thursday afternoons when the beauty and bravery of Bundaberg are present, the sad sea waves and the sandy beach show an assortment of uncommon objects of the sea shore.*

*The next day closed my sojourn at the Woongarra. I saw both Mr. Faulkner* (who relocated from Maryborough with neighbours Mr. G. Noakes and Mr. Walter Adams and who selected land in the Woongarra in 1872 - R. L. C.)*, and Mr. Farquhar, the first, one of the oldest inhabitants of the district. Some of the experiences he has had with white ploughmen, who tied the reins to the plough shafts, and of drivers, whose career of horsemanship was a brief and bloody one, were, some of them funny enough, that is to the hearer. Possibly the person who has to stand the loss would look at the matter in a more prosaic light. Mr. Faulkner said that the experience of years had taught him that most of the white immigrants who came out as agricultural laborers and mechanics were more or less frauds; not only useless but having a tendency to madden the unfortunate employer who has to explain which is the horse and which is the cart, and so on. Plantation life is exhausting enough without that. Mr. Farquhar's place is a little kingdom of itself, and is known all over Queensland as the Hummock, from the fact of there being a dromedary shaped hill on the estate, from the*

*top of which one can see all over the Woongarra. Had anyone stood there a few centuries ago* (A bit more than that – R. L. C.)*, he would have felt a troubled sensation under him, for the Hummock is an extinct volcano, and had planting been carried on in the aboriginal days* (Again a bit before that, tertiary volcanics I think - R. L. C.) *it is highly probable that the upper soil might have been wafted in the direction of the blue Pacific. There are great stones all-round the top of the mountain, some of which show a water-worn appearance. Upon looking for traces of slavery at the Hummock I was informed that the overseer, a gentleman from the West Indies was not allowed to strike back a boy who had attempted to assault him. The large number of horses in the stables were all well fed and happy and Mr. Farquhar buys all his maize – amounting to some £10 worth per week – from the local farmers. It seems so funny to protect the good farmers from the wicked planters by rendering the latter helpless. It is only consistent when seen in a Pickwickian or political light. The planters can't see it at all, and the farmers even prefer the lucre to the moral contamination – that's what they call it at home.*


R.107.
Res. for Public Purposes
R.108.
Res. for Public Purp.
STREET
TRIBUNE
NORWAY
W. H. Walsh
W. Mc Adam
W. Adams
J. Eaton
D. Cahill
M. Cahill
J. Butler
E. T. Mawdsley
J. Connell
J. Horton
C. Fairbrace
T. Broadfoot
T. Brailsford
C. Meyer
J. Hinds
J. Butler
J. T. Mawdsley
S. Puttaway
R.134.
Res.
Town

# Part 2

*"FARM LABOURER*
*1 8*
*READ AND WRITE"*

–

**WALTER ADAMS**
OF
BUNDABERG

**J.K. Connor**
**2004**

**NOTE**: The title in italics above is the Sydney Immigration Office's dockside description of Walter on his disembarkation from the emigrant ship *Victoria*.

# Chapter 10

# A New Life in an Old Land

On 2nd September 1849, an 18 year old "farm labourer", who was of the Church of England persuasion and could read and write, landed at Sydney with his parents and younger brothers and sisters from the ship *Victoria* out of Plymouth. (Appendix A1)

Walter Adams was born on 22nd November 1830 at Yeovil, Somersetshire. He was the third child and second son of George and Sarah Adams and brother of Alfred, Sarah, Matilda, Emily, Jane, Henry, James and Edward.

The occupations of George and Sarah were given on the board list of the *Victoria* as a leather dresser of Symington or Simington and a house servant of Yeovil respectively. At the time the colony was hungry for rural workers and domestic staff.

In 1815 prohibitive duties were imposed on the importation of grain into England. These restrictions continued until the 1840s, effectively protecting English agriculture and forcing the people to depend on their own country for breadstuffs. In 1846, however, England did not escape the crop failures which devastated Ireland. This emergency ensured the victory of free traders in the Parliament. The *Corn Laws* were finally and completely repealed in 1849. Was this threat to security the spur which prompted the emigration of a family from Somerset?

According to *Pugh's Almanac* of 1887, Walter was educated at Somerton near Yeovil (other records suggest at a private school - J. K. C.) and he accepted a position in an extensive machinery factory owned by his cousin. The records say his initial ventures in colonial business life were unsuccessful and he was compelled to enter the employ of a blacksmith 18 months after landing in Sydney. By November 1851 he was at Maitland, probably in the employ of the Australian Agricultural Company.




**George Adams**




**Sarah Adams**

His younger brothers (Edward and James) also adopted the blacksmith trade. (The trades of leatherworker and blacksmith, together with woodworker and teamster, were of critical importance to the then current technology of the young colony - J. K. C) While the rest of the family settled in the Hunter Valley of New South Wales, Walter was, by 1854, a resident of the Queensland settlement of Gayndah.

On 20th March of that year he married Mary Shannon. Mary, a Catholic, was the daughter of Manus and Susanna Shannon of Ennistymon, County Clare, Ireland. (Appendix A2)

Born on 6th January 1833 Mary migrated, as a '20 year old housemaid' who could neither read nor write, on the *Joseph Somes* out of Plymouth on 21st October 1851, and landed in Sydney on



**Walter Adams**



**Mary Adams**

1st February 1852. Records indicate that Mary paid £1 for her passage.

The Ireland that Mary left was in crisis and the catalyst was the humble potato. Extracts from *Gladstone - Parnell and the Great Irish Struggle*, (1886) describe this Ireland:

> *It was (the) state of affairs between the landlord and the tenant that gave the potato its fatal importance in the economy of Irish life. All the wheat and oats which were grown on the land must go to the payment of rent; and also much of the potato crop as was not required to keep the tenant and his family from absolute starvation. The potato was well suited for the position of the tenant. It produced a larger amount per acre than any other crop; it suited the soil and the climate. The potato meant abundant food or*

*starvation, life or wholesale death. It was the thin partition between famine and the Irish people.*

*The plant had its bad qualities as well as its good; it was fickle, perishable, liable to wholesale destruction, and more than once already had given proof to its terrible uncertainty.*

The 'Struggle' goes on to describe the emergence of potato blight in North America and Europe, its progression to Ireland and its catastrophic direct and indirect effects on the Irish people, exacerbated by the social and political circumstances of the time:

*Pestilence always hovers on the flank of famine. … a quarter of a million people … perished from fever alone. The famine and the fever were naturally accompanied and followed by other maladies which result from insufficiency and unsuitability of food. The potato blight continued with varying virulence until 1851; its existence being marked by the prevalence in more or less severe epidemics of dysentery, which carried off 5,492 persons in 1846, 25,757 in 1847, the annual totals swelling until in 1849 the deaths from this disease alone amounted to 29,446; cholera, which destroyed 35,989 lives in 1848 - 49; smallpox, to which 38,273 persons fell victims in the decennial period between 1841 and 1851.*

Inevitably, emigration was encouraged as a partial solution to the people's plight. *The History of Ireland* (Haverty 1882) reported:

*In 1846, the year of the great famine, some 250,000 emigrated to the United States and Canada. The tide kept on increasing for several years; The population of Ireland, according to the contemporary census, was, in 1841 – 8,175,224 persons; in 1851- 6,553,290 persons; and in 1861- 5,764,548 persons.*

In 1851, the year that Mary left Ireland, emigration was decreasing; however there were still 152,060 registered emigrants in that year.

The demographic effects on Ireland's population may be indicated by the composition of 'Assisted Immigrants' on the *Joseph Somes*. There were 34 married couples accompanied by 58 children 14 years or younger, 58 single males and 62 single females. Of these single females all but six were Irish and, with one exception, a 37 year old, were aged from 16 to 26.

The witnesses to the wedding of Walter and Mary were Prudence Lean and James Speering. Who were they and do their records give us any clues to the lives of Walter and Mary?

Prudence arrived with her labourer husband, Benjamin, and their infant, Emil, at Moreton Bay on 29th April 1853 on the *Florentia*. Prudence and Benjamin were 27 and 24 years old respectively. They were from Cornwall, of the Church of England, could read and write and they had no relations in the colony. No further record was found of them in Queensland but Prudence and Benjamin both died in faraway Narrandera in the Riverina in 1913 and 1917, their parents being given as 'Hoskins' and 'Unknown' and 'John' and 'Unknown' respectively.

James Speering, a labourer, arrived at Moreton Bay on 10th August 1852 on the *Meridian* with his wife, Angelina, and a daughter of the same name. They were 26, 26 and 3 years old respectively from Limerick and of the Church

of England. They also had no relations in the colony. James and his wife could read and write. James was the son of Thomas Speering and Susannah Sparling and Angelina was the daughter of William and Margaret Corneil. They were married on 29th February 1848 at Adare, Limerick. After arriving in the colony, a further five children, Margaret, Thomas, James, Edwin Charles and William, were born and James worked as a shepherd and tailor and was a storekeeper on the Paradise Gold fields. James and Angelina died at Brisbane in 1890 and 1907 respectively and they are buried in Toowong Cemetery.

There seems to be no evidence of close contact between Walter and Mary and the witnesses either before or after the ceremony. In particular, their records give no clues to the activities of Walter and Mary in the period, 1852 to early 1854.

In contrast, the celebrant, Edward Tanner, the rector of St Paul's Church of England, Maryborough, in 1854 remained closely associated with the couple well into their later years.

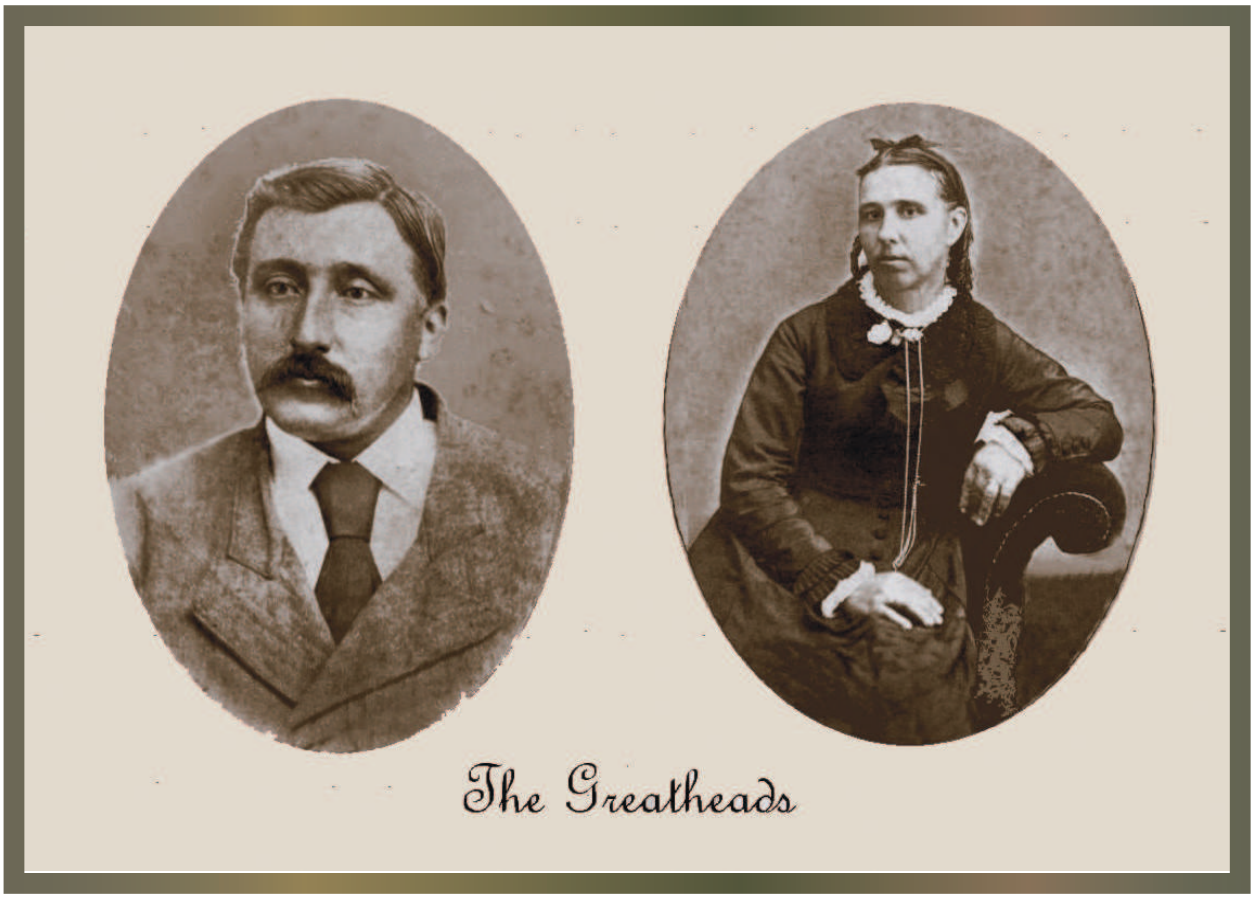
In 1854 the newly married couple were resident at Albert Street, Maryborough, and in May 1855 Mary presented Walter with an heir, George Manus. A further seven children, Matilda Jane, Mary Ann, James Walter, Sarah Margaret, Maria Emily, Susanna and Ellen Elizabeth were to be born in the town. Susanna died in infancy in 1869. (Appendix A9)

For a short time after travelling to Maryborough Walter again worked for wages as a blacksmith; however it is clear that he had by then accumulated some capital. On 11th September 1855 he purchased 64 perches in Lennox Street in the name of his new son and further allotments, on 29th October 1856 in Bazaar Street and on 9th September 1859 in Albert Street, in his own name. (Appendices A3 & A14a) Around 1855 he established his own machinery business which he conducted for seven years.

On 8th October 1860 he purchased three blocks of land totalling 13 acres 2 roods 24 perches (augmented by an adjacent block of 4 acres 32 perches on 21st December 1869) in The Pocket on the flood plain of the Mary River and commenced farming. (Appendix A14b) Mr Edward J. Aldridge, the founder of Maryborough had introduced sugar cane into the Wide Bay district in 1860. Ever the innovator, as amply demonstrated in later life, Walter drew on some of the resultant seed stock and, in 1864 made preparation to produce stands of cane, "... in the jungle near Maryborough, at a place called Somerville considered to be 'finer than anything … seen in Mauritius' by an expert Thomy de Keating who arrived at Maryborough from that island in 1865." (Appendix A5) There was no machinery for crushing at this time so these early crops were fed to cattle.

In 1869 Walter commenced a contracting business which he was to carry on for two years. He also was an alderman of the town over the five year period from February 1867 to February 1872, included in which was the holding of the office of Chairman of the Council's Works Committee.

In 1871 he gave a clear signal that he had recognised an opportunity and challenge to the north. On 28th January he purchased three




allotments in the fledgling town of Bundaberg at an auction held in Maryborough.

Walter resigned from the Maryborough Council, left his well-established business interests, commenced to dissolve his property holdings and moved to the Burnett. To mark the occasion, the citizens of Maryborough made a presentation to Walter which was accompanied by an illuminated address. (Appendix A12)

In March 1872 Walter selected a block of 240 acres between the Burnett River and Mon Repos on the edge of the Woongarra Scrub. A conditional purchase lease was granted under the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868 on 14th July 1872.

The aim of this Act was to break up the large pastoral holdings of the squatters and to encourage agriculture on mixed farming enterprises. Land was classified and valued as 'agricultural' worth 15 shillings per acre, 'first-class pastoral' worth 10 shillings per acre, and 'second-class pastoral' worth 5 shillings per acre. Lands purchased by Walter under the Act were acquired through seven annual rental payments.

Walter's Barolin selection, which became his principal rural holding, was variously described as Somerville Plantation and Sommerville Plantation in contemporary records and Summerville Plantation in later mentions. In this text the middle course, 'Sommerville', has been adopted. It consisted of 75 acres of agricultural land and 165 acres of second-class pastoral land, much of the latter being ti-tree swamp. (Appendices A14d & A18)

On the other hand Charles Faulkner and George Noakes, who had moved from Maryborough at the same time as Walter, had both selected adjacent or nearby blocks which were made up of the more valuable agricultural land only.

It is possible that proximity to river transport was a factor in Walter's choice of the selection as this advantage may have been suggested by his friend George Greathead who set up the first regular coastal shipping line between Bundaberg and Maryborough.

A condition under the *Act* was continuous and bona fide occupancy of the selection by a Selector's Bailiff. Walter's Bailiffs on Sommerville were from February to June 1872 – D. Kennen (with the two sons of the selector assisting clearing), from June 1872 to August 1873 – a man called Digby, from August 1873 to August 1874 – George Manus Adams, and from September 1874 to July 1876 – Thomas Chase.

No records have been found of Kennen or Digby but Thomas Chase arrived at Maryborough on the *Great Queensland* on 9th October 1874 so his starting date as Bailiff is a little fuzzy but he clearly went straight into Walter's employ on his arrival at Bundaberg. He was accompanied on the voyage by his wife, Ann (nee Steel) and children, Mary Ann, Mark, George, Thomas, John, Eliza, Ellen Jane, Frederick, Henry, Lucy, Jane and James, who ranged in age from 22 to 3 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 married at Portsea, Hampshire, in July 1852. Descendants of the family remain in the Bundaberg district.

In a report by Horace Burkitt, Commissioner for Crown Lands at Bundaberg on 1st May 1876, Sommerville was described and its improvements valued as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| All 200 acres cleared and under crop | £100 - 00 – 0 |
| 15 acres of scrub fallen | £37 - 10 – 0 |
| About 20 chains of fence, split post, sapling rails | £10 - 10 – 0 |
| 2 piggeries/slabbed | £6 - 00 – 0 |
| 2 water holes | £8 - 00 – 0 |
| 2 log barns, thatched at £10 each | £20 - 00 – 0 |
| 1 Slab and shingle cottage | £14 - 00 – 0 |

Elsewhere it was stated that the selection had 40 acres under maize valued at £200. Burkitt concluded that at the time of his visit in June 1875, "the place had all the appearance of a well worked maize growing farm." On 10th June 1876 a *Certificate of Fulfilment of Conditions by Selector* under *The Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868 was granted. Walter was to acquire several other rural properties under this act.

His earliest selection in the Burnett was a homestead block of 140 acres (10 acres of agricultural land and 130 acres of 2nd class pastoral land) on the North bank of the Burnett River at South Kolan. Probably at the same time, he selected 320 acres at Gin Gin. These choices he later came to regret.

There is no evidence that he attempted to develop the Gin Gin property. A letter to the Land Commissioner on 7th October 1872 indicates he sought to forfeit its lease but, by mistake, the selection at South Kolan was cancelled and so he sought the reinstatement of that lease. Later developments suggest he would have been better off without the bother. The Kolan property, located approximately 14 miles south-west of Bundaberg proved to be a costly and frustrating experience. This debacle is described in his letter to the Land Commissioner, Bundaberg, of 17th March 1875.

*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 tree marked ("? ed.) I should then be about the middle of said selection after arrival on the spot selected and a great deal of trouble and delay I found the tree as described and commenced operations and after spending four months on the spot selected from January to May Erecting a four roomed slab house at a cost of about £20, a stockyard at £30 besides felling five acres of the best timber where the best of the land was I was informed by the surveyor that when the block was surveyed my improvements would be out of the lease. 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 neither has their been any official notification of it being surveyed.* (He had indeed erected the house and yards on the adjoining property selected by John Nolan. He proceeded to seek the transfer of fees paid on the selection to his existing and a proposed Barolin property - J. K. C.).

*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 labour 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 {?ed.} 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 loose my improvements on the other yet I*

*am prepared to do so - not for the essential value off 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 have to loose 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 loose 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 Sommerville. The "*selection lately forfeited by symonds*" was Lot No. 207, not 307, selected by Frederick Lewis Symons and forfeited on 19th February 1875 and which consisted of approximately 112 acres in a triangular block on the Northern boundary of Sommerville. Walter was unsuccessful in gaining this Symons selection. However his request to transfer the fees to Barolin was granted on 1st June 1875. It was Joseph Gillen who had applied for the Simonds land and his *Certificate of Fulfilment of Conditions* was granted in 1877.

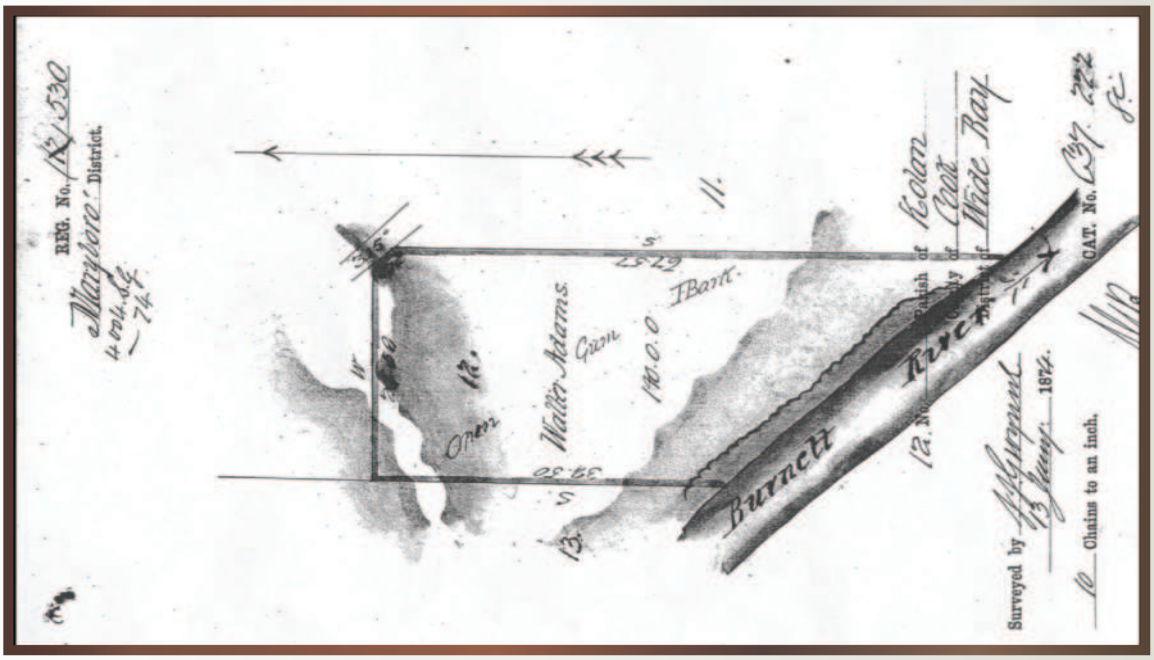
On 29th October 1874 Walter was granted a conditional purchase lease on 157 acres 2 roods of second-class pastoral land at South Bundaberg in an area which is now bounded by the Bundaberg-Maryborough Railway, Thebeban Road, Walker Street and an extended Faldt Street. This block was Portion 32, Parish of Bundaberg, County of Cook. It had been occupied since about July 1873. An inspection on 14th October 1876 indicated that the Selector's Bailiff was James Adams, Walter's son, with George, his elder brother, also occasionally present on the property. The inspector's report contained what was probably Jim's first work reference. He was rated "generally useful and attends school" and he was "not employed elsewhere".

Improvements were:

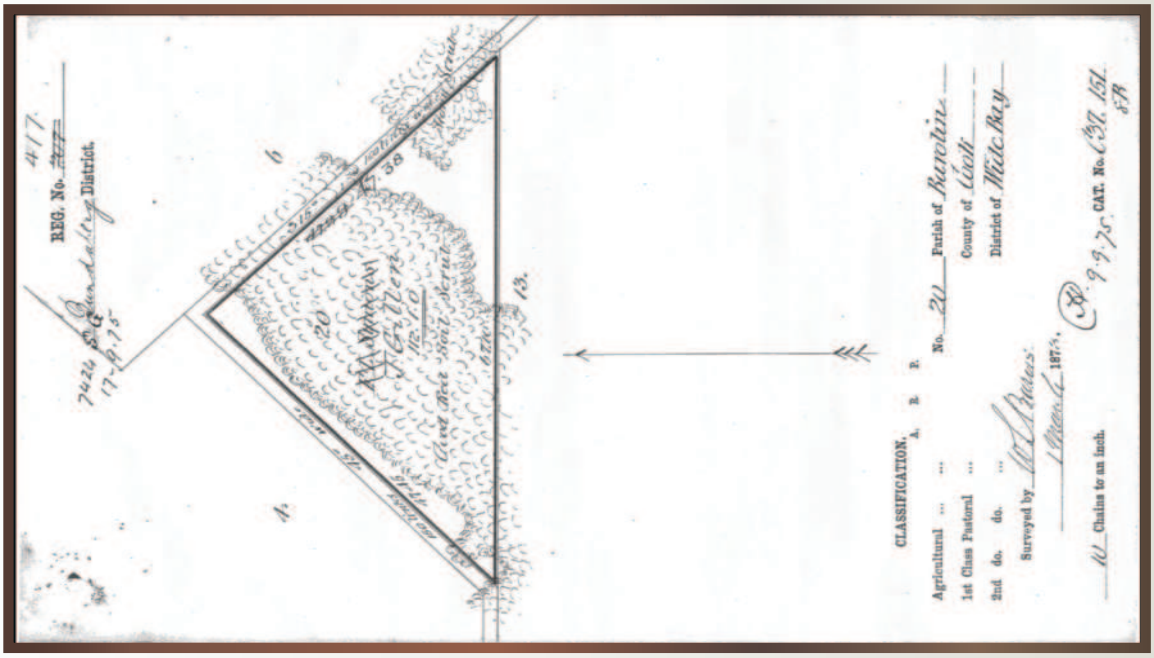
| | |
|---|---|
| "About 150 chains split post and rail fence, 2 rails | £135 |
| Stockyard 3 rails and cap with calf pen | £15 |
| House Weatherboard and shingle | £24 |
| 2 acres Garden, stumped and cleared | £20 |
| Total Value | £194 |
| Everything in good order." | |

The property was used as a horse paddock, horses being received on agistment. Hector Burkitt in a letter of 10th June 1876 to his masters at the Land Office enclosing the *Certificate of Fulfilment*, expressed concern that his predecessor had classified the property, and adjacent ones, as 2nd Class Pastoral, when

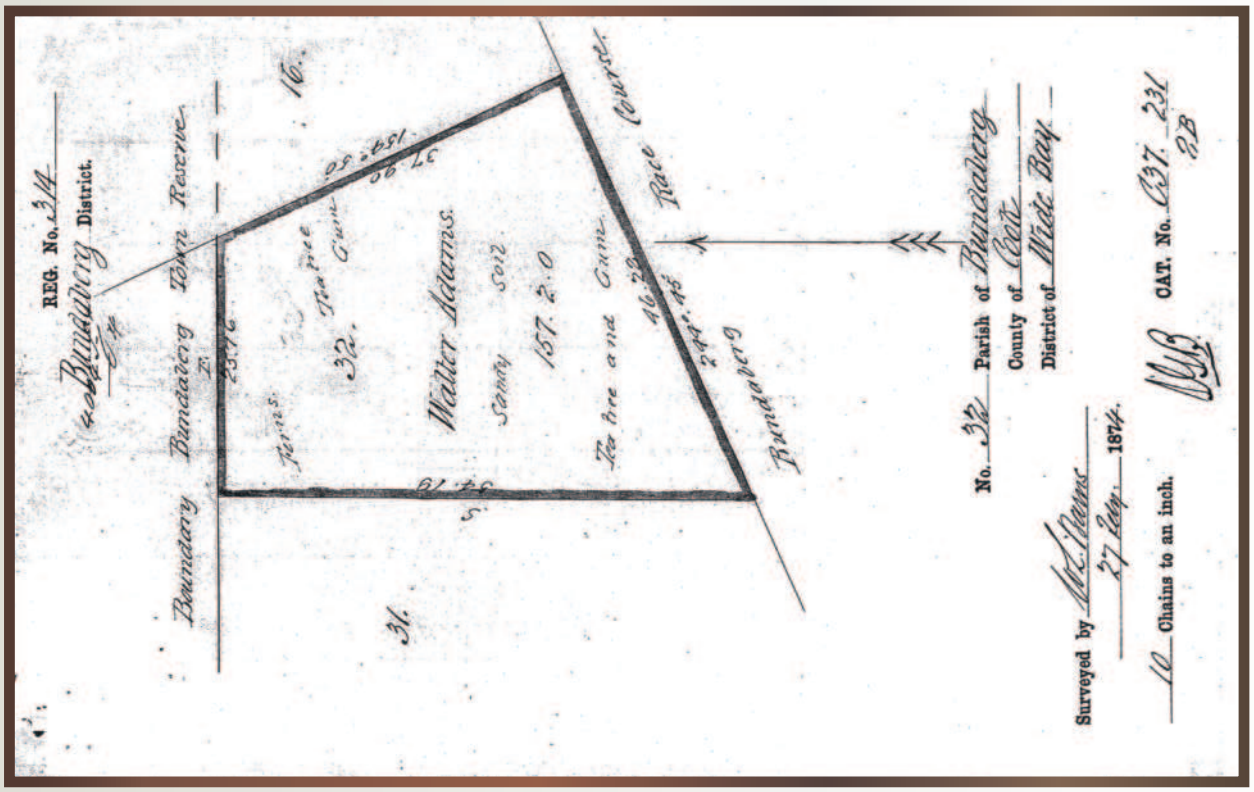
## THE TROUBLESOME KOLAN LAND – AND SEE APPENDIX A4




## THE SYMONS LAND



## THE SOUTH BUNDABERG HORSE PADDOCK




the land was in the Bundaberg suburban 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 15s per acre under the provisions of the *Act*. He further argued that the presence on the property of the garden indicated it was suitable for cultivation so it must be superior to 2nd Class Pastoral. The deed was granted on 10th May 1877 and it seems Walter got a bargain for his outlay of 5s per acre.

Another block acquired by Walter was a homestead block of eighty acres of agricultural land on the South bank of the Burnett River in the Parish of Takalvan selected on 24th June 1870 at the Lands Office, Maryborough, by Charles Hedges. On 24 December 1870 Charles wrote to the Land Agent, Bundaberg, to advise that the land had not been surveyed and he, therefore, 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*

# THE HEDGES LAND - NEAR SANDY HOOK



*granted (conditional purchase) on the fourth of August 1870*. In a Power of Attorney "signed, sealed and delivered" on 10th 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 price: 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*.

Charles is an enigmatic figure. A Charles Hedges arrived at Sydney on 9th February 1850 as a 19 year old farm labourer from Chednor, Buckinghamshire, who was Church of England, could neither read nor write, and had no relations in the colony; however, the Bundaberg Charles Hedges left behind not only the land but also a photograph album (still in the family's possession) containing photographs of Windsor Castle, Eton College and other locations in the Thames Valley. Included were, 'Lodge …', 'Vineries …' and 'Stables at Newnham'. Curiously, the home of Ellen Elizabeth Adams and her husband at 116 George Street, Bundaberg, was later named *Newnham*.

On the 4th July 1876, William H. Franklin, Bailiff of Crown Lands, Bundaberg, carried out what was apparently the first inspection of the property. He described the selector as, "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 2nd class pastoral land used, "for the growth of maize" Franklin advised that, "a man named Creavy ("Farmer") resides on the land in the interests of Walter Adams."

Improvements on the Hedges's land were:

| | |
|---|---|
| About 35 acres cleared | £175 |
| Weatherboard Cottage, Shingles (2 rooms/verandah) | £30 |
| Large barn W. B. Slabs, Shingles | £25 |
| Lean-to – paling fence | £15 |

He concluded, "This selection is now I believe a freehold & held by Walter Adams".

Other Lands Department documents present a confusing picture on the size and nature of the property. They state that at the time of selection it was Lot No. 53 consisting of 80 acres of agricultural land and 37 acres of 2nd class pastoral; at forfeiture by Hedges Lot No. 313 of 60 acres agricultural and 260 of 2nd class pastoral; and at time of acquisition by Walter, Lot No. 112 of 37 acres agricultural and 92 acres 2 roods of 2nd class pastoral.

An article in the *Queensland Country Life* of 29th September 1983 summarised the history of the property. In 1877 land for what now is



**The shack on the Hedges land** – near Sandy Hook

Branyan Drive was resumed on the northern fringe of the property. Rather than receiving cash compensation, Walter requested and, on 10th June 1879, received 4 acres on the northern side of the road. His stated intention was to build a house as the land there, while on the river bank, was high above flood level; however, he sold the 4 acres in 1884 to Robert Dyball, one of Bundaberg's early solicitors, but it took a later owner, architect Leonard Young, to achieve Walter's vision. The cottage built by Young, Birra-Barra Homestead, was for some time a tourist attraction.

In addition to acquiring these rural lands, Walter also purchased at least 16 town allotments additional to his original three purchases. Details of these properties are given in Appendix 3.

The original cash crop at Sommerville Plantation was maize. The virgin soils gave very high yields and two harvests per year. Prices initially were high at 6 to 7 shillings per bushel. In 1876 the crop failed due to weevil attack and prices plummeted to as low as 1 shilling per bushel. Diversification was essential. Walter tried wheat and sugar cane, apparently with

some success, since he sent samples of both to the Paris Exhibition of December 1877.

A sugar refinery using new technology was operating successfully in Maryborough. In 1875 a petition to its owners, Tooth and Cran, by Bundaberg farmers and others interested in sugar growing sought the establishment of a similar works on the Burnett. At a meeting on 7th March 1878 convened by Mr. A. C. Walker a committee comprising Walter Adams, Alexander Walker, Edward Tanner, Andrew Dunn, John Nott and Richard Jones was formed to further the venture. Lack of risk capital caused delays however by January 1882 machinery for the proposed Millaquin crushing mill and refinery had arrived from England and the machinery for Walter's Sommerville Plantation satellite mill was to land shortly thereafter, in August 1882.

The season of 1883 marked the beginning of successful, large-scale sugar production and refining in the Bundaberg area with Sommerville being one of the smaller plantations in the district. In 1888 it had 120 acres under cane, was valued at £10,000 and employed 8 white males paid £402 per annum and 27 and 3 black males and females paid £845/15s./0d per annum. Fairymead, the largest plantation, had 1,252 acres under cane, was valued at £75,000 and employed 47 and 4 white males and females paid £5,000 and 267 black males paid £5,860.

Walter's first significant construction job in his new community was self-serving. He, and other residents of the rapidly developing Woongarra Scrub, travelled to Bundaberg by a long route - south to skirt the headwaters of Saltwater Creek - west to the Maryborough Road (now Maryborough Street) - then north to the township. In 1872 Walter estimated the cost of construction of a bridge across the creek at the By-Wash and convinced the Government to devote funds for the project. There are two versions of what followed. John Young Walker reported:

> *The public-spirited promoter having casually found that no tender would likely be sent in sufficiently low to meet the estimate adopted by the Government, himself tendered for the bridge at less than his own estimate. And thus "Adams Bridge" was built, and was known ever after by that name, until superseded by the dam near the Breweries and, separating the salt from the fresh water, erected by the Woongarra Divisional Board".* (NOTE: This Board was created in 1886 - R. L. C.). *This was the first bridge built in the Bundaberg district, at a cost of £329. Others have succeeded, more pretentious and more costly, but none more meeting so urgent a public want.*

Neville Rackemann's version is:

> *Walter Adams was the only person in the settlement in a position to carry out the job. If his tender - the only one - was considered too high, then the bridge would not be built. Adams was in a quandary. Above all, he wanted the bridge built, even if he ultimately did so at a loss. He privately mentioned a figure to a government contact and was assured that the amount would be acceptable to the Treasury. Anxious to commence the bridge as soon as possible, Adams went ahead at his own expense, confident he would be reimbursed by the government. In the meantime, Treasury officials decided that Adams's costs were above the estimate finally*



**The Bundaberg town wharf** – on the Burnett River

*accepted by the relevant department. It took considerable time and effort for Adams to have his £329 account finally settled to his satisfaction.*

Another example of Walter's 'can do' approach to civic development is given by the history of South Bundaberg's first wharf. Walker reported:

*When it was unquestioned and unquestionable that the river was navigable and was one of the finest natural ports in Queensland, an application was made for money to be placed on the Estimates for the erection of a wharf; and the sum named was £2,000. This application was made through the then member for Bundaberg, Mr Walter Scott.*

The answer received was that money was not nearly sufficient and that the position and prospects of the town would not warrant the expenditure for a long time to come. Here again, we quote: *Mr Adams was strongly to the fore. Procuring at Mr Cathcart's store a sheet of tea paper – the only writing material immediately available – he drew a pencil sketch of the desired wharf, added a set of specifications to match, sent it to Mr Scott and offered to take responsibility of erecting it for £1,900. This brought the*

*Department to re-consider the matter; money was found and a tender accepted for the first wharf, now known as Queen's Wharf.* Walter completed the wharf in 1875. The A.S.N. Company leased the wharf in 1876, moving from the flood-prone North Bundaberg wharves previously used.

Other major projects carried out by Walter were construction of the first major road works, the Bundaberg to Bingera Road; and construction of the telegraph line from the township to the pilot station at Burnett Heads. Both jobs were completed in 1873.

In January 1873, a first step was taken to formalise the process of civic development. A Bundaberg Progress Committee was formed. Its membership was John Steuart, Walter Adams, George Bell, Samuel Johnston and Alex. Walker. The duties of the Committee were to communicate with Government through the heads of departments or parliamentary representatives on all subjects of importance affecting the interests of the town and district.

At the first meeting, an eleven point list of urgent requirements was compiled which included roads to Burnett Heads, Gayndah, Maryborough and Mount Perry, telegraphic communication, immigrant quarters and a share of immigrants, a punt across the Burnett River, beacons at the river mouth, a bridge at Saltwater Creek, a bi-weekly mail to Maryborough and Mount Perry; clearing principal streets of timber and placing roads under the control of a road trust, and securing reserves for botanic gardens, hospital, cemetery and recreation purposes.

This first Bundaberg Progress Committee had a short recorded life. The last minutes are dated March 1873; however, it achieved an objective of establishing priorities for the growth of the community. As was the case before 1873, implementation relied on the energies of the district's innovators.

Walter, drawing on his Maryborough Council experience, was a prime agent in securing sufficient reserves for public purposes while land was comparatively of little value. Until this time, only the School of Arts and School Reserves had been secured.

A Cemetery Reserve was first addressed. The few dead had been buried in the centre of the town on an allotment diagonally across the intersection from the present Anglican Church. Many people believed that the burial ground was sufficiently distant and the town would never extend beyond it in their or their children's life times. Walter remarked, "the future of Bundaberg no man can predict." A trust was established and, on the advice of Walter, in co-operation with Alex. Walker of Bingera, the present site of the General Cemetery was selected and applied for. A slight hiccup was the need to block an application to the Lands Office by the district surveyor, John Charlton Thompson, for an agriculture block which included the reserve. This problem was overcome and, ironically, Thompson's wife, Hannah, was the first person buried in the newly consecrated ground.

Walter now turned his attention to establishing a race course. In 1873 a reserve had been granted. Joined by Thomas Watson, Walter collected over £30 for surveying and clearing the course. The local surveyors required £10 to mark the circle of the track. This expenditure would have left too little in the kitty to complete

the job. Walter, John Foley, George Skyring and Fred Colman marked off what is the present running ground of the Bundaberg Race Course between 9 o'clock one morning and 3 o'clock that afternoon. Family lore also maintains that enthusiasm for the clearing of the track was maintained by the sustenance of voluntary workers at the end of the day with appropriate supplies from his recently established hotel.

As far back as 1868 it was known or supposed that Bundaberg was over or on the edge of an extensive coal basin. Around 1875 a seam was found in the bed of Pine Creek by Walter, James Elwood and another man. The trio had been prospecting the district for some time. Samples were tested and found to be of excellent quality. Reports by a surveyor and a practical miner were so satisfactory that a limited liability company of twenty-five members was speedily formed, a board of directors appointed, work commenced and a conditional contract to supply the A.S.N. Company's ships was negotiated. By March 1876 a shaft to a depth of 116 feet 6 inches had given encouraging shows of coal; however, a majority of shareholders were reluctant to throw more capital at the venture. At a meeting held at Adams Hotel, it was agreed unanimously that the balance of funds be returned to shareholders. While a viable coal industry has never been developed in the Bundaberg district, the presence of these deposits was used to effect by proponents of a Bundaberg to Mount Perry railway line. Among the foremost of these was Walter Adams. (A shaft that may have met the description of the one above was still in evidence in the 1950's, and was located in the Scouts' reserve on the south bank of the Burnett River.)

In 1869 copper ore was discovered at Mount Perry. The field was hailed as potentially the most productive in Australia. Initially, the ore was hauled by drays via Gayndah to Maryborough. However, with the development of the town and port of Bundaberg more of this traffic could be re-routed from Mount Perry to Bundaberg. Both ports sought railways from the field, Bundaberg arguing that freight costs to its port would be less than two-thirds of the costs to Maryborough. Not only was there rivalry between the sister towns but also towns in other parts of the State, including Gympie and Charters Towers, were fighting for a share of the limited cake devoted to rail construction. The convoluted and protracted politics of the issue are described by Walker. One interesting aspect was a resolution passed at a meeting held at the Bundaberg School of Arts in 1875. This accepted as a compromise that the line should initially extend only to New Moonta since the last 20 miles to Mount Perry was the most expensive part of the line.

Surely it was only a coincidence that at least five of the seven speakers at the meeting, including Walter, were Provisional Trustees of the New Moonta Copper Mine. As it turned out, the line never went directly to New Moonta, although the Mount Perry road did. In August 1881, the line was opened to Moolboolaman, in June 1883 to Gibb's Siding (about four miles from New Moonta) and in May 1884 to Mount Perry.

Financial difficulties delayed the establishment of a Primary Public School in Bundaberg. In 1875, however, at the third attempt, sufficient

funds were obtained by public subscription and a school was built. A further problem then arose. There was no Government official in the town authorised or available to supervise the building. This difficulty was overcome by the appointment of Walter, John Cathcart and a gentleman called Beard (who worked in the Lands Office). This group voluntarily undertook the work. Walter also was responsible for promoting the establishment in 1877 of a Provisional School which became the Burnett Heads State School. His enthusiasm for the project was no doubt heightened by the presence on Summerville of Thomas and Ann Chase and their family. Lucy Chase was one of the first pupils enrolled at the Provisional School.

In March 1878 a meeting was held for the purpose of electing a Hospital Fund Committee and Trustees. Walter was a foundation member of this Committee and, after the building was completed in 1881, was for a time President of the Hospital Committee.

Other civic positions held by Walter were: President of the School of Arts Committee, President of the Agricultural and Pastoral Society, Member of the Botanic Gardens Trust, inaugural President of the Bundaberg Chamber of Commerce in 1882 and, curiously, member of the Bathing Company Committee which supervised the floating baths constructed by the Council in 1881 at the end of Tantitha Street.

In July 1877 a well-attended public meeting chaired by Walter elected a new and larger Progress Committee. Those elected were: James C. Walker, President, Walter Adams, Vice-President, Andrew M. Goodwin, Secretary, John Rowland, Alex. Walker, Henry J. Ford, George T. Bell, G. J. Young, Samuel Johnston, J. Diamond, Richard H. Datson and Frederick Smith.

On 15th July 1878 the Committee convened a public meeting to consider the desirability of incorporating Bundaberg as a municipality. Those in favour sought incorporation on the grounds of Bundaberg's size and importance; but they'd failed to do their sums. Under the relevant legislation, the *Municipal Institutions Amendments Act* of 1864, councils had been given the, "care, construction and management of roads, public streets, bridges, ferries, wharves, jetties and public thoroughfares." Walter explained that the town and district had enjoyed average annual expenditure of £1,400 over the last six years derived from government endowments and borrowings. As a municipality the town could expect to derive a total of £220 in rates which would attract a £440 endowment, in sum a decrease of £740 on the present system. In addition, the community would have to support a town clerk, a rate collector, an inspector of nuisances, a town surveyor, a council chamber, plus their running costs, leaving the impressive sum of £259 per annum for public works. Walter moved that, "This meeting stands adjourned for two years." This motion was carried with enthusiasm.

The term of two years was not quite up before local incorporation was forced on the district by the *Divisional Boards Act* of 1879. In 1880 the Bundaberg Divisional Board was constituted and the agricultural and grazing lands adjoining

the town were administered by the Barolin and Kolan Divisional Boards.

It soon became apparent that the town would be better administered financially under the *Local Government Act* of 1878 rather than the *Act* of 1879. In February 1881 the Bundaberg Board petitioned the Government to constitute the town as a municipality. The petition was granted in April.

At the first election, for six councillors, the vote was based on the parliamentary roll; but only freeholders and leaseholders were eligible. By far the majority of rate-payers had their names on the roll under six month residence qualifications. Only 55 people out of an otherwise eligible population of about 330 had a vote. On the 7th June, Richard Ruddell, John Rowland, Christian Gaffel, William Bligh O'Connell, Walter Adams and Frank Isembert were declared elected.

Signs of things to come were immediately evident when the successful candidates addressed the public. Gaffel fired the first round. He declared the day was his proudest. He did not belong to those who had retarded the progress of the town. Adams had done that and was not fit to be an alderman. Walter returned thanks and 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 colleagues to resign as soon as the rate roll was completed so that all rate-payers could determine who should represent them.

The tone was set, and worse became evident as the warring parties were split three against three. It even required three meetings to elect Ruddell, the poll leader, as Bundaberg's first mayor. 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 Council ground on until 19th October when, in the belief that a representative roll was in place, the aldermen resigned as a body.

They were doomed to disappointment and embarrassment. The Colonial Secretary advised that, owing to the Council's hasty and unwise action, a new poll would be held under the same conditions as before. This time sixty votes were recorded but at least new blood was successfully enlisted. On the second Council were John Lamb, O'Connell, Joseph Wright, Frederick Nott, Rowland and Adams. Lamb was unanimously elected mayor at the first meeting held on 29th November.

By February 1882 the rate-payers' list had been revised and an election was held for a council of nine. Those elected were Adams, O'Connell, Lamb, Michael Duffy, Nott, Ruddell, Andrew Goodwin, William E. Curtis and Wright. Walter, who headed the poll, was elected mayor. Walker observed, *A now fairly representative Council, consisting mainly of those who were really the civic 'elder-men' of the settlement, set itself with commendable energy to 'redeem the time', to recover the leeway lost by previous mischances, to perform zealously and efficiently their legitimate functions and to re-emblazon the somewhat smudged escutcheon of 'aldermanic dignity'*. Walter was re-elected as mayor in 1883 and continued as an alderman until moving to the Legislative Assembly.

Walter showed his political colours as early as 1878. He supported the Conservative candidate for Mulgrave, Thomas McIlwraith, in the press and by chairing public meetings in Bundaberg. In June 1886 the seat became vacant on McIlwraith's resignation. Walter was selected as the Conservative candidate. He was opposed by James Court Walker representing the Liberal Party. The result was 541 votes for Adams and 435 votes for Walker.

In 1888 the electorate of Mulgrave was divided at redistribution into Bundaberg and Musgrave. Walter was elected unopposed as the first member for Bundaberg. (Appendix A11)

During his terms in Parliament some accomplishments close to his heart were the passage of the *Bundaberg School of Arts Enabling Bill* of 1887 for the construction of the building which still stands in Bourbong Street and the construction and opening of the Burnett River railway bridge.

As the representative of what now had become one of the most important sugar growing areas in the State, Walter was heavily involved in the 'Kanaka Question', a debate which raged from 1889 to 1892. At one time he was a determined opponent of black labour in any form. His subsequent experience as a planter, of the unreliability of the available white labour and the industry and honesty of the islanders compelled him to modify his views.

Adams Hotel has been mentioned in other contexts. In 1873 Walter was granted a liquor licence and, over the period 1872-73, he constructed the Adams Hotel on the corner of Bourbong and Barolin Streets. In 1879 the name was changed to the Metropolitan Hotel and, by 1886, it had been replaced by the existing, two-story brick structure. In the September of the same year Walter transferred the licence from himself to his son George Manus, probably to meet the requirements necessary to become elected as a M.L.A. On George's tragically early death in 1888, his wife, Cecilia, assumed the licence which she held until 1898. In June of that year an experienced publican, Martin Moran, took over the licence. From 1901 to 1910 Thomas Corrigan, a former boarding-house keeper was licensee. A W. J. Corrigan, probably Thomas's nephew, held the licence in 1911. Transfer of the licence to a T. B. Cross in 1912 may represent the transfer of ownership from the Adams estate.

Adams Hotel played a dual role for the Catholic community in the early days. As well as slaking its thirst and satisfying its appetite, it provided a place of worship.

Walter was raised in the Church of England. As mentioned earlier, he and Mary were married by the Reverend Edward Tanner who was, at the time, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Maryborough. He then became the first Church of England cleric in Bundaberg. Tanner was, one suspects, a man after Walter's own heart although at times his political foe. He left the ministry in 1875 and selected The Grange plantation in the Woongarra. In all roles he was prominent in Bundaberg's civic life. In time Walter was to adopt the religion of his wife with devotion and enthusiasm.

In the early days of Bundaberg, the town's Catholics were visited by Father O'Brien, the Maryborough parish priest. Mass was celebrated

in private homes until Adams Hotel was opened. The celebration was transferred to the hotel's dining room. The altar, kneeler, tabernacle and Eucharistic vessels used in the early days were preserved at Summerville House, 118 George Street and at Newnham, 116 George Street, until the 1960's when they were presented to the Church. It appears that they were subsequently lost.

During 1873 a Church Building Fund was established. On 2nd March 1874, Walter, James Drinan and Father Constantine Rossolini, the parish priest of Gayndah and Mount Perry, purchased, as trustees for the Roman Catholic Church, three 1 rood allotments (allotments 1, 2 and 3 of Section 8) on the corner of Barolin and Woongarra Streets for £2 per allotment at Government auction. By October 1875 a simple wooden building, the first church to be built in the district, was opened by the Rev. Father O'Brien, who came to the opening complete with his own choir. The original church was to be replaced in short order by a larger, 48 feet by 24 feet, structure built on the same site. About this time Father Rossolini was appointed as Bundaberg's first parish priest. The larger "Holy Rosary" Church was replaced in 1887 by the inspiring brick and concrete building now on the site. It has been said that the little wooden shed now standing in the middle of the Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery, and now showing its age, was the original wooden church. As it does not conform to the above dimensions, as attributed by J. Y. Walker to the second and larger, wooden structure this may well be correct.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph, whose founder was Sister Mary McKillop, arrived in Bundaberg in 1876. The Sisters, under the leadership of Sister Teresa Maginnis as Superior, much endeared themselves to the locals with their charitable works and very valuable teaching, which was conducted in the original wooden church. Unfortunately, relations between Bishop Quinn in Brisbane and Sister Mary broke down, due to unmet expectations, and the Sisters of Saint Joseph were withdrawn from Bundaberg, and from the rest of Queensland, in 1880. This was despite strong representations from Father Rossolini and his close friend, Walter Adams, who along with other parishioners was greatly disappointed, even appalled, by the turn of events. While the replacement sisters continued with the work in a creditable fashion and the convent continued to flourish, the feelings engendered by the loss to the Parish of the pioneering Joeys carried on over several generations. Walter and other members of the family, particularly one of their star pupils, Maria, maintained correspondence with Mother Mary and Sister Teresa after the nuns' departure. On 11th July 1880, the day before their departure, Walter read an address of appreciation to the Sisters in the church after Benediction. He also handed the Sisters a purse containing £37.

Early in 1884 Walter was presented with a charter by the grand executive of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society to form a branch in Bundaberg. This Branch, St. Mary's 162, was formed on 2nd June 1884 with Walter as President. On the 16th November 1889, Walter and Father Rossolini, joined by Michael Gahan, again acted as trustees for the Church for 40 acres of land at South Bundaberg (Subdivision 1 of Portion 33). The block was, "for the erection

and maintenance thereon of a Roman Catholic Church, School, and priest's residence". It now is the site of the Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery and Shalom College.

On 4th May 1892 Walter and Mary travelled to Sydney for medical attention to a tumour in his neck and lower face. He died there on 15th May. His body was returned by train to Bundaberg and, after a funeral service at St. Mary's Church of the Holy Rosary, he was buried at the Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery on 21st May 1892. A chronology of the train journey, arrival in Bundaberg, church vigil, funeral ceremony, procession and internment was reported in, *The Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* of May 23, 1892. (Appendix B1) It describes an expression of grief and respect for an individual by the community of the town not previously seen or, probably, matched since.

In his last will, made on 15th May 1889, Walter appointed as executors his son-in-law, John Henry Edma Bertheau, and Denis Hogan, an insurance and commission agent who was closely associated with the administration of Walter's affairs. (Appendix A7a,b,c) Denis, the son of William Hogan and Catherine Shannon, probably was a nephew or cousin of Mary. He arrived at Rockhampton on the *R.M.S. Roma* in 1882, aged 21 years, and died in Bundaberg on 22nd November, 1918. In a codicil that he signed only thirteen days before his death on the 2nd May 1892, Walter, rather curiously, replaced John Henry with his surviving son, James Walter. (Appendix A7d)

He bequeathed to his wife, Mary, all his estate with the exception of moneys secured upon mortgage of real estate. Freehold property held by him at the time of the will and at his death was the Metropolitan Hotel (located on Allotments 8 and 9 of Section 11) and his private residence, Summerville House (located on Allotments 6 and 7 of Section 56 – Appendix A10) These properties were to be administered on trust for Mary to receive rents, profits and residence during her life. On her death they were to fall into and form part of Walter's residuary estate.

The executors/trustees were granted wide-ranging powers for the administration of the estate which, following his and Mary's deaths, was to be divided into thirteen equal shares. His children, Matilda Jane Riedy, Mary Ann Bertheau, James Walter Adams, Sarah Margaret Buckley, Maria Emily Adams and Ellen Elizabeth Adams were each to receive two thirteenths and his grandson, Walter Thomas Adams, son of George Manus Adams, was to receive one thirteenth. Appropriate provisions were made for beneficiaries pre-deceasing and for inheritance by minors.

At probate, on 17th June 1892, Walter's personal estate was valued at £869 and his real estate at £12,669. Sales of residences in Bundaberg at the time suggest that Summerville House may have been valued at about £500. The Metropolitan Hotel sold in 1912 for £9,500. Sommerville Plantation was valued at £10,000 in 1888. A mortgage on the plantation may have been a component of the estate. If so, as James Walter identified his occupation as 'Planter' in the codicil of the will, it is probable that he, either singularly or with others, was the mortgagor.

Mary Adams died on 26th February 1904 and was laid to rest next to Walter in the Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery. (Mary's will - Appendix A8)

This is the on-record account of the life of Walter Adams. The person behind the records is best described by his peers.

The *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* of Monday, May 16, 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.*

*Pugh's Almanac* of 1887 declared Walter, "made himself the pioneer in the foundation of a thriving settlement."

# THE FAMILY

**ADAMS Walter 3/c and 2/s George Adams and Sarah Frugge/Fudge/Fugh**;

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| b: | 22 Nov. 1830 Yeovil, Somersetshire; | |
| d: | 15 May 1892 Newtown, Sydney; | |
| bd: | 21 May 1892 Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery; | |
| rel: | Church of England/Roman Catholic; | |
| m: | Mary Shannon 20 March 1854 Gayndah; | |
| chn: | George Manus (18 May 1855 Maryborough – 19 Nov. 1888 Bundaberg); | |
| | Matilda Jane RIEDY (30 Nov. 1856 Maryborough – 19 March 1918 Bundaberg); | |
| | Mary Ann BERTHEAU (30 Dec. 1857 Maryborough – 2 July 1919 Childers); | |
| | James Walter (23 May 1860 Maryborough – 18 July 1936 Bundaberg); | |
| | Sarah Margaret BUCKLEY (14 Oct. 1862 Maryborough – 11 Sept. 1935 Brisbane); | |
| | Maria Emily (6 July 1865 Maryborough – 7 March 1946 Bundaberg); | |
| | Susanna (30 Aug. 1867 Maryborough – 6 March 1869 Maryborough); | |
| | Ellen Elizabeth ADAMS (17 March 1869 Maryborough – 31 Jan. 1948 Bundaberg); | |
| occ & res: | 1849 | Farm labourer Board list of *Victoria*; |
| | 1851 | Blacksmith West Maitland; |
| | 1854 | Blacksmith Gayndah; |
| | 1855 | Machinery manufacturer Albert Street, Maryborough; |
| | 1860 | Agriculturalist and machinery manufacturer Lennox Street, Maryborough; |
| | 23 June 1864 | Freehold Lennox Street, Maryborough; |
| | 24 June 1865-71 | Freehold Maryborough; |
| | 1867-72 | Agriculturalist, Contractor, Alderman and Chairman of Works Committee, Maryborough Municipal Council; |
| | Jan. May 1872 | Selector South Kolan; |
| | June 1872 | Agriculturalist and contractor, Bundaberg; |
| | 1873 | Agriculturalist, contractor and publican Adams Hotel, Bourbong Street, Bundaberg; |
| | 8 Dec. 1874 | Householder Bundaberg; |
| | 16 Nov. 1875-85 | Freeholder Bundaberg; |
| | 1881 | Alderman Inaugural Bundaberg Municipal Council; |
| | 1882-83 | Mayor Bundaberg Municipal Council; |
| | 1884-86 | Alderman Bundaberg Municipal Council; |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1886-88 | Member of Legislative Assembly for the electorate of Mulgrave; |
| | 27 Nov. 1888 | Residence Sommerville Plantation. |
| | 27 Dec. 1889 | Freeholder Sommerville Plantation; |
| | 1888-92 | Member of Legislative Assembly for the electorate of Bundaberg; |
| | 26 March 1890-30 Dec. 1891 | Freehold Bundaberg. |

**ADAMS Mary d/o Manus Shannon and Susanna (Unknown)**;

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| b: | 6 Jan. 1833 | Ennistymon, County Clare, Ireland; |
| d: | 26 Feb. 1904 | Bundaberg; |
| rel: | Roman Catholic; | |
| m: | Walter Adams 20 March 1854 Gayndah; | |
| chn: | George Manus (18 May 1855 Maryborough – 19 Nov. 1888 Bundaberg); | |
| | Matilda Jane RIEDY (30 Nov. 1856 Maryborough – 19 March 1918 Bundaberg); | |
| | Mary Ann BERTHEAU (30 Dec. 1857 Maryborough – 2 July 1919 Childers); | |
| | James Walter (23 May 1860 Maryborough – 18 July 1936 Bundaberg); | |
| | Sarah Margaret BUCKLEY (14 Oct. 1862 Maryborough – 11 Sept. 1935 Brisbane); | |
| | Maria Emily (6 July 1865 Maryborough – 7 March 1946 Bundaberg); | |
| | Susanna (30 Aug. 1867 Maryborough – 6 March 1969 Maryborough); | |
| | Ellen Elizabeth ADAMS (17 March 1869 Maryborough – 31 Jan. 1948 Bundaberg); | |
| occ & res: | 1852 | Housemaid Board list of *Joseph Somes*; |
| | 1854 | Housemaid Gayndah; |
| | 1854 | Home duties Albert Street, Maryborough; |
| | 1855-72 | Home duties Lennox Street, Maryborough; |
| | Jan. May 1872 | Home duties South Kolan; |
| | June 1872 | Home duties Bundaberg; |
| | 1873-78 | Home duties Adams Hotel Bourbong Street, Bundaberg; |
| | Circa 1878-1886 | Home duties *Metropolitan Hotel* Bourbong Street, |
| | Circa 1886-circa 1890 | Home duties Sommerville Plantation; |
| | Circa1890-1904 | Home duties Sommerville House, 118 George Street, Bundaberg |

# THE FAMILY

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS FOR ABOVE

| GENERAL | | | POSITION IN FAMILY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b | = | born | d/o | = | daughter of |
| bd | = | buried | e/c | = | eldest child |
| c | = | circa (about) | e/d | = | eldest daughter |
| ch | = | children | e/s | = | eldest son |
| d | = | died | o/c | = | only child |
| m | = | married | o/d | = | only daughter |
| occ | = | occupation | o/s | = | only son |
| res | = | residence | s/o | = | son of |
| sic | = | so, in this way | 1/c | = | first child, etc |
| st | = | street | 2/d | = | second daughter, etc |

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Robert (Bob) Gough, of Bundaberg, readily offered to apply his skills to transform the recollections and photographic restoration of Sommerville House into detailed line drawings, a valuable and difficult contribution.

The help and courtesy of staff at the Queeensland State Library, the Queeensland State Archives and the Australian National Archives are appreciated.

**John Kingsley Connor**

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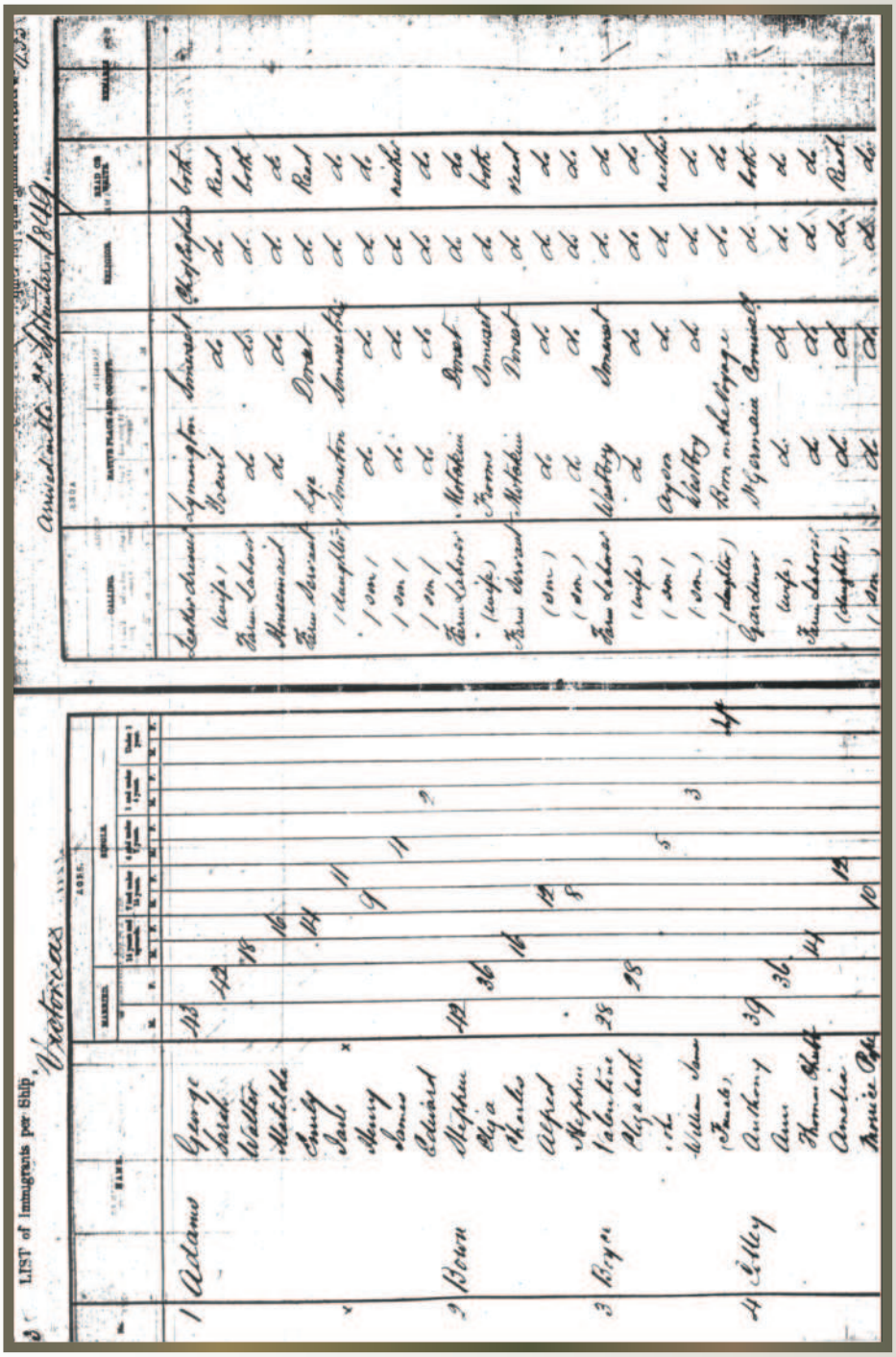
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# APPENDIX A1

**Extract from board list of the *Victoria* arrival of Adams Family in Australia**



# APPENDIX A2



**Copy of Walter Adams and Mary Shannon's Marriage Certificate** – Gayndah 1854

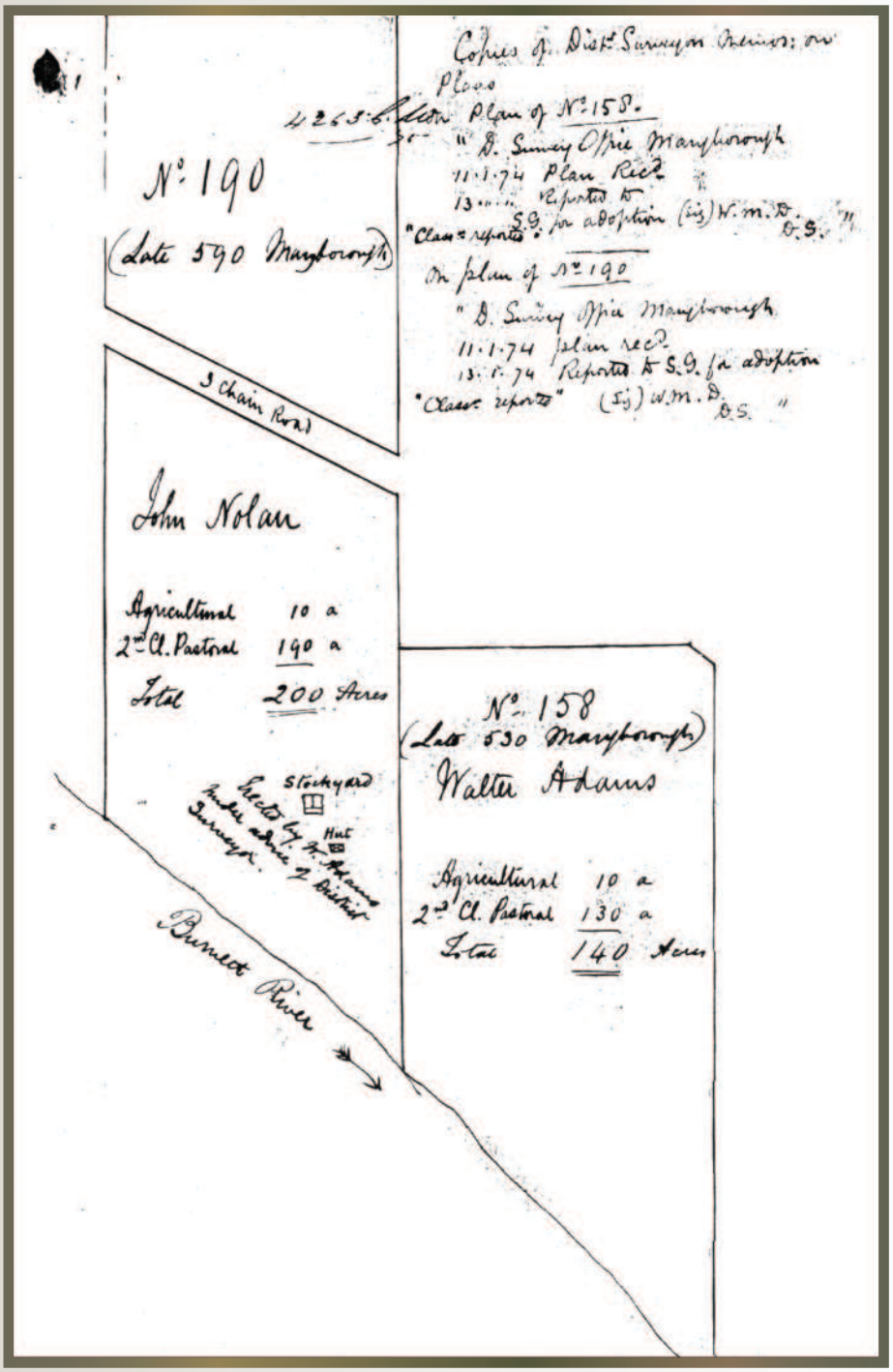
# APPENDIX A3

**Freehold land purchased by Walter Adams for personal use and investment**

## FREEHOLD LAND PURCHASED BY WALTER ADAMS FOR PERSONAL USE AND INVESTMENT

| Date of Purchase | Area in Acre Rood Perch | Auction Cat No | Section | Lot | Price in £ s. d £ | Street | Frontage | Location in Section |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | **IN MARYBOROUGH** | | |
| 01-09-1855 | 1 24 | 26 | 68 | 6 | 6 8 0 | Lennox St, between Walker & Sussex | South East | 3rd Allotment from Sussex |
| 29-10-1856 | 1 2 | 35 | 91 | 15 | 6 15 0 | Bazaar St, between Elena & Alice | North West | 5th " from Elena |
| 09-09-1859 | 1 24 | | 70 | 13 | | Albert St. between Lennox & John | North East | 2nd " from John |
| 08-10-1860 | 5 1 0 | 8 | 127 | 3 | 15 15 0 | Kent St, between Tribune & Mary River | North East | 500 m. frontage, 2nd from Tribune |
| " | 4 0 32 | 11 | 127 | 7 | 12 12 0 | Alice St, " " " " | South West | 400 m. " , 3rd " " |
| " | 4 0 32 | 12 | 127 | 8 | 12 12 0 | " " " " " " | South West | " " , 4th " " |
| 21-12-1869 | 4 0 32 | 28 | 127 | 6 | 4 4 0 | " " " " " " | South West | " " , 2nd " " |
| | | | | | | **IN BUNDABERG** | | |
| 28-06-1871 | 1 8 | 38 | 7 | 8 | 6 5 0 | Corner of Bourbong and Branyan Sts | N.N.W.-W.S.W. | |
| " | 1 8 | 42 | 7 | 12 | 2 0 0 | Woongarra St, between Branyan & Bingera | S.S.-East | 2nd Allotment from Branyan |
| " | 1 8 | 50 | 7 | 20 | 2 0 0 | Bingera St, between Bourbong & Woongarra | E.N.East | 2nd " " Bourbong |
| 13-11-1873 | 1 8 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 8 0 0 | Bourbong St, between Branyan & Bingera | N.N.West | 2nd " " Branyan |
| " | 1 8 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 8 0 0 | Branyan St, between Bourbong & Woongarra | W.S.West | 2nd " " Bourbong |
| " | 1 8 | 7 | 7 | 13 | 8 0 0 | Woongarra St, between Branyan & Bingera | S.S.East | 3rd " " Branyan |
| 02-03-1874 | 1 0 | 29 | 19 | 9 | 7 2 6 | Corner of Woongarra & Barolin Sts | N.N.W.-E.N.E. | |
| 30-06-1876 | 4 0 0 | 87 | 42 | 1 | 4 10 0 | Barolin and Targo, crossing McMannie | W.S.W.-E.N.E. | N.N.W. boundary Saltwater Creek S.S.E. boundary 2 Lots past McMannie |
| 30-05-1877 | 1 0 | 74 | 2 | 6 | 3 10 0 | Quay St, between Barolin & Targo | N.N.West | 3rd Allotment from Barolin |
| 01-07-1884 | 1 0 | 59 | 8 | 19 | 5 0 0 | Burrum St, between Bourbong & Woongarra | E.N.East | 2nd " " Woongarra |
| " | 1 0 | 108 | 11 | 8 | 4 0 0 | Corner of Bourbong & Barolin Sts | N.N.W.-W.S.W. | |
| " | 1 0 | 110 | 11 | 10 | 4 10 0 | Barolin St, between Bourbong & Woongarra | W.S.West | 3rd Allotment from Bourbong |
| " | 1 0 | 121 | 12 | 1 | 3 0 0 | Corner of Bourbong & Tantitha Sts | N.N.W.-E.N.E. | |
| " | 1 0 | 122 | 12 | 2 | 4 6 0 | Bourbong St, between Targo & Tantitha | N.N.West | 2nd Allotment from Tantitha |
| Unknown | 1 0 | N/A | 11 | 9 | Unknown | Barolin St, between Bourbong & Woongarra | W.S.West | 2nd " " Bourbong |
| " | 1 0 | " | 22 | 9 | " | Corner of Crofton & Maryborough Sts | N.N.W.-E.N.E. | |
| " | 1 0 | " | 22 | 10 | " | Maryborough St, between Crofton & Electra | E.N.East | 2nd Allotment from Crofton |
| " | 1 38 | " | 56 | 6 | " | Corner of George & Railway (McLean) Sts | N.N.W.-W.S.W. | |
| " | 2 10 | " | 56 | 7 | " | George St, between Railway & Maryborough | N.N.West | 2nd Allotment from Railway |
| " | 2 10 | " | 56 | 7 | " | George St, between Railway & Maryborough | N.N.West | 2nd Allotment from Railway |
| " | 2 10 | " | 56 | 7 | " | George St, between Railway & Maryborough | N.N.West | 2nd Allotment from Railway |

# APPENDIX A4




**The Kolan Land** –
(More Detail)

# APPENDIX A5

## THE SUGAR PIONEER OF MARYBOROUGH

(As copied from Page 142 of the *Wide Bay & Burnett Directory* – 1887)

The honour or introducing sugar cane into the Wide Bay District is assigned by Mr. Walter Adams, M.L.A., himself an old planter, to Mr. E. J. Aldridge, as far back as 1860. It was in that year, states the hon. gentleman, that Mr. Aldridge made his first experiment. It is probable that this was the commencement of sugar culture in Queensland. The first crop saw the light at a place called Copenhagen near Maryborough, and it was used to feed cattle on as there was no machinery, not even Government machinery, in the whole of Queensland to "crush" it. The first Separation had just taken place, and Brisbane, with a population of not more than six thousand people, was as full of ardour with hopes of the future as Townsville is today. The North, by the way, is very much more advanced than was the country round Moreton Bay nearly thirty years ago. Mr. Adams who had then settled in the jungle near Maryborough, at a place known as Somerville, got some of the cane which grew luxuriantly. In the great flood of 1864, the stools of cane were first covered, the water subsequently rising to a height of four feet up the stalks. However the cane was none the worse for its two months drenching, and grew more vigorously than over. Then Mr. Adams communicated with a gentleman by the name of Sheridan, who held a position as Sub collector of Customs at Maryborough, and who had been in Mauritius, and knew all about it generally. Three sticks, from one stool, were forwarded for Mr. Sheridan's inspection, the result being most satisfactory. The official declaration made from the official stool was in fact that the samples were finer than anything he had seen in the Mauritius. Then the cane advanced another stage, for the Sub collector sent it to the Courier. Probably the verdict of the leading paper in those big gooseberry days was equally encouraging, and a reader of that journal – a Mr Benke – took a journey to Maryborough, where he induced Messrs Gladwell and Greathead to start central mills, so that the farmers could grow cane. It is not cheering to these gentlemen, who have half theorised cane out of existence in Queensland, to know that before some of them were born the system of central mills was demonstrated to be a dead failure. The failure of the farmer of those days was owing to the same cause as the official failure of this generation lack of experience. The cane flourished, but the farmers did not know what to do with it when it was cut. Strange to say how history repeats itself our saccharine historian states that even then white men would not work on the cane, and that the farmers were actually importing South Sea boys at £10 to £12 per head. How has civilization developed since that time when, to day, with white men as inflexibly disposed as ever as to doing blanked blackfellows work, the cost of South Sea boys has gone up double, and the price of sugar has gone down a hundred per cent. Strange to say that sugar did not pay under those circumstances, nor did it pay in the times which people look back to now as the halcyon days of McIlwraith. It probably never will pay, but the planters continue, at any rate, to live on the loss. One thing is certain that our third industry, which has gone through all the trials and troubles that a malicious administration could accomplish against it, will live in the future, with a little strengthening reciprocity, and a thorough change of official handling, to be a bigger thing than we can dream about today.

# APPENDIX A6a



**A Walter Adams letter**
– Page 1

# APPENDIX A6b

**A Walter Adams letter**
– Page 2

# APPENDIX A7a



This is the last Will of me Walter Adams of Bundaberg in the Colony of Queensland Esquire I revoke all testamentary instruments heretofore executed by me and declare this to be my last will I appoint my son in law John Henry Edmar Bertheau of Bundaberg and Denis Hogan of the same place Trustees and executors of this my will And I give to the said Denis Hogan if he shall accept the office of Trustee and executor the sum of fifty pounds I bequeath to my dear wife Mary all my personal estate whatsoever and wheresoever except moneys secured upon mortgage of real estate as hereinafter mentioned I devise unto and to the use of the said John Henry Edmar Bertheau and Denis Hogan (hereinafter called "my trustees") their heirs executors administrators and assigns all my freehold property known as The Metropolitan Hotel and allotments eight and nine of section eleven on which the same is erected and situate in the town and parish of Bundaberg and also my freehold property on which is erected my private residence being allotments one and seven of section fifty six situate in the same town and parish Upon Trust to permit my said wife to receive the rents and profits of the same premises or reside in my said residence during her life And I declare that after the death of my said wife the said premises shall fall into and form part of my residuary estate And as to the rest of my estate and effects both real and personal including moneys now or hereafter to be lent out by me upon mortgage of real estate I devise and bequeath the same unto and to the use of my trustees their heirs executors administrators and assigns subject nevertheless in exoneration of my personal estate to the payment of all principal moneys and interest at the time of my decease secured upon mortgage thereof or any part thereof Upon trust to sell my real estate together or in parcels by public auction or private contract in such manner and at such time or times and upon such terms as my trustees may think advisable and to call in and convert into money my residuary personal estate and thereout shall pay my debts secured by any mortgage funeral and testamentary expenses And upon further trust if necessary to invest the money arising from the sale calling in and conversion of my said real and personal estate or any part thereof in the names or name of the trustees or trustee for the time being of this my will

**Last Will and Codicil of Walter Adams** – Page 1

# APPENDIX A7b

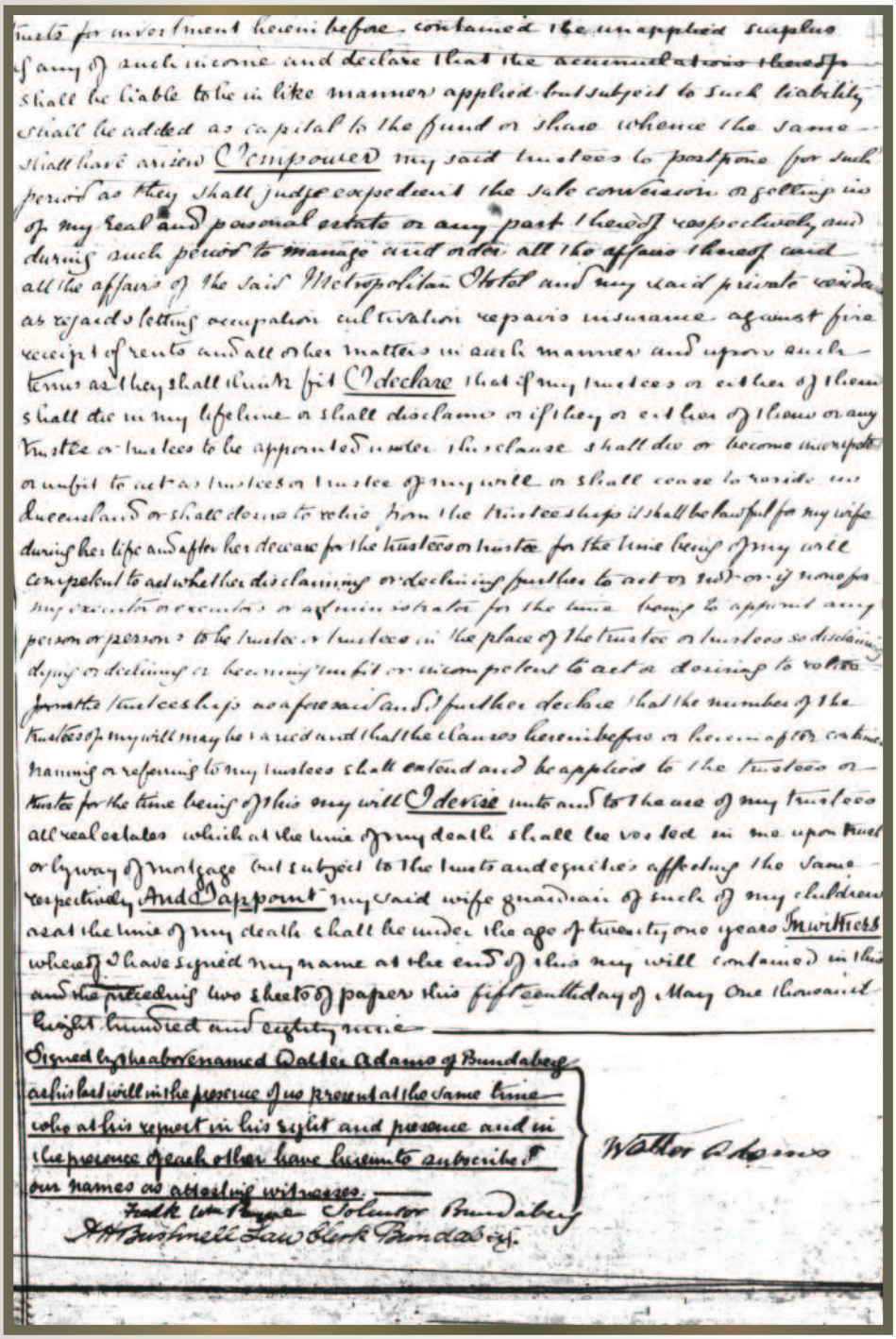
**Last Will and Codicil of Walter Adams** – Page 2



in or upon any of the public stocks funds debentures debenture bonds or securities of the Government of Queensland or in or upon mortgage of real security in the said Colony or in bank deposit receipts or in all or any of such modes of investment but with power for my trustees or trustee to vary the investments from time to time for any other or others of the description aforesaid And I now and after my death & the death of my said wife as the case may be I Upon Trust to divide the same amongst my children or grandchildren in the shares following that is to say so that each of my children Matilda Jane Reidy Mary Ann Bertheau James Walter Adams Sarah Margaret Buckley Maria Emily Adams and Ellen Elizabeth Adams shall receive two thirteenth parts thereof and my grandson Walter Thomas Adams son of the late George Thomas Adams shall receive the remaining one thirteenth part thereof And I declare that if any child of mine shall die in my lifetime and any child or children of such child of mine shall be living at my death the share to which such child of mine so dying would if living at my death have been entitled under the trust aforesaid shall be held in trust for the child or children of such child of mine who shall be living at my death and if more than one in equal shares And the benefit of this clause shall also accrue in the same manner to any child & children of my said grandson Son being at my death if my said grandson shall die in my lifetime Provided always that if any of my said children or my said grandson shall die in my lifetime without leaving issue living at my death the share or shares so were accruing no original in the said trust premises hereby given to such child or grandson as the case may be shall sink into and form part of the said trust premises and be held and applied for the benefit of the other persons entitled thereto in the same manner as if such share had not been given to such child or grandson of mine so dying without leaving issue excepting that the share of any said grandson under this clause shall be equal to and not half the share of each of my children hereunder And I empower my said trustees during the minority of any child or grandchild for the time being entitled to a share of the said trust moneys and investments to apply the annual income of the share to which such minor shall be entitled in or towards his or her maintenance and education or otherwise for his or her benefit or in the option of my trustees to pay the said annual income to the parent or guardian of such minor without being liable to see to the application thereof And I direct them to accumulate by investments pursuant to the

(2)

# APPENDIX A7c



trusts for investment hereinbefore contained the unapplied surplus
of any such income and declare that the accumulations thereof
shall be liable to be in like manner applied but subject to such liability
shall be added as capital to the fund or share whence the same
shall have arisen C Empowered my said trustees to postpone for such
period as they shall judge expedient the sale conversion or getting in
of my real and personal estate or any part thereof respectively and
during such period to manage and order all the affairs thereof and
all the affairs of the said Metropolitan Hotel and my said private estate
as regards letting occupation cultivation repairs insurance against fire
receipt of rents and all other matters in such manner and upon such
terms as they shall think fit C declare that if my trustees or either of them
shall die in my lifetime or shall disclaim or if they or either of them or any
trustee or trustees to be appointed under this clause shall die or become incapable
or unfit to act as trustees or trustee of my will or shall cease to reside in
Queensland or shall decline to act then the trustees shall it shall be lawful for my wife
during her life and after her decease for the trustees or trustee for the time being of my will
compulsorily to act whether disclaiming or declining further to act or not or if none for
my executor or executors or administrator for the time being to appoint any
person or persons to be trustee or trustees in the place of the trustee or trustees so disclaiming
dying or declining or becoming unfit or incompetent to act as aforesaid to vote
formalities such appointments as aforesaid and I further declare that the number of the
trustees of my will may be varied and that the clauses hereinbefore or hereinafter contained
naming or referring to my trustees shall extend and be applied to the trustees or
trustee for the time being of this my will C devise unto and to the use of my trustees
all real estates which at the time of my death shall be vested in me upon trust
or by way of mortgage but subject to the trusts and equities affecting the same
respectively And C appoint my said wife guardian of such of my children
as at the time of my death shall be under the age of twenty one years In witness
whereof I have signed my name at the end of this my will contained in this
and the preceding two sheets of paper this fifteenth day of May One thousand
eight hundred and eighty nine

Signed by the abovenamed Walter Adams of Bundaberg
as his last will in the presence of us present at the same time
who at his request in his sight and presence and in
the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed
our names as attesting witnesses.

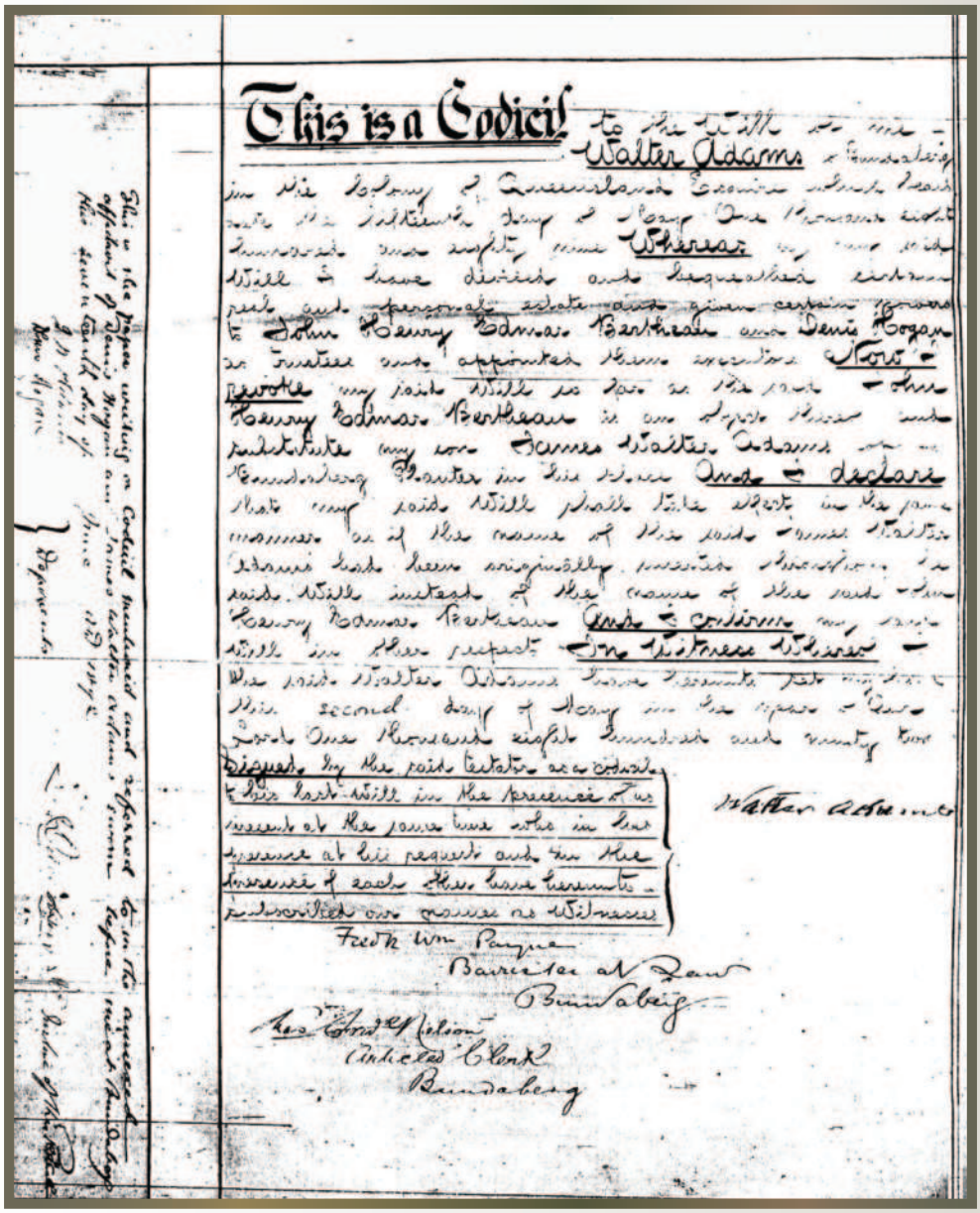
Walter Adams

Frank Wm Payne Solicitor Bundaberg
H H Bushnell Law Clerk Bundaberg.

**Last Will and Codicil of Walter Adams** – Page 3

# APPENDIX A7d

**Codicil to Will of Walter Adams** – Page 4



This is a Codicil

Walter Adams

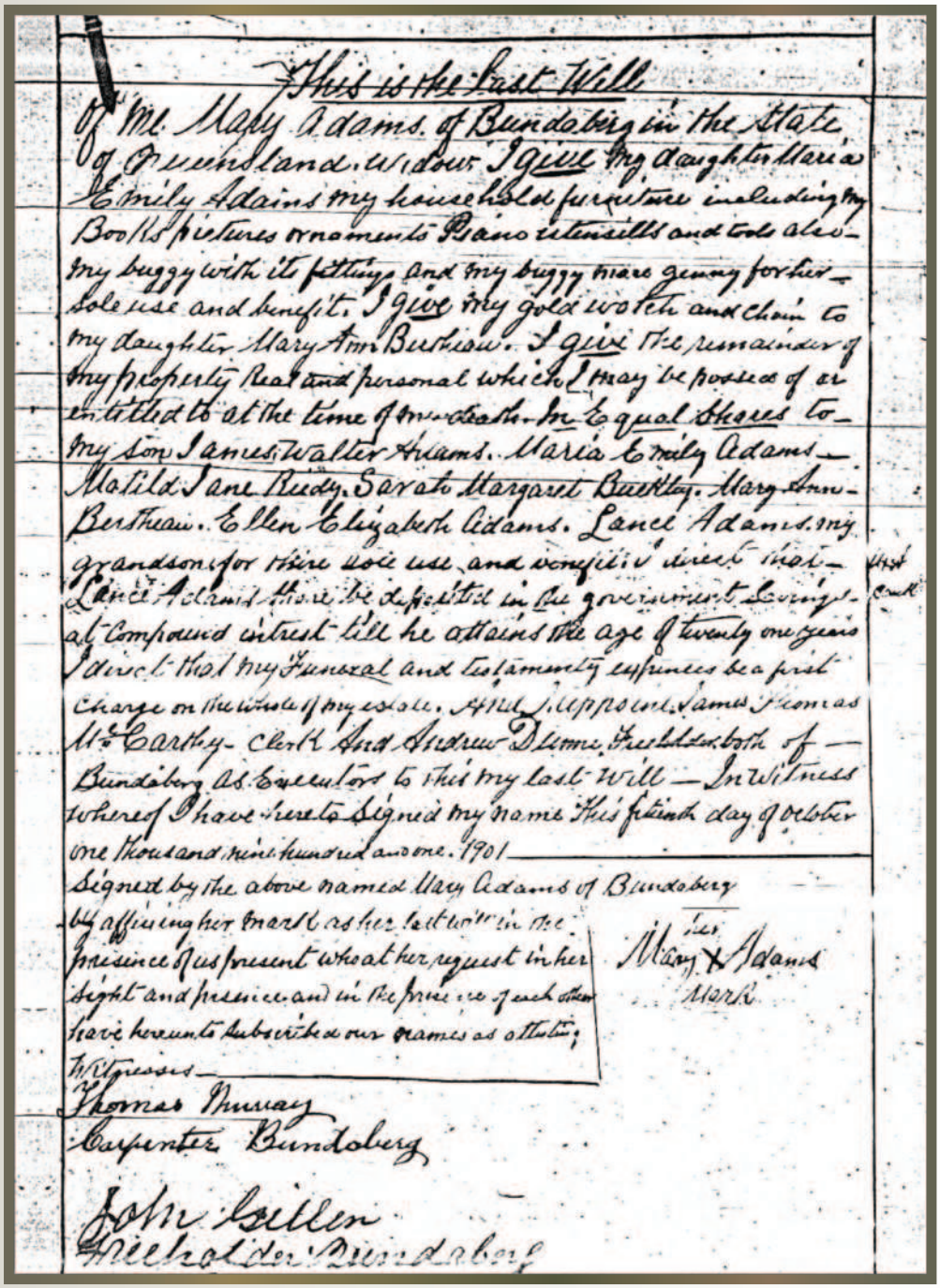
Walter Adams

Walter Adams

Freth Wm Payne
Barrister at Law
Bundaberg

Clerk of Petty Sessions
Acting Clerk
Bundaberg

# APPENDIX A8



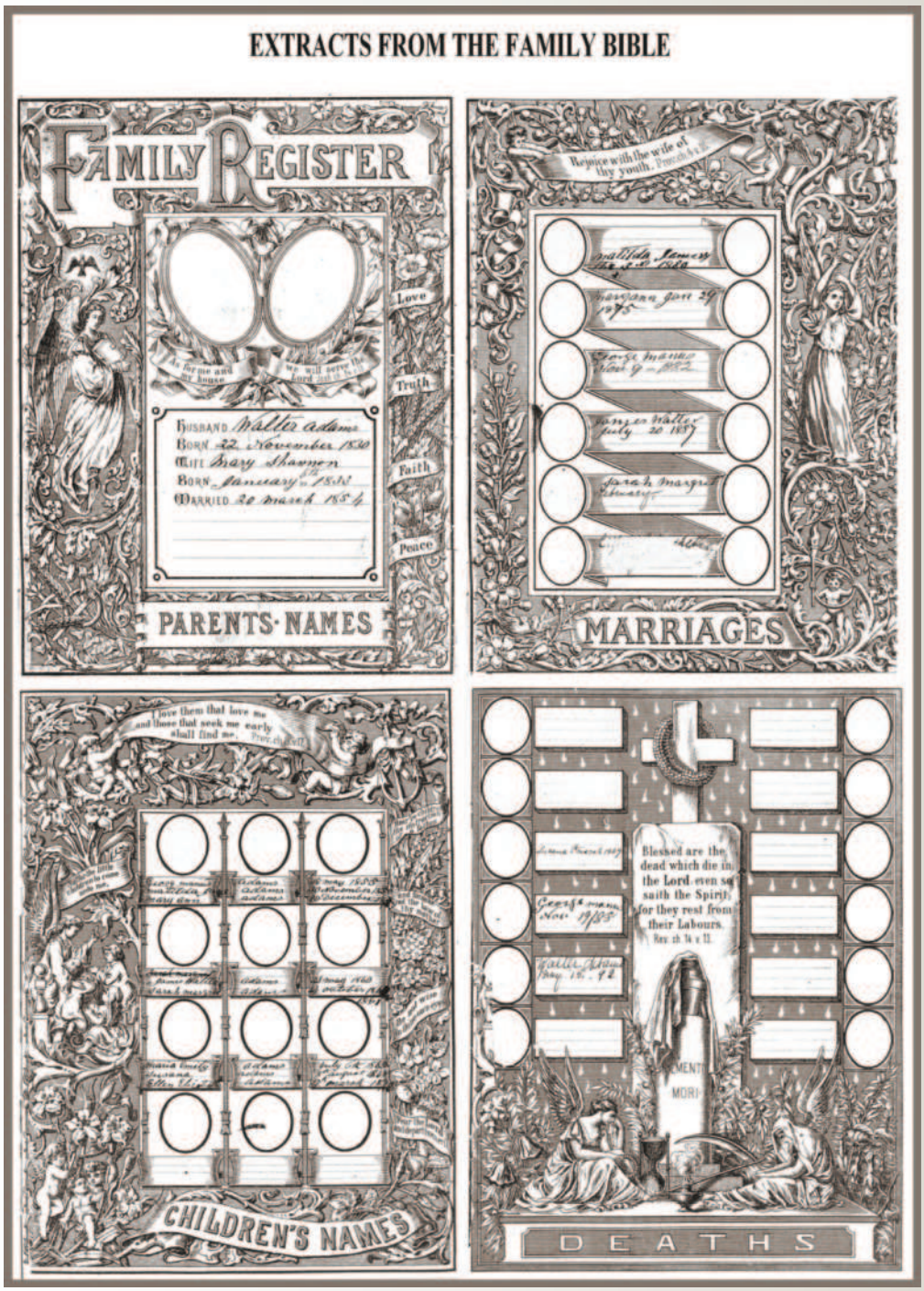
This is the Last Will
Of Mr. Mary Adams of Bundaberg in the State
of Queensland. Widow. I give my daughter Maria
Emily Adams my household furniture including my
Books pictures ornaments Piano utensills and tools also
my buggy with its fittings and my buggy mare Jenny for her
sole use and benefit. I give my gold watch and chain to
my daughter Mary Ann Berthaw. I give the remainder of
my property Real and personal which I may be possess of or
entitled to at the time of my death In Equal Shares to
my Son James Walter Adams. Maria Emily Adams
Matilda Jane Reedy. Sarah Margaret Buckley. Mary Ann
Berthaw. Ellen Elizabeth Adams. Lance Adams my
grandson for their sole use and benefit direct that
Lance Adams share be deposited in the government Savings
at Compound interest till he attains the age of twenty one years
I direct that my Funeral and testamentary expenses be a first
charge on the whole of my estate. And I appoint James Thomas
McCarthy Clerk And Andrew Blume Freeholder both of
Bundaberg as Executors to this my last Will In Witness
whereof I have hereto Signed my name this fifteenth day of October
one thousand nine hundred and one. 1901
Signed by the above named Mary Adams of Bundaberg
by affixing her mark as her last will in the
presence of us present who at her request in her
sight and presence and in the presence of each other
have hereunto subscribed our names as attesting
Witnesses
Thomas Murray
Carpenter Bundaberg
John Sellen
Freeholder Bundaberg

her
Mary X Adams
Mark

**Last Will of Mary Adams**

# APPENDIX A9

**Pages from the Family Bible**



# APPENDIX A10a



**Walter and Mary's home at 118 George Street.**

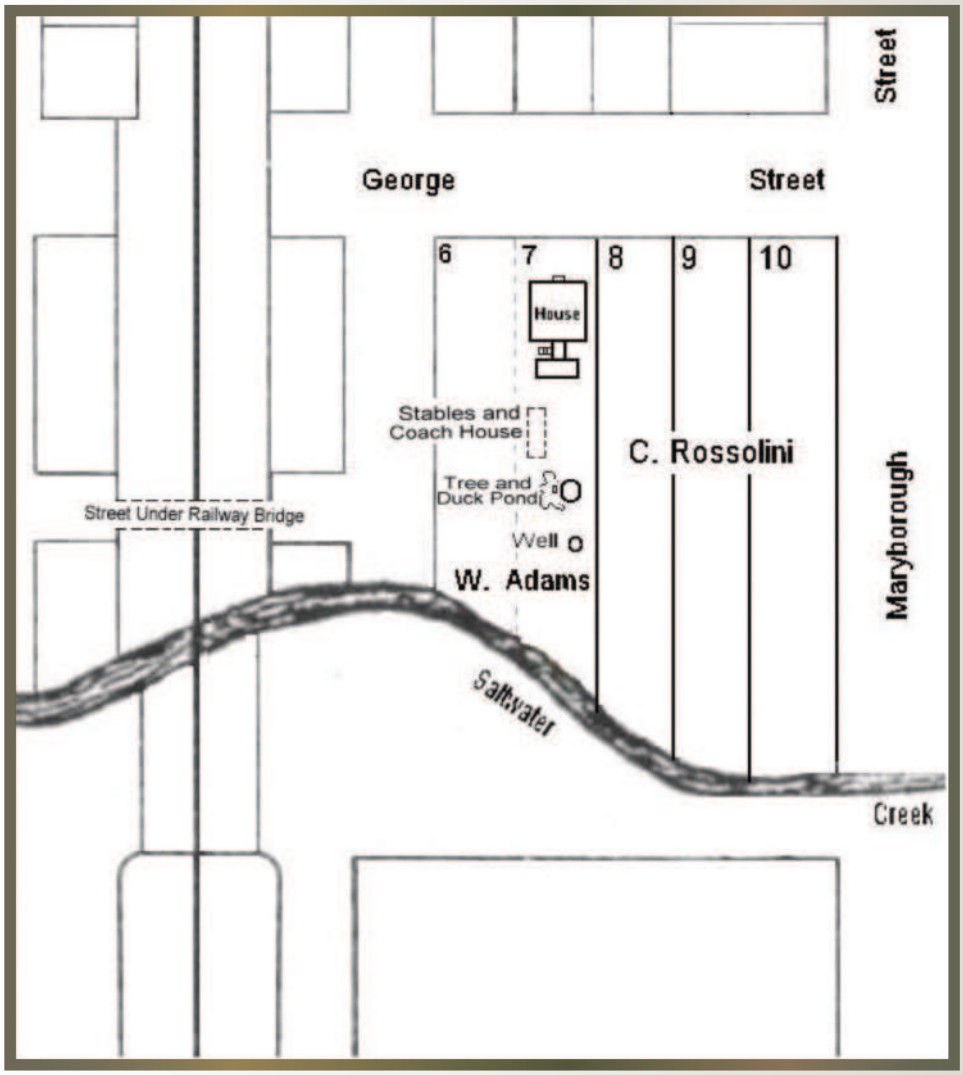
Drawings by Bundaberg artist Mr. Robert Gough



# APPENDIX A10b

**Plan showing property layout at Walter and Mary's George Street residence**

From personal knowledge combined with family description



# APPENDIX A11

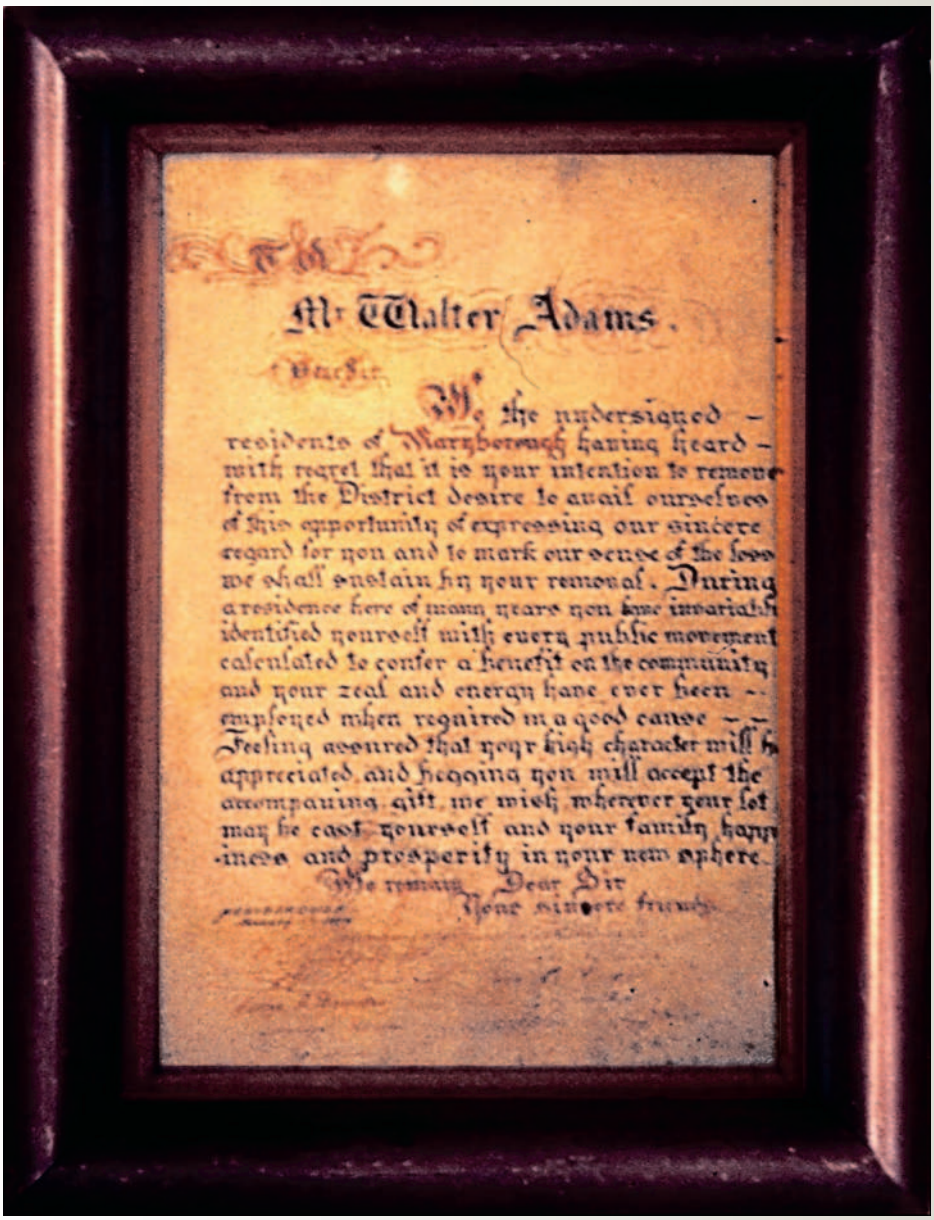



**The Queensland Legislative Assembly**

Walter is second from the left in the photograph's left rear row

# APPENDIX A12

**Illuminated Address –** Presented on Walter's departure from Maryborough



# APPENDIX A13



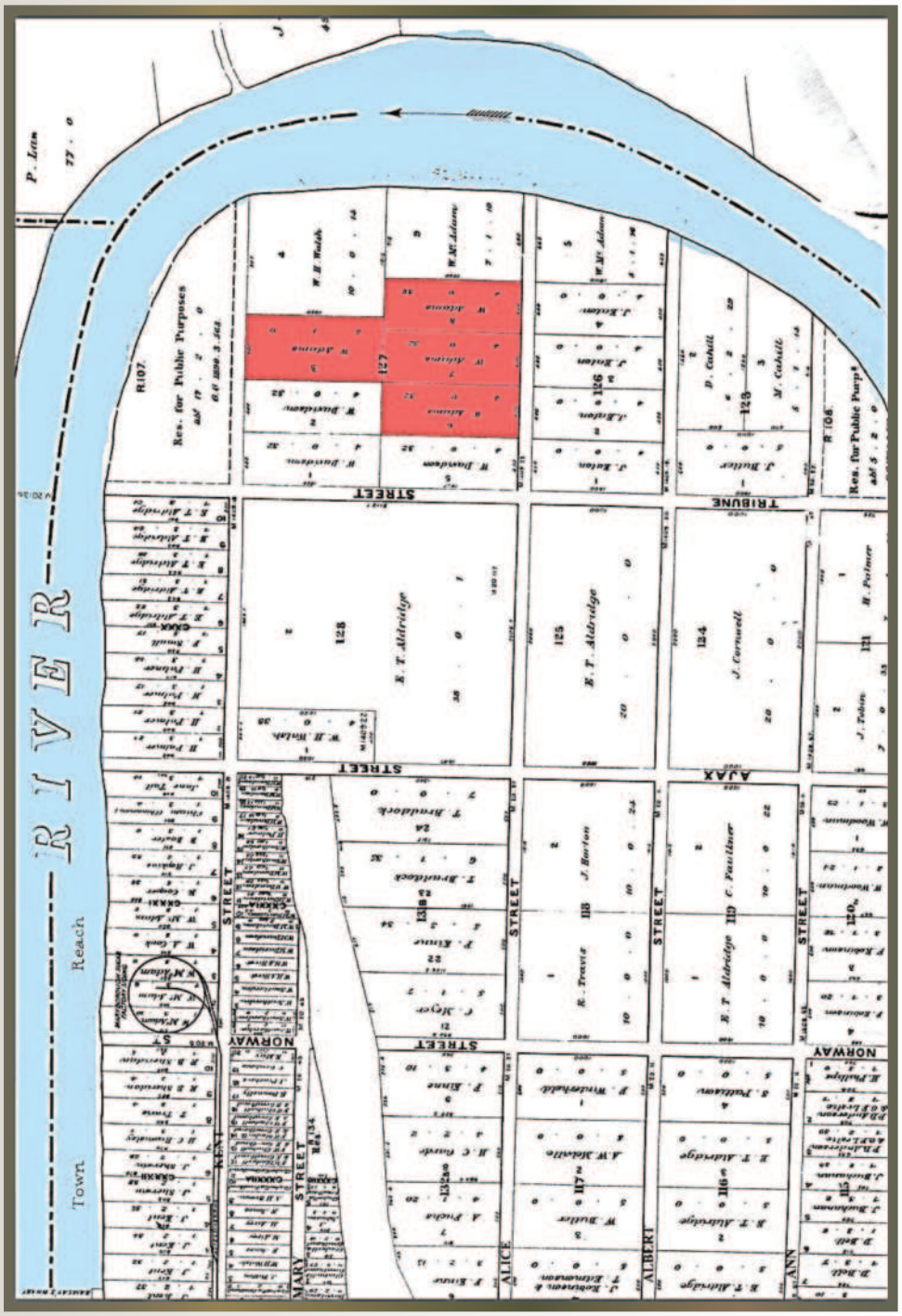
**Cover of original family photograph album**

# APPENDIX A14a

**Walter's land holdings in Maryborough township**
– Page 1



# APPENDIX A14b




**Walter's land holdings in Maryborough district**
– Page 2

# APPENDIX A14c

**Walter's land holdings in Bundaberg township**
– Page 3



# APPENDIX A14d




**Walter's land holdings in Bundaberg district**
– Page 4

# APPENDIX A15a

**Some Surviving Books of the Typically (?) Victorian Adams' Library.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (i) | Title: | *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavas Vassa The African* |
| | Published: | Published for and sold by the Author – Olaudah Equiano |
| | Publication: | Dublin 1791. Fourth Edition Enlarged. |
| | Subject: | Anti-African Slavery |
| | Refer: | English Parliament The Quakers, sold at the Dublin Chronicle Office – Price 4 (British) shillings |
| | Subscribers: | In The Hundreds, Some notable subscribers were:<br>H.R.H. The Prince of Wales<br>Rev. Thomas Clarkson<br>Captain John Clarkson R.N. |
| | Inscriptions: | Eliza Drought "Ballze"<br>Eliza Margaret Mitchell – Book January 27th 1813<br>Eliza Drought "Ballze"<br>Munny<br>Eliza Gother Mitc<br>Book Munny<br>Esza Drought |
| (ii) | Title: | *Menhardoc* |
| | Author: | G. Manville Fenn |
| | Published: | 1885 |
| | Subject: | Story of Cornish Men and Mines<br>(From the William's Family Library?) |

# APPENDIX A15b

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (iii) | Title: | *The Spectator* - Volumes iv & v |
| | Authors: | Addison & Steele |
| | Publisher: | Suttaby, Evance & Fox & B & R Cosby, Stationers Court. |
| | Published: | 1812 |
| | Subject: | Current Events. |
| | Inscription: | M W Osborne. |
| (iv) | Title: | *Cooking and Domestic Economy for Young Housewives* |
| | Author: | H.S.C. ? |
| | Publisher: | William and Robert Chambers, London & Edinborough. |
| | Published: | 1874 - ( First Edition 1858 ) |
| | Subject: | Domestic Affairs |
| | Inscription: | Mifs S A Hall St Marcus School, Bolton |
| (v) | Title: | *Photograph Album of English Scenes* |
| | Inscription: | Charles Hedges - See Notes |
| | | Owner's Crest Swan's Head/Neck with Motto"Spectemuragendo" |
| | Illustrations: | At Branyan on the Burnett River on 20-06-1872. |
| | | The Lodge At "Newnham" |
| | | Scenes of Shillingford, Benson Lock, Wallingford, |
| | | Corkham Lock, Cliefden, Windsor Castle, |
| | | Eton College at Montsford Ferry, Monkey Island |

Notes on Photograph Album:

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) | Lease of the Branyan land was transferred to Walter on 10.07.1876. |
| (b) | Walter's daughter Ellen Elizabeth and son-in-law Richard Walter Adams later named their residence at 116 George Street, Bundaberg "Newnham". |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (vii) | Title: | *The Ladies Guide - Illustrated* |
| | Author: | Kellogg |
| | Published: | 1895 |
| | Subject : | Ladies' Health and Domestic Affairs |

# APPENDIX A15c

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (viii) | Title: | *Cassell's Household Guide* – Volumes i to iv |
| | Author: | – |
| | Published: | – |
| | Subject: | Domestic Affairs |
| (ix) | Title: | *The History of Ireland* |
| | Author: | Martin Haverty |
| | Published: | By Author: |
| | Subject: | History |
| (x) | Title: | *The Great Irish Struggle* |
| | Author: | Thomas Power O'Connor M.P. & Robert McWade Esq. |
| | Published: | 1886 |
| | Subject: | History |
| (xi) | Title: | *History of the Catholic Church in Australia* |
| | Author: | Patrick Frances Cardinal Moran (Archbishop of Sydney) |
| | Published: | Circa 1890 |
| | Subject: | History - Religion |
| (xii) | Title: | *The Aldine History of Queensland* – Volume 1 of 2 |
| | Published: | 1888 |
| | Subject: | History |
| (xiii) | Title: | **The History of Bundaberg** |
| | Author: | J. Y. Walker |
| | Published: | 1890 |
| | Subject: | History |
| (xiv) | Title: | *Australia Illustrated* – Volumes I & II |
| | Author: | – |
| | Published: | Circa1880 |
| | Subject: | Geography |

# APPENDIX A15d

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (xv) | Title: | *The Pictorial History of the World* |
| | Author: | James D McCabe |
| | Published: | 1878 |
| | Subject: | Encyclopedic |
| (xvi) | Title: | *New Italy-The Richmond District of NSW* |
| | Author: | Fredrick Chudleigh Clifford |
| | Published: | 1889 |
| | Subject: | A brief sketch of a new and thriving colony. |
| (xvii) | Title: | *Lingard's School History of England* |
| | Author: | Burke |
| | Published: | 1854 |
| | Subject: | History |
| (xviii) | Title: | *The Whole Works of the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes* |
| | Author: | D Forbes |
| | Published: | Circa 1870 |
| | Subject: | Religion and philosophy |
| (xix) | Title: | *Works of Alexander Pope Efq* – Volumes vii, viii & ix |
| | Author: | Alexander Pope |
| | Publisher | Published for J & P Knapton in Ludgate St.,London |
| | Published: | 1751 |
| | Subject: | Being Volumes 1, 2 & 3 of his Letters. |
| | Added Crest: | By Original Owner - Shield with Phoenix And Three Lions Rampant |
| | Inscriptions: | John Stevens Esq |
| (xx) | Title: | *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* |
| | Author: | Lord Byron |
| | Published: | Circa1850 |
| | Subject: | Poetry |

# APPENDIX A15e

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (xxi) | Title: | *The Poetical Works of William Cowper* |
| | Author: | Cowper |
| | Published: | 1892 |
| | Subject : | Poetry |
| (xxii) | Title: | *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* |
| | Author: | Moore |
| | Published : | – |
| | Subject : | Poetry |
| (xxiii) | Title: | *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* |
| | Author: | Burns |
| | Publication: | – |
| | Subject : | Poetry |
| (xxiv) | Title: | *Odes of Pindar* |
| | Author: | Pindar |
| | Subject: | Poetry |
| (xxv) | Title: | *Elegant Extracts* |
| | Author: | Various |
| | Published: | 1808 |
| | Subject: | "Pieces of Useful and Entertaining Poetry for Young People" |
| (xxvi) | Title: | *Bacon's Essay Advancement of Learning Novem Organum* |
| | Author: | Bacon |
| | Published: | Circa 1890 |
| | Subject: | Essays |
| (xxvii) | Title: | *True Riches or Wealth Without Wings* |
| | Author: | T. S. Arthur |
| | Published: | 1882 |
| | Subject: | Philosophical Considerations |

# APPENDIX A15f

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (xxvii) | Title: | *Three Men in a Boat* |
| | Author: | Jerome K Jerome |
| | Published: | 1889 |
| | Subject: | Autobiographical |

# APPENDIX A16

CONVERSION TABLE

| To Convert | Multiply By |
|---|---|
| **Length** | |
| inches into millimetres | 25.4 |
| feet into metres | 0.3048 |
| yards into metres | 0.9144 |
| chains into metres | 20.1168 |
| miles into kilometres | 1.6093 |
| **Weight** | |
| pounds into kilograms | 0.4536 |
| hundredweight into kilograms | 50.8 |
| **Volume and Capacity** | |
| bushels into gallons | 8 |
| gallons into litres | 4.5461 |
| litres into cubic metres | 0.0010 |
| **Area** | |
| acres into hectares | 0.4047 |
| acres into square metres | 4047.0 |
| roods into square metres | 1012.0 |
| perches into square metres | 25.3 |
| **Currency** | |
| pence into cents | 0.8333 |
| shillings into cents | 10 |
| pounds into dollars | 2 |

# APPENDIX A17

COMMODITY AND SERVICES COSTS IN 1892

**Prices for items as advertised in the *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* or in the *Bundaberg Star* in the Year 1892.**

| | Item | £ - s. - d. |
|---|---|---|
| BUNDABERG | * Town allotments | |
| LAND AND | - South and West | 16 - 00 - 00 |
| PROPERTY: | - East and North | 30 - 00 - 00 |
| | * Houses - cottages | 180 - 00 - 00 |
| | * "Villa" residence | 500 - 00 - 00 |
| | * Woongarra farms/acre | 3 - 00 - 00 |
| FOOD: | * Flour/lb | 1.5d |
| | * Bread/loaf | 3d |
| | * White sugar/lb | 2.5d |
| | * N Z cheese/lb | 8d |
| | * Prime mutton/lb | 4d |
| | * Prime onions/lb | 1d |
| | * Worcestershire sauce | 4d |
| | * English marmalade | 7d |
| | * English pickles | 7d |
| | * Soft drink | 3d |
| | * Soft drink | 3d |
| TAILORMADE | * Suits | 3 - 05 - 00 |
| CLOTHES: | * Coat & trousers | 2 - 10 - 00 |
| | * Trousers | 17 - 06 |

Continued over page

## APPENDIX A17 cont.

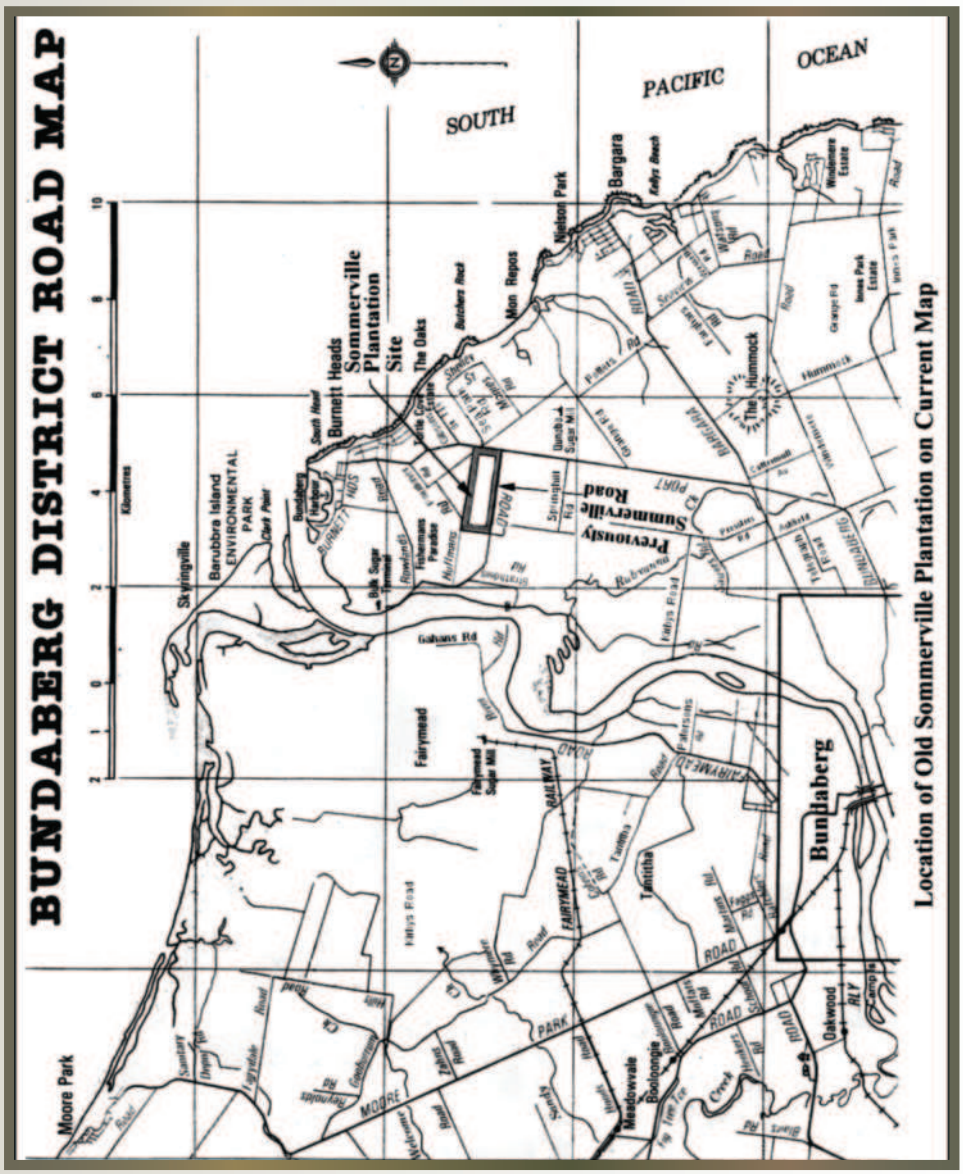
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | * Ladies' shoes | 10 - 06 |
| | * " slippers | 4 - 06 |
| | * Men's shoes | 15 - 06 |
| | * Hand-sewn boots | 1 - 04 - 06 |
| STEAMER | FARES FROM BUNDABERG | |
| | * to Brisbane - Saloon | 10 - 00 - 00 |
| | " " - Steerage | 15 - 00 |
| | * to Melbourne - Saloon | 15 - 15 - 00 |
| | " " - Steerage | 3 - 00 - 00 |
| BRISBANE | * to London - Saloon | 50 - 00 - 00 |
| | " " - Steerage | 18 - 00 - 00 |
| | " " - Return | 80 - 00 - 00 |
| OTHER: | * Brass canopy bedstead | 10 - 00 - 00 |
| | * Double wire mattress | 2 - 12 - 00 |
| | * Haircut | 6d |
| | * Shave | 3d |
| | * Cigar | 3d |

**Imperial to Metric**

NOTE: In 1888 the average white annual wage in the Bundaberg sugar industry was approximately £75.

By comparison the Australian Bureau of Statistics reported that the average annual wage in Australia to May 1995 was $34,200, so that £1 in Bundaberg at the end of the nineteenth century had an equivalent purchasing power of approximately $460 at the end of the twentieth century.

# APPENDIX A18




**The location of Summerville Plantation** – superimposed on current road map

# Part 3

## THE INVOLVEMENT OF **WALTER ADAMS** IN CHURCH AFFAIRS

# Chapter 11

# The Establishment of the Catholic Church

## And the Convent of the Sisters of St Joseph in Early Bundaberg

**Describing the Co-operative Works of Father Constantine Rossolini, Walter Adams and the Sisters of Saint Joseph.**

When the Adams family arrived in Sydney, N.S.W., 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. Walter married Mary in the then frontier town of Gayndah in 1854. (Appendix A2) Prior to this he spent a brief period as a young man in the Maitland area of N.S.W. with his family, where he is said to have worked for The Australian Agricultural Company.

Walter and Mary soon moved to Maryborough where he had a business as a blacksmith and later as a contractor. He also was an alderman of the town and Chairman of the Council's Works Committee. The experience gained in these positions was to prove invaluable



**The Adams Hotel** – following its construction

when, after seventeen years, the family moved to the Bundaberg district. While in Maryborough Walter and Mary had eight children George Manus, Matilda Jane, Mary Ann, James Walter, Sarah Margaret, Maria Emily, Susanna and Ellen Elizabeth. Susanna died in 1869.

Having recognized the new challenges to the north, Walter purchased three allotments in the infant town of Bundaberg, at an auction in Maryborough on 28th January 1871. He subsequently resigned his positions on the council, sold his Maryborough property holdings and divested himself of his local business interests. The family moved to the Bundaberg district in February 1872. Walter's departure from Maryborough was marked by the presentation of an Illuminated Address as a gift of appreciation by prominent Maryborough citizens. (Appendix A12)

In March 1872 Walter selected a block of 240 acres near the mouth of the Burnett River on the edge of the Woongarra Scrub and on 14th July 1872 a conditional purchase lease was granted under the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868. This selection became Sommerville Plantation.

Walter's understanding of the value of education was soon evidenced by his assistance to the fledgling town in its attempt to establish a Bundaberg Primary Public School. In

1875, at the third attempt, sufficient funds were obtained by public subscription for the school construction. However there was no Government official in the town authorized or available to supervise the building. This difficulty was overcome by the appointment of Walter Adams, John Cathcart and Mr. Beard (of the Lands Office) as voluntarily supervisors of the work. Walter was also responsible for promoting the establishment of a Provisional School, which became the Burnett Heads State School. This school was in close proximity to Walter's Sommerville Plantation and it was established in 1877.

When entering into a description of Walter's involvement with the church – and its attendant schooling – affairs in early Bundaberg it may be helpful to more recent residents to give abbreviated details of the various church properties in the central Bundaberg area. Some descriptions are based on recollections of older residents and are therefore subject to the possibility of error. In addition some acquisitions and/or relocations that are described below occurred subsequent to Walter's time – however an overview of more recent happenings can be helpful in placing historical events in their perspective.

Before a Catholic Church was constructed in Bundaberg the small number of local Catholics was served by the visits of Father O'Brien from the older settlement of Maryborough where Father O'Brien was assistant to Dean Tissot, who was soon to retire. A rather large oil painting of Dean Tissot was hung on the wall of the family home at 116 George Street; probably relocated from the original 118 George Street residence. The portrait would almost certainly have been given to Walter, by the Dean, during his years in Maryborough. I understand that this portrait was donated to the Maryborough Historical Society by my aunt Mrs Hall in the mid 1970's, as was the Maryborough Illuminated Address. The family routinely referred to the portrait's subject as Father (not Dean) Tissot, which may suggest that it was from an early period. I do not know the name of the artist who painted the portrait. A possible candidate for the artist is Jacques Joseph Tissot, a French artist who depicted French society in the 1860's, and English society - including many dockside scenes - in the 1870's. He later returned to Paris in the 1880's and, following a religious conversion, was successful as a painter of religious subjects.

From 1873 to 1875 the first Bundaberg masses were held in the original, wooden, single story Adams Hotel in Bourbong Street, which was to be renamed the Metropolitan Hotel in 1879 – (Note 1). The wooden altar, kneeler, crucifix and Eucharistic vessels used at this time were retained in the Adams' residences at 118 and later 116 George Street – (Notes 2 & 3) – until the mid-1970's at which time they were donated to the parish.

The town was to acquire its own permanent priest, Father Constantine Rossolini. This capable and energetic pastor came from Italy and initially had responsibility for the Gayndah and Mount Perry areas. On first arriving in Bundaberg he boarded in the Adams Hotel. No doubt the Bundaberg appointment was a relief to the pioneer priest who previously had responsibility for an area where the 'roads' would more appropriately be described as, often impassable, bush tracks.



**Father Constantine Rossolini**

As the parish priest of Gayndah and Mount Perry Father Rossolini soon became a close friend of the Adams, and of the related by marriage, Bertheau families. He subsequently collaborated with Walter on church, school and other affairs in the Bundaberg area. (Appendix B7)

In 1873 a Church Building Fund had been established. Three one rood allotments intended for the construction of Saint Mary's of the Holy Rosary, now the Holy Rosary, Church, at the corner of Barolin and Woongarra Streets were purchased at Government auction, for £2 per allotment, on the 2nd March 1874, with Walter Adams C. Rossolini and James Drinan as "Trustees for the Roman Catholic Church", under Walter's signature. Mr. Drinan, an early settler, sugar-cane pioneer and winemaker of Electra, was appointed Police Magistrate in 1876. The Adams family (in their internal discussions) had always maintained that Walter donated the funds for this purchase. While quite possible, it seems more likely that Walter, Father Rossolini and possibly Mr. Drinan were the major contributors to the Building Fund.

It is notable that Lots 1, 2 and 3 of Section 8, those allotments chosen for the church and residence, were the first to be offered at the auction and received no competing bids. Once the church lots had been acquired normal bidding took place for the remaining forty-six lots. Though an effective public relations campaign no doubt preceded the auction, the results speak highly of the co-operative and constructive nature of the citizens at that time. Appendix B3a details the church land locality plan and Appendix B3b details the relevant section of the land allotment auction list.

By October 1875 a small wooden structure was constructed on the site and opened by the Rev. Father O'Brien, the first priest to be ordained in Queensland. The church was dedicated as St. Mary's Church of the Holy Rosary and was soon to be replaced by a new 48 foot by 24 foot structure at a cost of £300 (as described by J. Y. Walker) built on the same site. It was about this time that Father Rossolini was appointed as Bundaberg's first parish priest. Unfortunately Father O'Brien died in June 1887 in the house of Father Rossolini while on a visit to Bundaberg



**St Mary's Church of the Holy Rosary** – pre 1917

and was buried in the church grounds. He was later reburied in Maryborough.

The small wooden church was inadequate in size almost from the day of its completion. In 1886 the Rev. 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. Constructed by a local contractor, Mr. E. Boyle at a cost of £3,600, the new church was completed in 1888 and held its opening mass in May of that year. Visible contributions to the church by the Adams family were the ornate carved wooden pulpit (now removed), and a stained glass window. The church was enlarged in 1926 with some parishioners regretting the disappearance of the, "beautiful timber roof supports" now covered by the new ceiling.

The first Bundaberg general cemetery was located on the town 'fringes' diagonally opposite

the present Church of England in Woongarra Street. It soon became apparent to Walter that this cemetery site was inappropriate both as to location and size and, largely due to his efforts, the much larger existing site, removed from the central town area, was selected and gazetted on 5th September 1873.

Older Adams family members recounted the story of a worker, helping with the cemetery relocation, who inadvertently pierced the lid of a coffin with the point of his pick. The resultant release of compressed gasses made quite a noise and the worker emerged from the hole like a shot from a gun. He was observed running at full speed from the site shouting to all and sundry, "They're after us; they're after us" which had the predictable effect of leaving many startled and puzzled citizens in his wake. At a time so far removed from the event myth and history become interwoven but, given the nature of the times, it could easily have been an account of an actual event, though probably with the normal embellishments.

In 1885 a decision was made to have a separate Catholic cemetery. Walter and Mary together with some of their children and grandchildren are buried in this cemetery fronting the present Fitzgerald Street. This cemetery was established on the east corner of Portion 33. Some early burials were of Walter's son George Manus, who died of pneumonia at age 33 years and who was buried there in 1888, and of George's baby daughter Mary Elizabeth who was buried there two years earlier, in 1886.

Michael Gahan (Appendix B2) applied for the lease of Portion 33 on 15th March 1881 with the payment of a survey fee of £6-0-0, and a further payment of £6-0-0, being an advance of the first year's rent. (Portion 33 being 120 acres of first class pastoral land – Register No. 814). Michael certified that he had lived on this land for the previous 12 months. Conversion of the lease to a *Deed of Grant* was conditional upon the payment of a further nine annual payments of £6-0-0 and the installation of certain improvements. Approval of the lease was received on the 16th November 1881 following the cancellation of an earlier approval on the 13th October by the Undersecretary of Lands to this and eight other leases. On the 8th March 1884 Michael submitted a *Certificate of Fulfilment of Conditions by Selector* under The *Crown Lands Alienation Act*. Particulars included living within fifteen miles of the lease (on Selection No. 558 Parish of Takalvan) and the installation of a hut valued at £45-0-0, 80 rods of split fencing at £20-0-0 and the felling of 4 acres of forest at £10-0-0. Previously, on 11th February 1884, Walter and George Manus Adams had attested to his meeting of residence conditions, the construction of 80 rods of fencing, the clearing of 2½ acres and the construction of a hut. Having paid the balance of the ten years rent together with fees and having fulfilled the conditions of the lease a *Deed of Grant* was passed on the 1*st* July 1884. A description of the land was, *commencing at the west corner of Portion 26 on the N.W. by a line bearing 245º, 35 chains 0 links, on the S.W. by a line bearing 148º, 36 chains 67 links, on the S.E. by a line bearing 58º, 34 chains 70 links, and on the N.E. by Portion 26 bearing 328º, 32 chains 50 links.* (Appendix B4)

It is of interest that some ten years later, on the 9th February 1894, the Bundaberg Public Lands Office asked to be informed by the Under

Secretary of Lands when the *Deed of Grant* had been issued to Michael Gahan – as, "The matter is of importance to the Catholic Church here." On the 14th February 1894 the Office received the answer "in July 1884". It is significant that the query related to the *Deed of Grant* over the 120 acres of Portion 33 and not to the 40 acres of the subdivision described below, which is occupied in part by the cemetery. It may be relevant that by 1894 Walter, George Manus and Father Rossolini were all deceased. (Appendix 3 – Plan of Section 33)

The 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. (Appendix B5) These 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 in the preceding list. The transfer took place on the 16th November 1889 for, *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.* Many years were to pass before this, "Roman Catholic Educational or other institution" was to be constructed. (Appendix B5 – Details of the Nomination of Trustees)

The description of this land was, *Subdivision one of Portion thirty three commencing at the East corner of the portion and bounded thence on the North East by the Racecourse Reserve bearing 328º sixteen chains bounded thence on the North West by a line bearing 238º twenty five chains bounden thence on the South West by a line bearing 148º sixteen chains bounded thence on the South East by a line bearing 58º twenty five chains to the point of commencement.*

As the Catholic cemetery was established on the subdivision in 1885 it is likely that Sub 1 was excised from Portion 33 in late 1884 or early 1885 with Michael being compensated for the loss of one third of his land by Walter Adams and Father Rossolini. (Appendix B6 – Layout plan)

Subsequent to Walter's time the original Wintergarden Theatre, a very substantial two/three story wooden structure was replaced by the existing brickwork building. The wooden structure was moved to the site at the corner of Barolin and Woondooma Streets and was renamed the Austral Hall. This move occurred in the late 1920's and the building was subsequently used for parish social events including school concerts and debutante balls, for which it had an excellent stage and a magnificent dance floor. The hall also housed meetings of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society. This organization was opened in Bundaberg by Father Rossolini and Walter Adams on 3rd June 1886, and was the prior owner of the site. Leslie Joseph Adams, my uncle and a grandson of Walter and Mary on his mother's side, was a very active member of the Bundaberg branch of the society until his death in 1962 as was my wife's grandfather William Meikle.

A Hibernian Society's rival, the Caledonian Friendly Society owned the adjacent allotment in Barolin Street. The block's other Barolin

Street corner was occupied by a tea – later boarding – house which was demolished to construct the Church of Christ opposite the Holy Rosary Church.

The original Catholic convent was a day school and was set up on the south side of Woongarra Street near its intersection with Tantitha Street in the direction of Saint Mary's Church. Two residences lay between the convent and Tantitha Street and a Japanese laundry occupied the corner allotment. A blacksmith's workshop was located opposite the convent and the Salvation Army Citadel was later constructed around the corner from the laundry in Tantitha Street. An ex pupil of the convent, Mrs. Jean Kelly (nee Meikle) provided this local information.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph whose foundress was Sister Mary McKillop arrived in Bundaberg in 1876 and much endeared themselves to the locals with their very valuable teaching, which was first conducted in the wooden church structure. Unfortunately relations between Bishop James Quinn of Brisbane and Sister Mary broke down, due to unmet expectations, and the Sisters of Saint Joseph under Sister Mary McKillop were withdrawn from Queensland, leaving Bundaberg in 1880, to be replaced by Sisters (of St Joseph) who were under the jurisdiction of Bishop Quinn, and later, from 1882, of Bishop Robert Dunne. This was despite the very strong representations by Father Rossolini and his close friend Walter Adams, who along with the other local parishioners were greatly disappointed, if not appalled, by the turn of events. While the replacement Sisters continued with the work in a creditable fashion and the 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 Sisters, under Sister Mary McKillop, were relocated to New South Wales where they received a very warm welcome from Archbishop Vaughan to serve in his Diocese. Walter made the philosophical observation that, under the prevailing circumstances, it was probably for the best.

On 11th July 1880 Walter Adams read an address of appreciation to the Sisters, who departed Bundaberg the following day. The address read:

*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 laboured 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 'accompanying gift' was a donation of £37 (local report) or of 40 sovereigns (the Sisters' 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, both religious and secular, is taken into account. 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 during the potato famine) to either read or write. Walter's very strong feelings as to the injustice inflicted on the Sisters, that necessitated their departure, were shared by many others in the Brisbane Diocese, especially those in the Bundaberg and Brisbane areas, whose dealings with the Sisters had been both productive and harmonious.

Following the departure Walter maintained contact with the Sisters, possibly encouraged by his daughter Maria. (Appendix B8) There can be no doubt that Maria was an enthusiastic ex-pupil and admirer of the Sisters.

A copy of Walter's letter to Sister Teresa (Maginnes) follows:

*Dear Sister Teresa,* *August 17, 1880*

*I expected to here from you before now but you may not have had time to write even a few lines to one of the humblest of the Bundaberg people, myself.*

*You had not gone from here more than a fortnight before His Lordship sent two Sisters of St Joseph up to take your place. Now I would like to know what Sisters they are. I know they are not under the same rules as yourselves and his Lordship knew that they would not be received as you were, and he sent Father O'Riley up with them - and a message arived to call Father Rossolini to Brisbane. I supose while he,Father O'Riley, makes peace and collects funds to pay for new furniture. His success was not so great as he expected - he after two weeks hard fighting collected about £25. He thinks I ought to be excommunicated because I gave him nothing and will not make so free with the little strangers. But I want to know more about them.*

*They say that Sister Francis - De Sales that first came to Maryborough with Sister Alexanna that came here once from Gladstone is about to return to Queensland under Bishop Quinn. Is this likely? Father O'Riley wanted to make it appear that many that left Queensland wish again to return again under the Bishop. This I cannot believe. However, Father Rossolini will be back in a few days and I shall know more about it.*

*I should have written to Mother Mary but do not know her address. In fact I do not know yours and you may never get this. If you allow me to tell you that henceforth and*

*forever the rising generation are to be ladyes and gentlemen, 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 to proud to work and when they get hungry they will go to the pianno for a musical feest (if they have one.) This may stay the stomach and elevate the mind but never kill hunger. But we must leave all this for time to work out or you return to Bundaberg for O'Hagan says he will countenance none but you.*

*I hope this will find you and all the Sisters well as this leaves us at presant. The whole of the family joins in sending kindest regards to you and all the Sisters which please convey to them, and believe me*

*Yours sincearly*

*Walter Adams*

The two replacement Sisters were Sister Joseph (Margaret Wynne) and Sister Julian (Jane Brown). These Sisters were to leave the convent in early 1881. The above letter was followed in short order by another letter, to Mother Mary herself, probably following the receipt of the Sisters' then current postal address from Sister Teresa:

*Bundaberg, September 12, 1880*

*My dear Mother Mary,*

*I duly received your very kind note and was very glad to here that you were well.*

*The people of Bundaberg and myself received your regrets for the removal of the Sisters from here sincearly and if you received the two papers with the Testimonial we presented the Sisters with before leaveing you would there see that we blame no one for their removal, yet we assured the Sisters that we, the people of Bundaberg, would be held blameless before Almighty God for their removal, and I trust the same Almighty Being will forgive those that were. Poor Father Rossolini felt it much and he is little better now that the Sisters of St Joseph is returned.*

*But, dear Mother, they are a Branch, they have no Body Ecclesiastical, they have no roots, they are not the florishing tree but to my mind a decayed Branch blown from the parent tree by adverse winds; but God help us, they may be good, yet I cannot make free with them and have never paid them a visit yet. I am still awaiting yourself, Sister Teresa, Srs Collumbus and Francisca's return. Mother, you must send them back if their is ever a change in the ministry.*

*Those - or rather one of those Sisters, a Dublener, was heard to say that Sister Mary De-Sales and Sister Aleanna - my first Maryborough Sister and the Gladstone one was coming back to Queensland. If such be the case, kindly let me know as I never like to doubt a religious. If such is the case, I may see you sooner than I thought, and then not the old buggy but a new one is at your servise.*

*I now, Dear Mother, conclude, beging a short prayer for my religious wellfare and the whole of my family joins in wishing you every happiness both here and hereafter.*



**The Convent** – in Bourbong Street

*With kind regards to the Sisters, I beg to remain*

*Faithfully yours in C*

*Walter Adams*

The Sisters of St. Joseph, now answering to Bishop Dunne, were later replaced by The Sisters of Mercy in 1897. In subsequent years the convent was relocated to the Bourbong Street site, west of the railway line. Usage of the new site was enhanced by the provision of boarding facilities and by the provision of a secondary school education to girls of the town and of the outlying areas of the parish. A later activity again was the relocation of the convent's day school to a building on the Barolin Street site, adjacent to the Saint Mary of the Holy Rosary Church. This occurred in the 1910's on a site previously occupied in part by the Myrtle Villa boarding house.

The Christian Brothers were relative late comers, establishing their school and residence on a site adjacent to the Wintergarden Theatre on the site previously occupied by the Grammar



**The Christian Brothers School** – Woongarra Street

School. An ant bed tennis court separated the school buildings from the theatre and swampy land on the Woondooma Street frontage was reclaimed to construct a swimming pool for the use of students. This pool produced many competent swimmers.

In more recent times again the Christian Brothers School has moved to Fitzgerald Street, and is now merged with the Convent, producing the co-educational school, Shalom. With the opening in 1984, a "Roman Catholic Educational or other institution" was finally installed on the land acquired for this purpose 100 years before.

The above is a very brief overview of Walter's association with both the Catholic Church and

with its representatives that lasted from his family's arrival in the Bundaberg area in 1871 to his death on 15th May 1892. Sad to relate Father Rossolini himself died a year later in 1893. Both were relatively young men. 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 the two must have been very high. Walter and Mary constructed their last residence on George Street land, adjacent to allotments owned by Father Constantine Rossolini. The family subsequently acquired these allotments and they were to become the land on which Walter's daughter Ellen and her husband Walter built their residence "Newnham" at 116 George Street. It would be interesting to know in which area Father Rossolini invested the capital raised from the sale; it most probably went to his beloved church. Up to seventy years – and beyond – after Father Rossolini's untimely death, descendants of Walter and Mary, who would never have met Constantine, still spoke of the good Father with much affection. This affection also extended to the memory of the 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.

NOTES:

Note 1. The original Adams Hotel constructed in 1872-3 on the corner of Barolin and Bourbong Streets, was a one story wooden structure with verandah and stables. It was renamed the Metropolitan Hotel in 1879 and in October 1885 was demolished to make way for the present two story brick building which was completed in April 1886. In 1887 the three Bourbong Street shop fronts were added, and a billiard room was also constructed.

Note 2. 116 George Street (Newnham) now demolished, was the residence of Walter's daughter Ellen Elizabeth and her husband, and cousin, Richard Walter Adams who came from Singleton N.S.W., and who was the manager of the Bundaberg Foundry for many years.

Note 3. Walter and Mary's residence (Summerville) at 118 George Street was still standing (as at December 2001). It had been turned into flats and the, verandas, the cast-iron railings and the kitchen/pantry/maid-room annex with its attendant connecting walkway had all disappeared. The well, duck pond and stables having outlived their usefulness were removed in earlier times.

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Letter copies from the Sisters of Saint Joseph Archives – North Sydney

Material from the Queensland State Government Archives; and

Personal recollections and those of family members, not the least being my aunt-in law Jean Kelly – now deceased – an old Bundaberg 'convent girl'.

# APPENDIX B1



**The Late Walter Adams M.L.A.**

ARRIVAL OF THE BODY IN BUNDABERG

(Copied from the *Bundaberg and Mount Perry Mail* – May 23, 1892)

The body of the late Mr. Walter Adams, M.L.A., who died in Sydney on the 15th instant, arrived in Brisbane late on Thursday. Arrangements at that hour indicated conveyance to Bundaberg by a special train, and in addition to publishing this information in their columns, the Brisbane press, in all good faith, it gave free circulation to provincial journals, including Gympie, Maryborough and ourselves. The body was brought forward by the ordinary mail train, which left Brisbane at 8 o'clock on Friday morning, and reached Bundaberg at 6.45 the same evening. Long before the time of arrival the station platform was thronged with an eager crowd eager to pay mute respect to the remains of him who left this town less than three weeks ago, to return no more, but to fall in life's flight in a southern city and among strangers. Along the upper end of the platform an escort of about forty members of the H.A.C.B. Society was drawn up in line, all wearing regalia, and some bearing in their hands lighted torches, the lurid glare from which imparted a strange impressiveness to the solemnity of the occasion. When the train drew up at the platform the large assemblage mostly gathered round the carriage containing the widow, son and daughter, and other friends of the deceased, including the Rev. Fathers Rossolini and O'Reilly (Maryborough), both of whom had journeyed by the afternoon

# APPENDIX B1

train to Isis Junction and there joined the train. Kindly hands assisted, Mrs. Adams from the carriage to a conveyance, and it immediately drove to Summerville House. Meanwhile, in front of the covered wagon containing the body, the Hibernians were filed and served to keep back the increased crush that, by this time, had gathered and not without difficulty the coffin was lifted from the zinc lined case in which it had travelled from Sydney. On the shoulders of eight brethren it was then borne to the hearse in waiting. Four torch bearers took positions as an advance guard, followed by the hearse, on either side of which were the other four torch bearers, and immediately behind the hearse we noticed Mr. James Adams and friends of the deceased, the former looking jaded and wearied after the anxious experience and long travelling he had undergone since Monday last. On his arm he carried a massive floral wreath of immortelles from the St. Stephen's branch of the Hibernian Society Brisbane. At a slow pace the company walked to St. Mary's Church where a large congregation was already gathered. The altar was suitably draped. The coffin was placed on a raised stand in front of the altar rail, on either side of which were low draped platforms, on which were placed the candles ready for the watchful vigils. Manifesting their fidelity to the last, the Hibernians had resolved to watch by the coffin until the hour of interment. Throughout the night two members wearing, the green emblems of the lodge were present, seated on either side of the coffin. In relays the watch was strictly observed.

The coffin, of light oak with silver mountings was handsome and massive, and while in the church was laden with a number of choice wreaths &c in addition to the one already mentioned there was a massive one from the members of the H.A.C.B. Society "with the sympathy and condolence of the officers and members" and signed by F. P F. Keogh, president, and T. Lawless, District Secretary. The silver medallion plate bore the brief inscription:

WALTER ADAMS

Died 15th May, 1892

## THE FUNERAL

When day dawned on Saturday the sky was laden with heavy clouds from which rain was falling in a continuous downpour. The fall during the night had already converted the road into broad patches of mud and water pool and from the bleak aspect that hung over all, together with the coldness and dampness that filled the air, a feeling of depression was the natural consequence. Some slight improvement took place as the day advanced, but about noon the rain descended with even greater force, and continued without cessation until after the funeral and the mourners were on their

# APPENDIX B1

way back to town. The watch maintained throughout the night by the Hibernians ended at an early hour on Saturday morning, when the Sisters of the Convent entered the Church. Masses were held at 7, 8 and 10 a.m., when the attendance at each was larger than usual. During the day the coffin was bedecked with a great variety of floral wreaths, crosses, immortelles, &c exceedingly choice and tasteful, and an indication of much kindly feeling's and affectionate remembrance. Among others added on Saturday we noticed floral emblems from the local branch of the Hibernians, M. K. Goodwin, G. Steindl, F. Lillis, Brisbane, G. F. Lyons, M. Duffy, Mrs. K. C. McKay, Mrs. Cook, Mrs. Moncrieff, R. E. Moncrieff, and most prominent of all a heart shaped wreath mounted on a white card with floral border and, in illuminated letters, the following inscription

FROM A LOVING WIFE
and
FOND CHILDREN

As the hour fixed for the funeral drew near numbers gathered in and around the church and in the seats on either side of the centre aisle nearest the altar, were the relatives of the deceased, attired in very deep mourning. Soon after the sorrowing group had, one by one, kissed the coffin for the last time Fathers Rossolini and Mimnagh, standing to the right side of the coffin, and almost under the pulpit presented only a year ago by the deceased, read the usual service prior to the removal of the body. Mid the solemn strains of the Dead March in Saul, played by Mr. J. K. Coombe with subdued expression, six Hibernians stepped forward and, not without difficulty, bore the coffin to the hearse, draped and plumed, the rain falling even heavier than before. By this time the various public bodies, friends and sympathisers, who had expressed a desire to take part in the funeral observation were in appointed position and, at ten minutes past two, headed by the Town Band playing the Dead March, proceeded on the long walk to the Cemetery. The order maintained was as follows:–

The Town Band
School Children
Hibernians
Reverend Fathers in covered buggy

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bodyguard of Hibernians | Hearse | Bodyguard of Hibernians |

Deceased's Buggy and white horse, (led by a coachman)
Relatives

# APPENDIX B1

W. B. O'Connell, M.L.A.

Town Council (headed by the Mayor)
Chamber of Commerce (Headed by the President)

Divisional Boards (Woongarra, Mr. J. Cran, Chairman),
(Barolin, Mr. W. G. Moore, Chairman),
(Gooburrum, Mr. Arthur Young, Chairman)
P. A. F. S.

Labour Organization

M. U. I. 0. F.
I. O. O. F.
Rechabites
Private Friends
and the
General Public.

As the procession moved off the Convent bell tolled intermittently. In the long list of private friends were representatives of every rank, profession, trade, calling and grade in and around Bundaberg, and many who had come from far upland districts including Avondale, Rosedale, Bingera, Gin Gin, Mount Perry, Isis, Howard, Maryborough, Brisbane, &c. Clergymen of other denominations were present, as were the leading lawyers, doctors, bankers, civil servants, Government officials, planters, farmers, merchants, and business men, together with those in humbler walks in life, some in buggies - of which there were present at least 132 - in hansoms, on horseback and on foot. Hundreds lined the streets through which the procession passed and, even when the band had turned from Woongarra street into Tantitha street, the last of the procession had not then started from the vicinity of St. Mary's. Entering Bourbon street, at the Club Hotel, hundreds more were in waiting under the verandahs as the hearse passed, heads were uncovered and mute signs of respect displayed on all sides. Business in the streets through which the general cortege progressed was entirely suspended and Bourbon street presented a long array of shuttered windows and closed doors. Nor were the marks of respect less noticeable in private dwellings where the blinds were drawn. A large crowd was gathered at the Metropolitan corner (Mrs. C. M. Adams)*, taking shelter under the verandah from the lashing rainfall, and on the balcony above could be seen more than one tearful eye. Others had taken shelter on the Post Office steps and, at the Telegraph Office door quite a number of public officers, unable to leave official duty, were seen. At the School of Arts, which was closed as a mark of respect towards

# APPENDIX B1

the deceased, he having been the first President of that institution, a number of lady members were waiting. Small groups were noticeable under the verandahs of the Council Chamber and at the Mail office, who respectively uncovered as the body passed. In Maryborough street, where the condition of the roadway rendered walking a matter of great discomfort and difficulty, it is worthy of note that a somewhat accurate conception of the length of the procession was obtainable. When the band was slowly passing the Wesleyan Church, the last of the funeral train were seen to turn from Tantitha street into Bourbon street, at the Club Hotel**. The rain seemed to descend in its wildest fury as the army of mourners passed Summerville House, the home of the deceased, and neared Adams Bridge. Nothing daunted the cavalcade, with difficulty, maintained its order though general concern was expressed at the continued presence of the school children under such inclement circumstances. Every effort was made to induce the little ones to return home, but determination and perseverance seemed to possess them and rather than return they left the main body, struck through the bush, and by a bye path were the first, to reach the Cemetery. Meanwhile, with but little halt, the Racecourse was reached, and the road bearing to the right entered upon. Little better than a track, the damage done by the prolonged rainfall rendered progress a matter of considerable difficulty. The Cemetery however was entered at 3.30 and immediately a cordon of Hibernians was drawn around the grave. The spot chosen for interment, the Adams' family burying ground, is situated about 60 yards from the main entrance and about 20 yards to the left of the pathway, where the remains of several members of the family have been buried. The crowd assembled, which could not have numbered less than between 400 and 500, stood uncovered as the coffin was removed from the hearse and placed on the boards across the gaping grave. The scene here was intensely impressive and affecting and, as the solemn service was proceeded with by the Revd. Fathers, bitter sobs were freely heard, while many strove hard to suppress the rising emotion. With rain still falling, with a dark and murky sky over head, with damp, sodden grass underfoot, the company stood in silence and gazed on the eight Hibernians gathered around the grave. As the last solemn words fell from the Revd. Fathers' lips the body was slowly lowered into the grave.

For a little a hushed and painful silence hung over all broken only by the dull thud on the coffin lid of the clay that fell from the hands of Father Rossolini. Earth had returned to earth, dust had returned to dust. Some of the relatives stepped hesitatingly forward and gazed into the grave, then young Walter Adams, grandson of the deceased, was lifted over the railing round his father's tomb and with tears streaming down his little face was the last, to look into the narrow confines of him whose name he bears. The grave was then filled and the flowers, emblems &c laid thereon. Overall was laid a unique and cleverly executed floral memento in the design of a harp, with a broken string, a fit emblem of a broken life, tenderly presented by Mrs. R. McKay. Gradually the large assemblage, by far the largest and most representative ever brought together in Bundaberg, dispersed and found their way back to town.

NOTES: *Proprietor; **Approximately four town blocks

# APPENDIX B1



**The Family Graves** – Bundaberg Catholic Cemetry

The tallest headstone towards the back marks Walter and Mary's grave; The smaller headstone to the left marks the grave of their son George and His Wife Cecilia; The Bertheau Family Headstone is in the Foreground.

# APPENDIX B2

## Michael Joseph Gahan (1841-1919)

At the age of fourteen years Michael arrived in Sydney on the 29th July 1855 from St. Mary's, Dublin on the ship *Mangerton* with his widowed mother Honora (nee Bowen - age 41), and siblings Margaret (17), George (12) and Catherine (11). Given the nature of the times it is likely that his father George Gahan had died as a consequence of the famine. The Gahans embarked from the ship all in good health. Every member of the family could both read and write and they were of the Roman Catholic religion. On landing Honora was described as being a housekeeper, Margaret as being a domestic servant and Michael as an agricultural labourer.

On the first of May 1886 Michael married Mary Anne Chappelow the only daughter of Ralph John Chappelow of Arncliffe farm, Kalkie East Bundaberg and Ellen (nee Curtis). Ralph has been variously described as homesteader, selector and farmer. Michael died on the 30th January 1919, and Mary Anne on the 5th February 1944.

The children of Michael and Mary were:

Joseph who was born on the 12th April 1887 and who died while serving with the Australian Imperial Forces on the 26th March 1917;

George who was born on the 3rd July 1889 and who died on the 23rd December 1951 married Maggie Cunningham in 1920;

Mary who was born on the 13th July 1891 married Charles Robert Jelous in July 1912;

Ralph who was born on the 16th July 1893 and who died on the 11th May 1959 married Maria Alice Darlington in 1926;

Lawrence who was born on the 8th August 1896 married Olive Maud Tanner in 1927;

Paul who was born on the 7th June 1899:

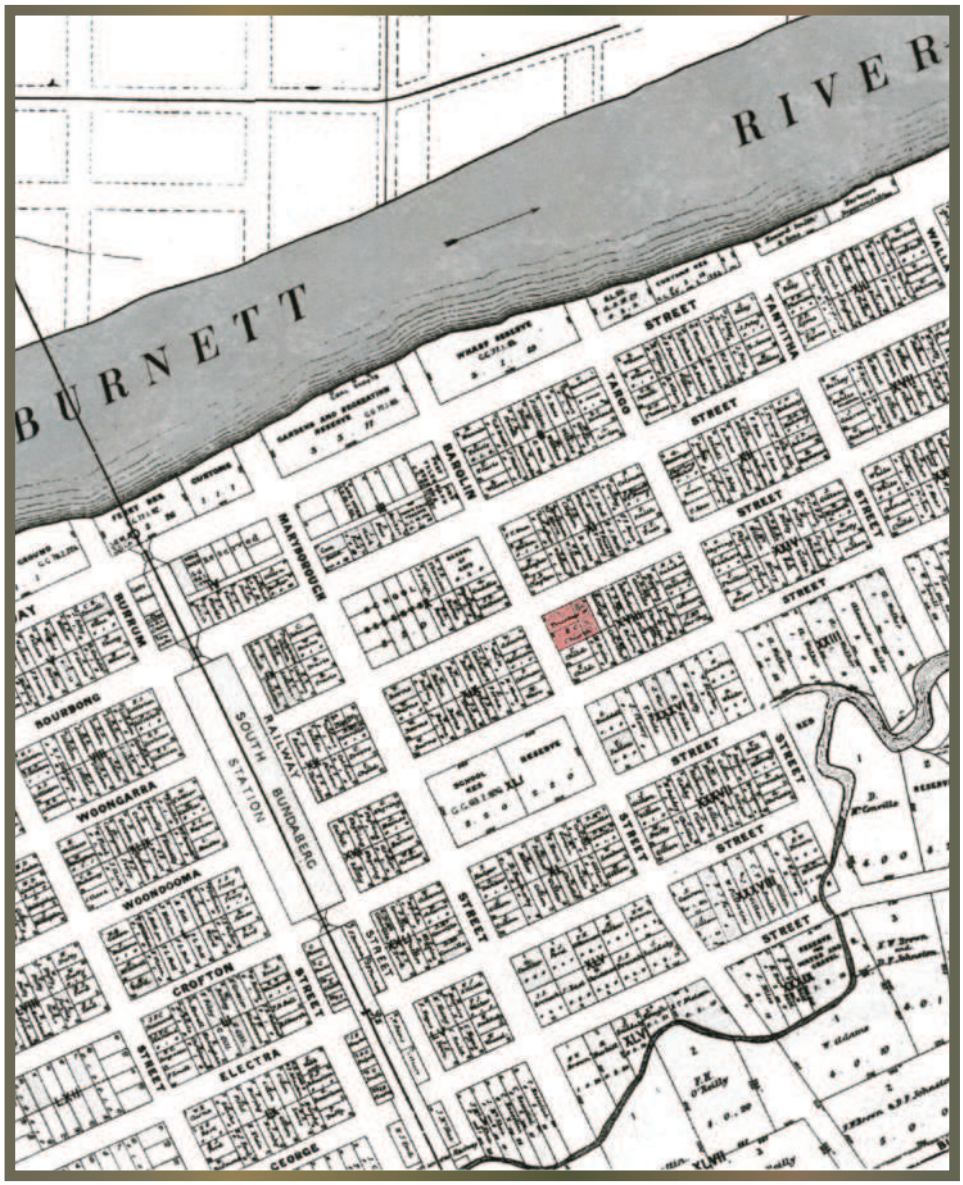
Francis who was born and died on the 25th June 1903;

James who was born on the 4th July 1904 and who married Anne Charlotte Midgley in 1935; and

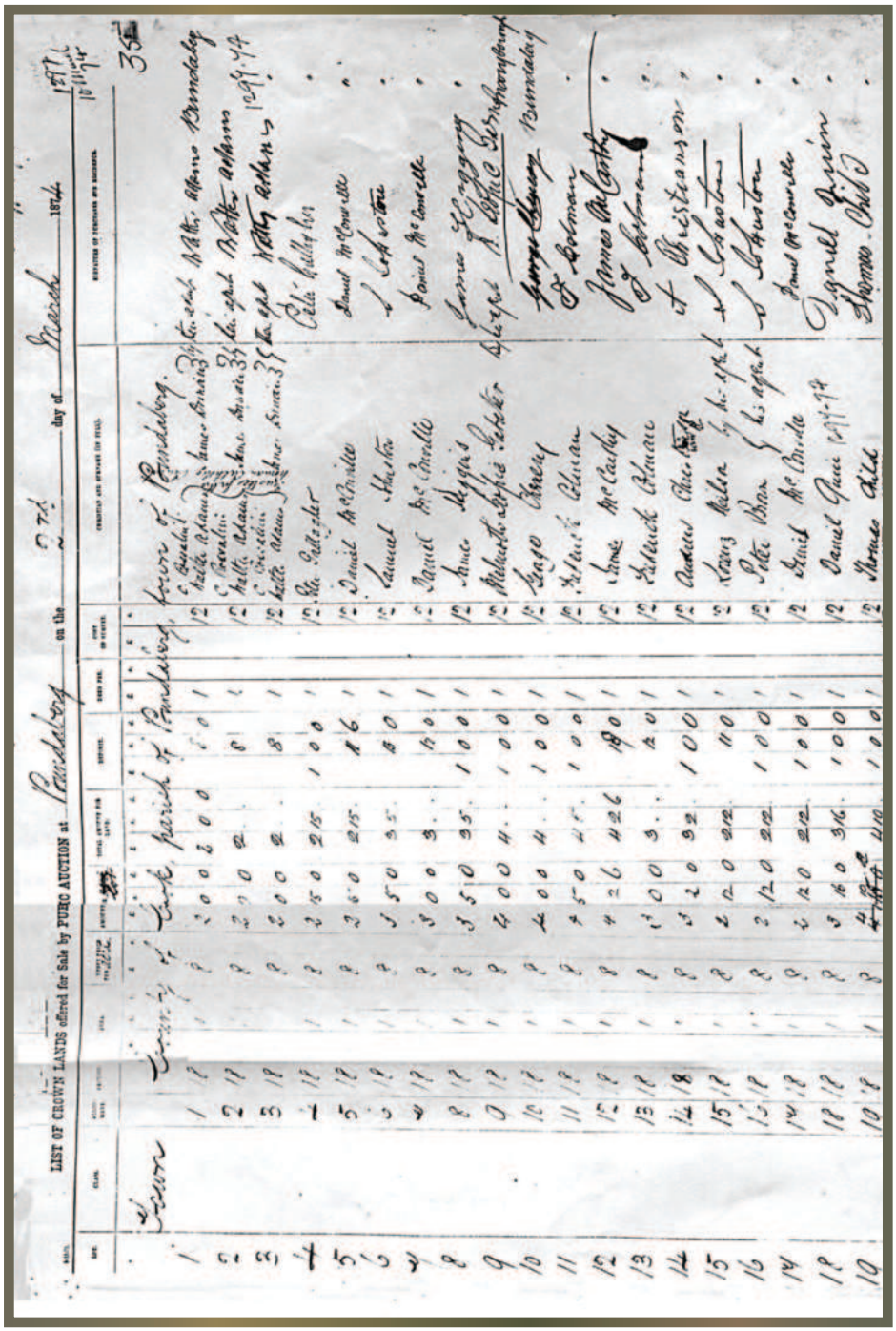
Ellen who was born on the 13th August 1907 and who married Oswald Keith Faulkner in 1930.

# APPENDIX B3a

**The location of Saint Mary's Church of the Holy Rosary** – corner of Woongarra and Barolin Streets



# APPENDIX B3b



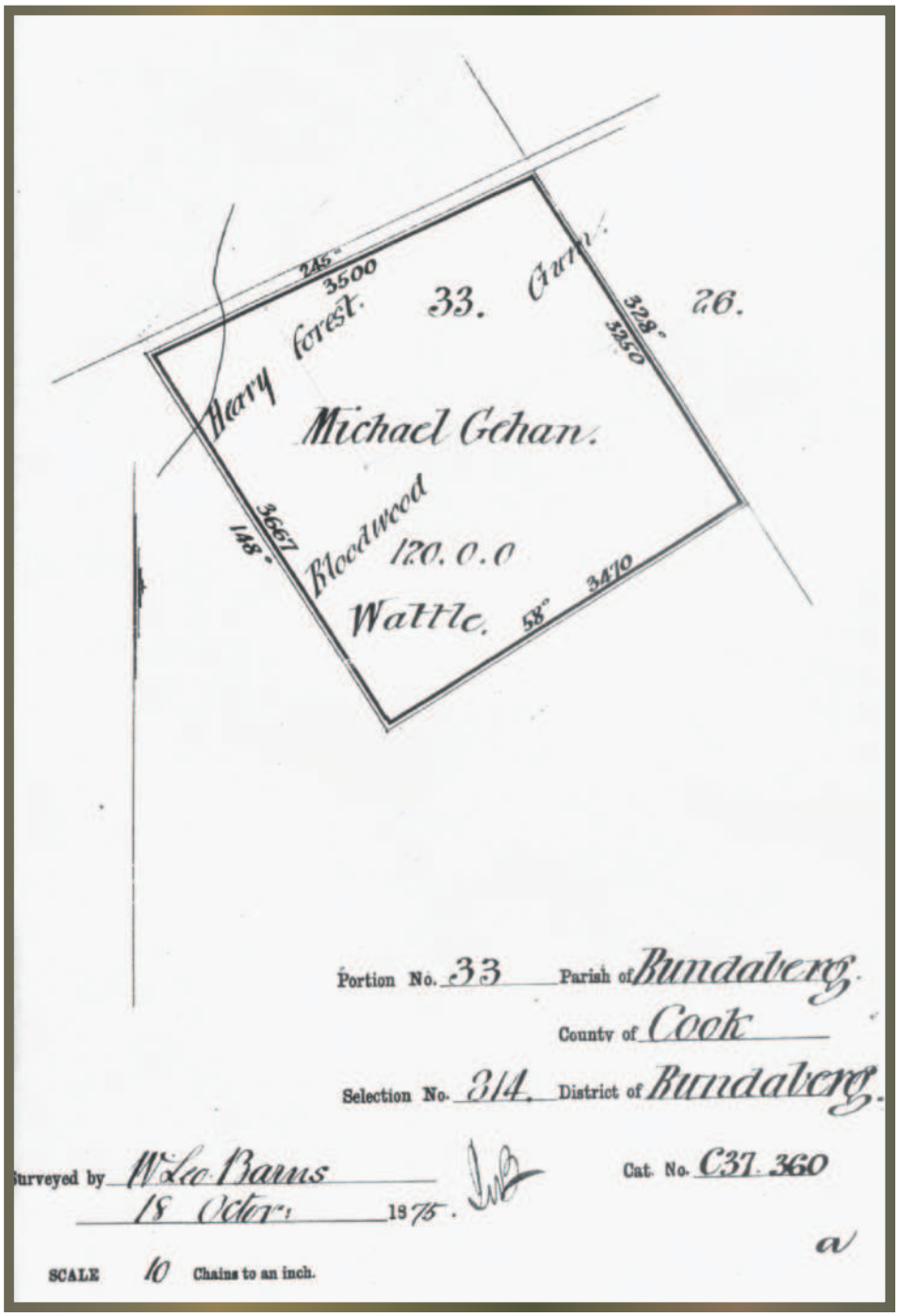
LIST OF CROWN LANDS offered for Sale by PUBLIC AUCTION at Pembroke on the 27th day of March 1874

| No. | Class | Lot | Township | Con. | Range | Acres | Upset Price per Acre | Amount of Upset Price | Deposit | Name of Purchaser | Residence and Occupation of Purchaser |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | 12 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 2 00 | 200 | 50 | Rev. Patrick Mc Laughlin | Pembroke Clergyman |
| 2 | 1 | 13 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 81 | 2 00 | 162 | 40 | Rev. Patrick Mc Laughlin | Pembroke Clergyman |
| 3 | 1 | 14 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 81 | 2 00 | 162 | 40 | Rev. Patrick Mc Laughlin | Pembroke Clergyman |
| 4 | 1 | 15 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 81 | 2 00 | 162 | 40 | Rev. Patrick Mc Laughlin | Pembroke Clergyman |
| 5 | 1 | 16 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 2 15 | 215 | 50 | Rev. Patrick Mc Laughlin | Pembroke Clergyman |
| 6 | 1 | 17 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 116 | 2 00 | 232 | 50 | Daniel McDonald | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 7 | 1 | 18 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 80 | 3 50 | 280 | 70 | Samuel Mc Cauley | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 8 | 1 | 19 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 3 00 | 300 | 75 | Daniel McDonald | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 9 | 1 | 20 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 3 50 | 350 | 90 | Daniel McDonald | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 10 | 1 | 21 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 4 00 | 400 | 100 | Michael Scanlon | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 11 | 1 | 22 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 4 00 | 400 | 100 | Michael Scanlon | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 12 | 1 | 23 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 4 50 | 450 | 100 | Michael Scanlon | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 13 | 1 | 24 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 4 26 | 426 | 100 | James McCauley | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 14 | 1 | 25 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 3 00 | 300 | 80 | Patrick Mc Cauley | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 15 | 1 | 26 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 3 20 | 320 | 80 | Duncan Christianson | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 16 | 1 | 27 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 110 | 2 00 | 220 | 55 | Robert Mc Cauley | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 17 | 1 | 28 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 2 20 | 220 | 55 | Peter Bros | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 18 | 1 | 29 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 2 20 | 220 | 55 | Daniel McDonald | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 19 | 1 | 30 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 3 26 | 326 | 80 | Daniel Quinn | Pembroke Gentleman |
| 20 | 1 | 31 | Pembroke | 1 | 1 | 100 | 4 00 | 400 | 100 | Thomas Dill | Pembroke Gentleman |

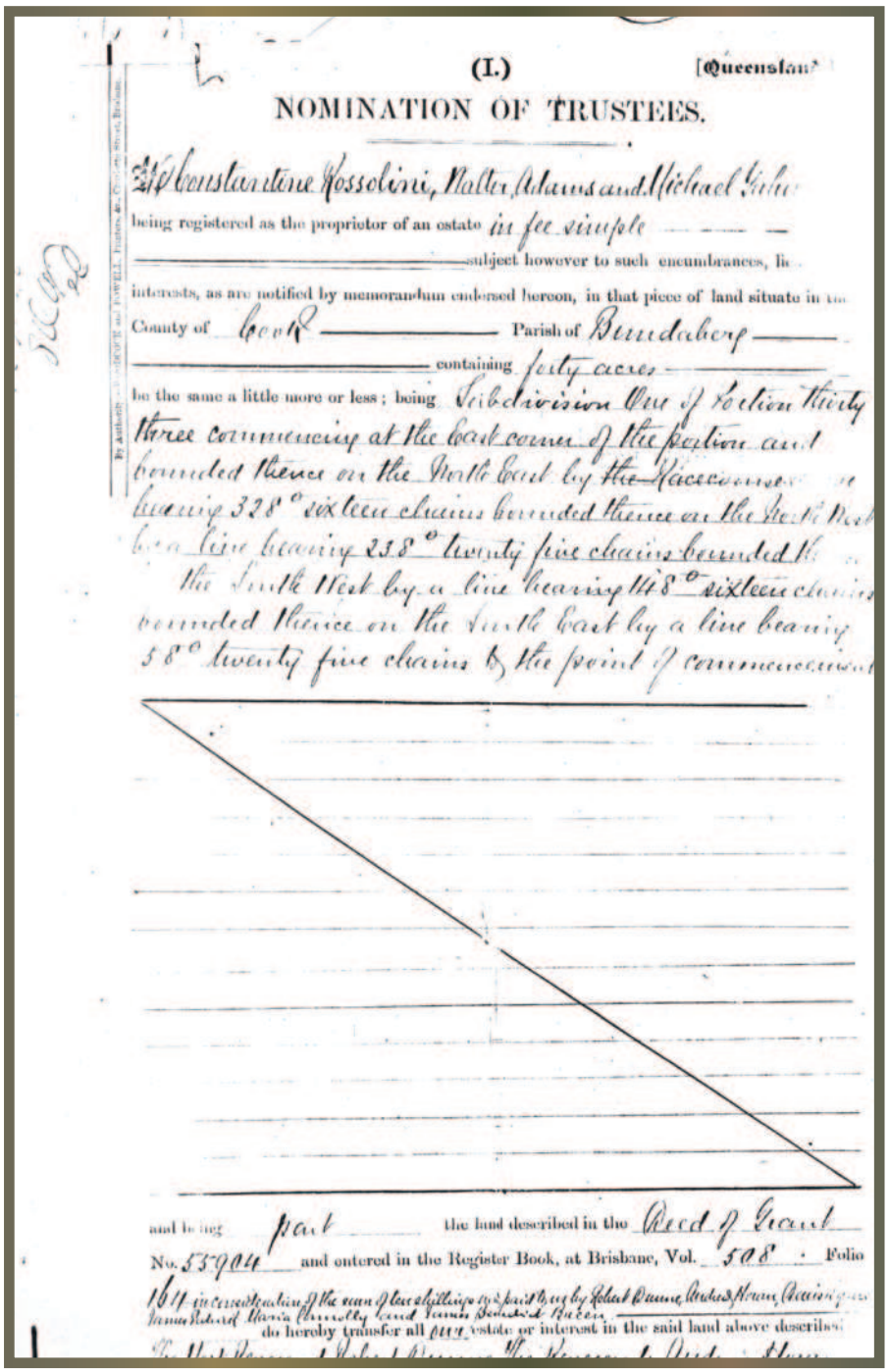
**Record of the Holy Rosary Church property's acquisition at public auction**

# APPENDIX B4

**Michael Gahan's land holding**



# APPENDIX B5a



(I.) [Queensland

NOMINATION OF TRUSTEES.

We Constantine Rossolini, Walter Adams and Michael Gibb

being registered as the proprietor of an estate in fee simple

subject however to such encumbrances, li

interests, as are notified by memorandum endorsed hereon, in that piece of land situate in the

County of Cook Parish of Bundaberg

containing forty acres

be the same a little more or less; being Subdivision One of Section Thirty

Three commencing at the East corner of the portion and

bounded thence on the North East by the Easterly

bearing 328° sixteen chains bounded thence on the North West

by a line bearing 238° twenty five chains bounded th

the South West by a line bearing 148° sixteen chains

bounded thence on the South East by a line bearing

58° twenty five chains to the point of commencement

and being part the land described in the Deed of Grant

No. 53904 and entered in the Register Book, at Brisbane, Vol. 508 Folio

161 in consideration of the sum of five shillings to us paid by Robert Dunne Archer Brown Accountant

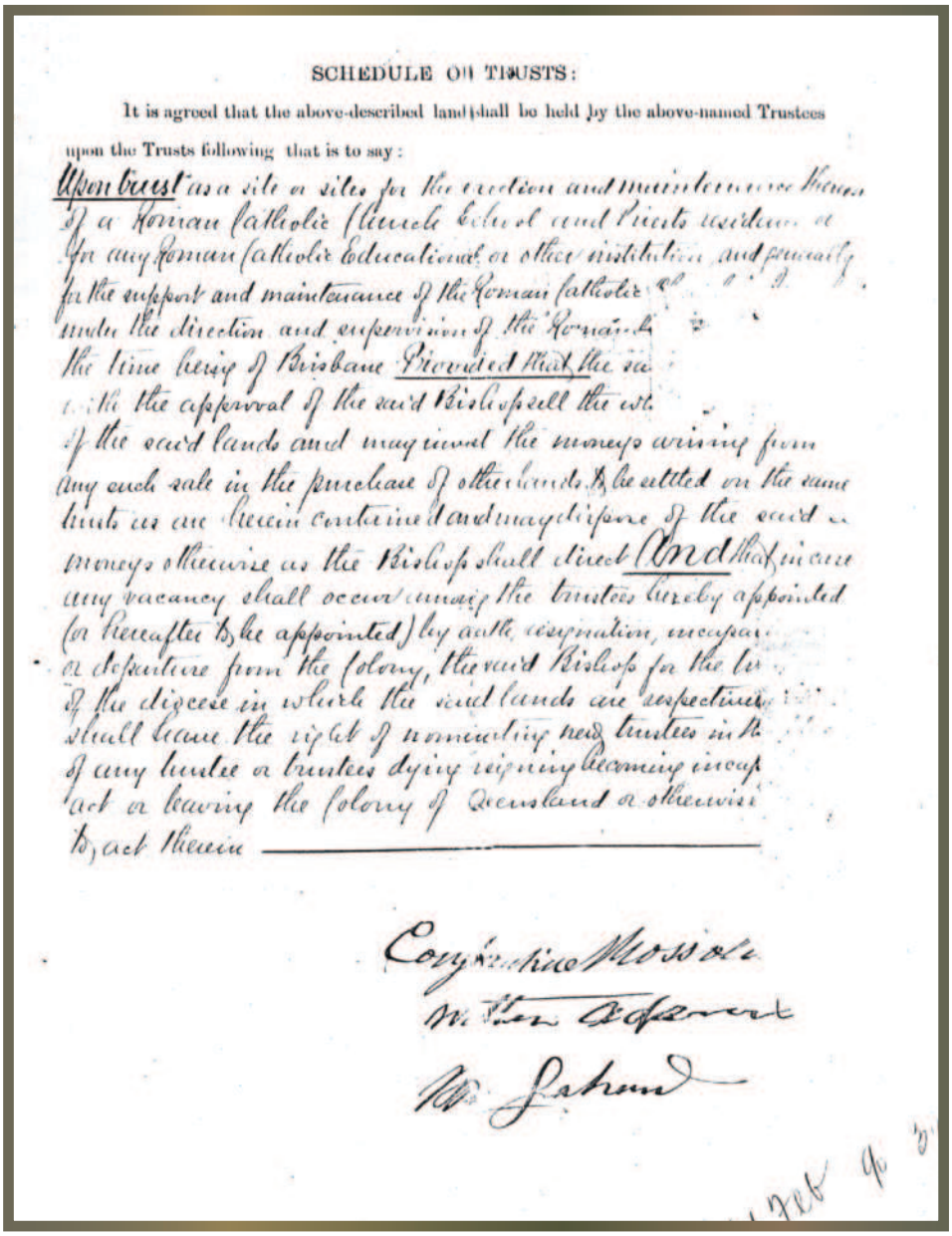
Thomas Richard Harris Donnelly and Francis Benedict Ryan

do hereby transfer all our estate or interest in the said land above described

**Nomination of trustees land for church purposes** – Page 1

# APPENDIX B5b

**Nomination of trustees – land for church purposes**
– Page 2



SCHEDULE OF TRUSTS:

It is agreed that the above-described land shall be held by the above-named Trustees upon the Trusts following that is to say:

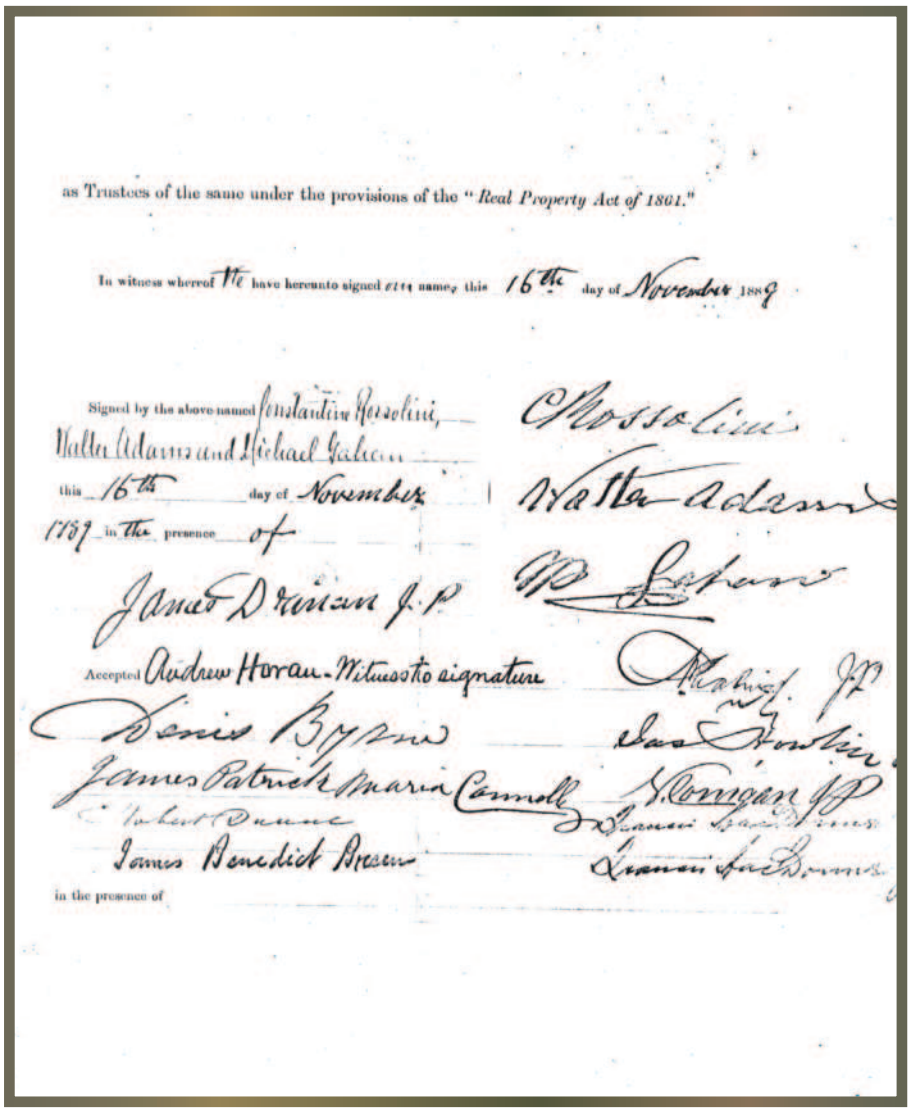
Upon trust as a site or sites for the erection and maintenance thereon of a Roman Catholic Church School and Priests residence or for any Roman Catholic educational or other institution and generally for the support and maintenance of the Roman Catholic [illegible] under the direction and supervision of the Roman [illegible] the time being of Brisbane Provided that the [illegible] with the approval of the said Bishop sell the said [illegible] of the said lands and may invest the moneys arising from any such sale in the purchase of other lands to be settled on the same trusts as are herein contained and may dispose of the said moneys otherwise as the Bishop shall direct And that in case any vacancy shall occur among the trustees hereby appointed (or hereafter to be appointed) by death resignation incapacity or departure from the Colony the said Bishop for the time being of the diocese in which the said lands are respectively situate shall become the right of nominating new trustees in place of any trustee or trustees dying resigning becoming incapable to act or leaving the Colony of Queensland or otherwise becoming unfit to act therein

Conveyancing Clerk

Master Assistant

Registrar

# APPENDIX B5c



as Trustees of the same under the provisions of the "*Real Property Act of 1861.*"

In witness whereof We have hereunto signed *our* name*s* this 16th day of November 1889

Signed by the above named Constantine Rossolini, Walter Adams and Michael Galvin this 16th day of November 1889 in the presence of

James Drinan J.P.

Accepted Andrew Horan. Witness to signature

Denis Byrne

James Patrick Maria Carroll

Robert Dunne

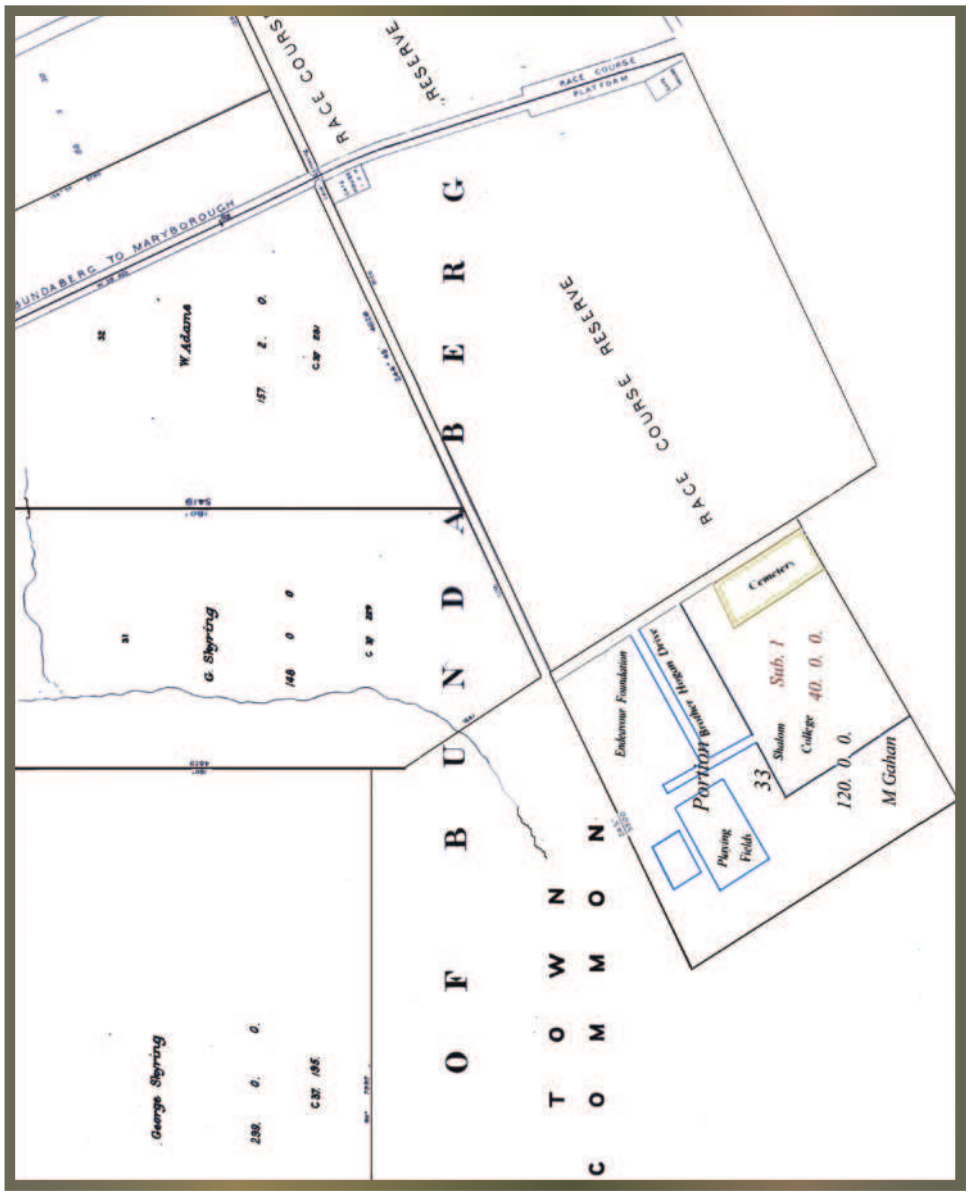
James Benedict Breen

in the presence of

**Nomination of trustees land for church purposes** – page 3

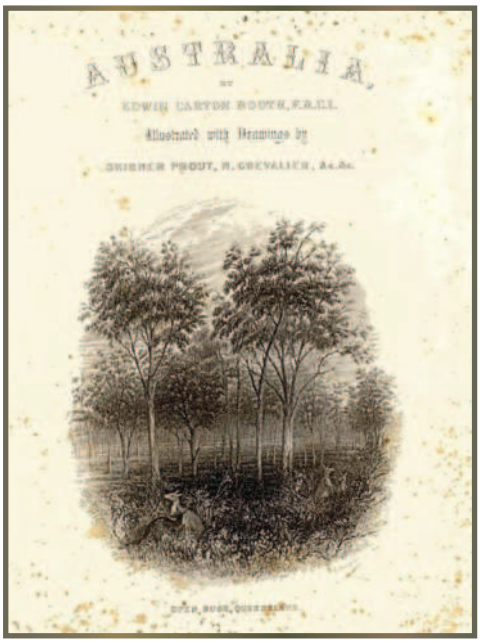
# APPENDIX B6

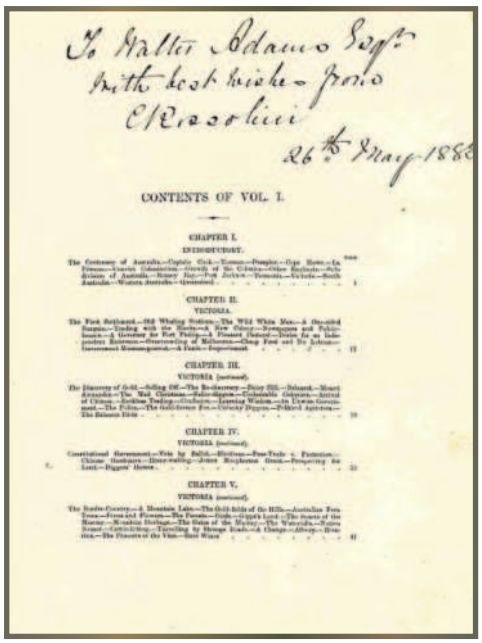
**Superimposition of the Catholic Cemetery and School Property boundaries of the year 2004 onto the Gahan Property boundaries**

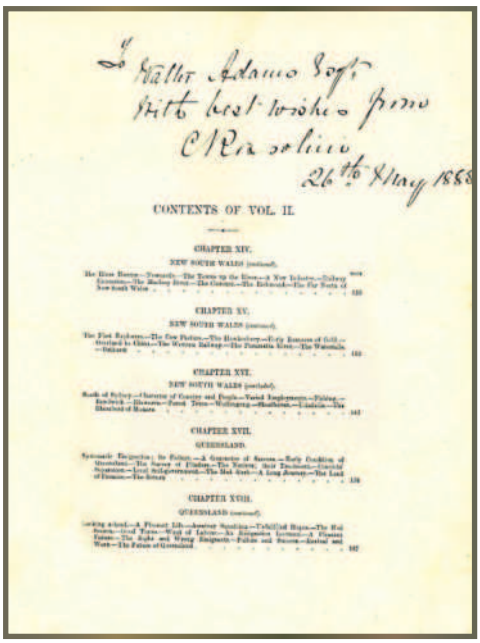


# APPENDIX B7



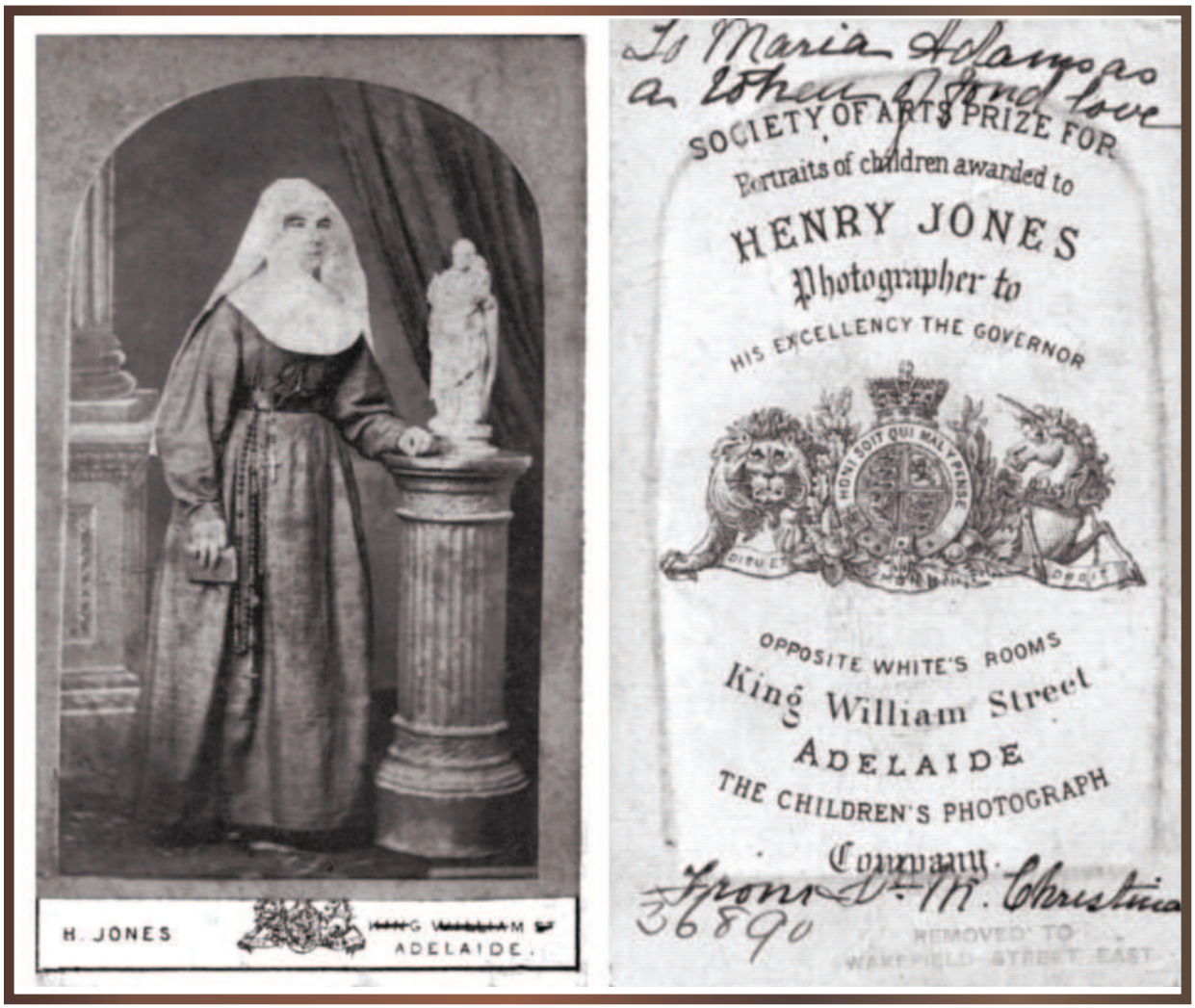




**Annotations in Volumes i and ii of, *Australia Illustrated* –** presented to Walter by Father Constantine Rossolini

# APPENDIX B8




**A presentation to Maria Adams by Sister M. Christina of the Order of Saint Joseph**



# Part 4

## THE INVOLVEMENT

## OF

## **WALTER ADAMS**

## IN

## AFFAIRS OF STATE

# Chapter 12

# Walter Adams in Parliament

## Political ideals

The image on the plate – see following page shows Gladstone in his 70's. The item would definitely not have been selected by Mary for aesthetic reasons. It follows that the plate was probably ordered and purchased by Walter himself, a reasonable assumption being that it was an illustration of a person whose parliamentary views and ethics very closely resembled his own. It therefore presents a unique window into the mind of Walter the politician. It follows that a brief exploration of the life and career of William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), when read in conjunction with a collection of Walter's parliamentary speeches, could be a rewarding exercise.

### GLADSTONE – His attributes

Gladstone was reputed to be a generous person, a courageous politician, sincere, of good manners, and of great personal warmth and breadth of mind. He is is said to have had a remarkable memory for detail, great powers of concentration and was a fearsome adversary in debate. He was a humanitarian of high political morality. In 1879, Lord Acton in assessing Gladstone's standing, concluded that he could not be surpassed in character, genius and success and he was, beyond doubt, the greatest British statesman of the 19th century.




One of the few survivors of Mary and Walter's porcelain collection is the Gladstone plate (circa 1887-91)

Though Gladstone himself was high Anglican he had many Roman Catholic friends – a fact often used against him in politics. In 1847 Gladstone voted for the admission of Jews to the British parliament, an act of considerable courage at the time. Ironically the man who later became his greatest opponent and rival, and the favourite of Queen Victoria was a Jew, Benjamin Disraeli. Gladstone and Disraeli dominated British politics throughout the latter half of Queen Victoria's reign.

Gladstone's career spanned many years and he was British prime minister four times over the periods 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94. Throughout he was a persistent instigator of both social and political reform, and worked to apply strict Christian principles to foreign and domestic affairs, with varying degrees of success. He was unsuccessful in his persistent attempts to obtain home rule for Ireland. (This is perhaps relevant when one remembers that Mary Shannon, Walter's wife, was an Irish Catholic from County Clare).

## GLADSTONE'S EARLY YEARS

Gladstone was born in Liverpool on December 29th 1809 of pure Scottish descent (the family name was originally Gledstanes). His father John was a leading merchant of the trading and slaving port of Liverpool and became a member of parliament. He died leaving an estate of £600,000.

Gladstone went to Eton where he had a relatively undistinguished career. However in 1831, at Christ Church, Oxford, he obtained first class results in classics and mathematics, and became a disciple of the conservative philosopher Edmund Burke. He married Catherine Glynn whose mother was William Pitt's first cousin. She was regarded as a woman of considerable charm, discretion and wit.

The son of the Duke of Newcastle, a school-friend of Gladstone's, persuaded his father to support Gladstone's election as a Tory to the parliamentary seat of Newark in 1832. This was the year that the Wigs enacted the parliamentary *Reform Bill*. In his early parliamentary career Gladstone was a Conservative with a strict Anglican philosophy. On consideration of Gladstone's father's background the Prime Minister, Robert Peel, appointed Gladstone to the position of vice-president of the Board of Trade which proved to be a very sound decision. Gladstone's attention to detail achieved a major simplification of tariffs and in the process he became more of a free trader than Peel himself. Over this period British industry was dependent upon international trade, largely based upon cotton and woollen fabrics produced by steam-driven mills. In this period approximately 13.5 thousand tons per annum of raw wool were imported from Australia, and 340 thousand tons of raw cotton were imported from other sources. While in this position Gladstone achieved much improved conditions for the London dock workers. In 1843, as a consequence of Gladstone's success in the executive position of vice-president, Peel invited him into his cabinet as the president of the Board of Trade.

A series of cabinet posts as a Conservative member followed.

## THE REMAINDER OF GLADSTONE'S CAREER

In 1845 Gladstone became Secretary of State for the colonies and, while in the Colonial Office, he was lead towards liberalism by consideration of the claims for self-government by the English speaking colonists. He was a member of cabinet when the Peel government repealed the restrictive *Corn Laws* in 1846. Unfortunately this was too late to alleviate the terrible consequences of the Irish/Scottish famines. (The famine in Ireland would have been a major factor in Mary Shannon's decision to migrate to Australia in 1854 - R. L. C.). He was also a member of cabinet when the Peel government enacted the *Public Health Act* of 1848 which had been much agitated for by the author Charles Dickens and others.

In 1852 Gladstone lead a brilliant attack on Disraeli's budget. This attack brought down Lord Derby's government. In the following year he installed a competitive civil service system and brought down a successful budget for Robert Peel's government. In 1859-60 the contributions of Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone were to assist in the unification of almost all of Italy.

In the early 1860's Gladstone consolidated his popularity with the working classes by creating the Post Office Savings Bank. In 1868 his government carried three resolutions for the disestablishment of the Protestant Church of Ireland. He became the undisputed leader of the Liberals and, when Disraeli resigned, Queen Victoria called upon him to form a government. As a consequence he formed and led a very competent cabinet. This government instigated significant reforms including the *Education Act* of 1870 and the *Ballot Act* of 1872.

Using his skills in argument in combination with his sincerity and eloquence Gladstone won re-election in 1880 by defeating the incumbent Conservative government on moral grounds, and in response to the persistence of Irish agitator Charles Stewart Parnell, introduced the *Irish Land Act* in 1881. The *Act* guaranteed fair rents, fixity of tenure and fair sale of land but, perhaps predictably, did not satisfy Parnell. In 1886 Gladstone was returned as prime-minister after Lords Carnarvon and Salisbury resigned over dissention on Irish home rule, but the Liberal party was divided over the issue, and lost the election called by Gladstone to resolve it. For the following six years Gladstone endeavoured to convince the electorate that Ireland should be granted home rule as an act of wisdom and justice. In 1892 a divided and weakened Liberal Party was again elected, and in 1895 the House of Commons carried the *Irish Home Rule Bill*. Unfortunately this legislation was rejected by the House of Lords. Gladstone resigned and died from cancer of the palate in 1898. Walter Adams' death, from a very similar cause, had occurred six years earlier.

(The details of events as described are largely derived from *Encyclopaedia Britannica* – 15th Edition.)

# Chapter 13

# Walter's First Year Speeches

## To the Queensland Legislative Assembly

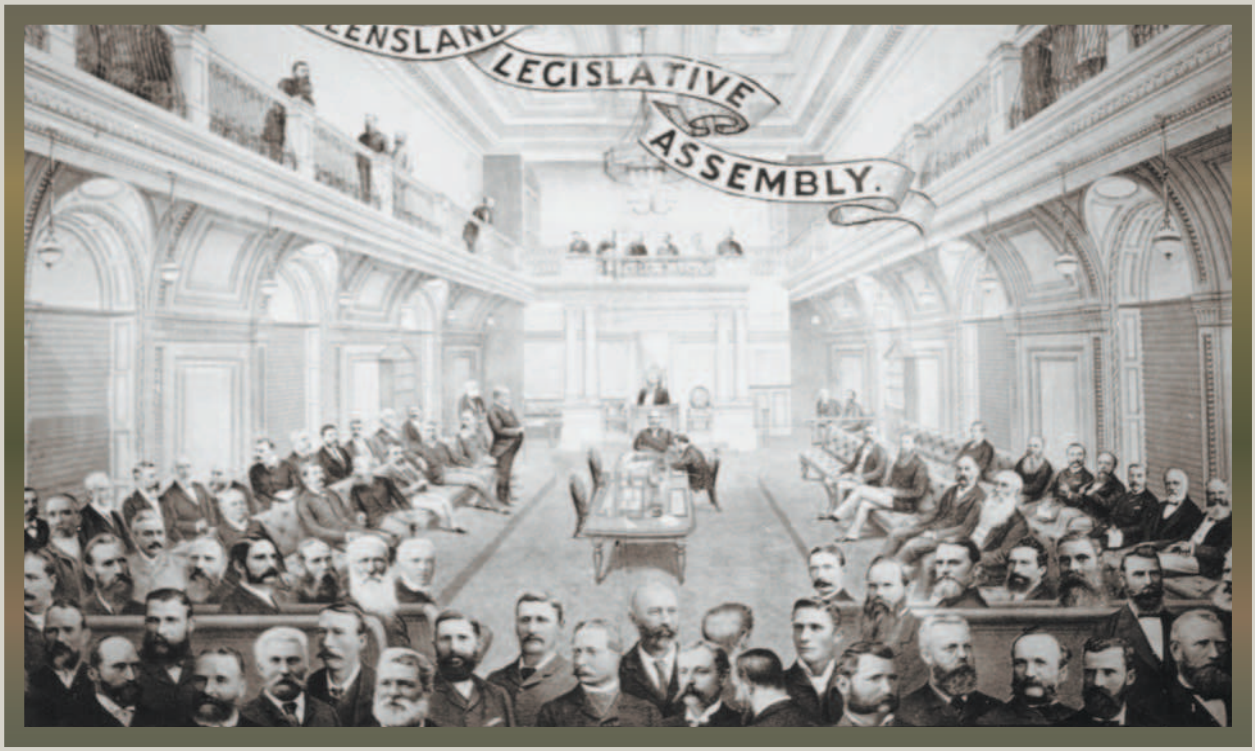
In June 1886 Walter was elected as the Conservative candidate for Mulgrave and in 1888 this electorate was divided at redistribution into the electorates of Bundaberg and Musgrave. Walter was elected unopposed as the first member for Bundaberg.

During Walter's absence from Bundaberg for Parliamentary attendance the management of the household fell, in large measure, into the very capable hands of his daughter Maria Emily (known variously to the family as Rix or in later years as Aunty Sis).

### Background Information

The material below derives from clippings (in small print – sometimes of only one to five lines and unsorted) contained in a worn, wicker-work folder found in an old steamer trunk. The texts involved were of Walter's speeches to the house in his first year in the Queensland Parliament and were obviously saved by a family member, probably Aunty Sis. The regional dialect (in this case that of

QUEENSLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CIRCA 1890




Walter is second from the left in the left side rear rank of the photograph

Somerset) of the settler of some thirty-six years is evident in Walter's presentations. The material has been reassembled for this presentation. (Any comments incorporated in the headings are my own – R. L. C.)

Whilst the speeches themselves are not of earth shaking import they do provide a window of understanding into the nature of issues and feelings that the citizens of the new colony considered to be of significance at the time.

Walter's books of the Queensland Parliament are still in my possession (and are a considerable loading on the floor joists). To date I have considered that Walter's speeches of his first year are probably more representative of his personal thoughts and feelings, a theory that I may revisit if time permits a thorough review of all of this reference material.

## RAILWAYS FOR THE BUSH

(Evidently related to a short section of line in the Brisbane – Ipswich area - R. L. C.) Mr. Adams said: Mr. Speaker as one of the new members, I rise to confirm the statement made by the hon. member for Blackall. I have complained on one or two occasions myself, that I have not been consulted upon matters of this kind. It was only on Tuesday – sometime during the day – that I asked if there was to be any meeting of members of this side of the House to discuss these matters, simply because I was not certain of it. I do not believe there was a meeting, and I can assure hon. members that I never have been asked since I have been in this House what position I was going to take up, or how I was going to vote. Therefore, every vote I have given in this House has been untrammelled, and according to my conscience. There is not the slightest doubt that the Colonial Treasurer would like to make a great deal of this matter. He would not like to see his hon. friend, the junior member for North Brisbane, saddled with the responsibility of expending the whole of this sum. Nevertheless, he does not mind saddling it upon the hon. gentleman who occupies the position of Chairman of Committees. That is quite plain enough, as he says that he cannot blame the Chairman of Committees for what he has done. I do not think there are many members who would blame him if he had done it in a different way. It was all right in committee; but it is the usual practice that, wherever there is a casting vote to be given, the Chairman invariably gives it with the lesser sum, if it is a money vote. The Chairman of Committees has sheltered himself behind the members of the Upper House, and says that he did not consider that he had given his casting vote in regard to a money question, for the simple reason that the money had been appropriated already. When we come to look at it in this way, that he did not consider it a money vote, I do not know what he could consider it. It has been said here that there is £175,000 put down for this piece of work of about two and a-half miles of railway, while I consider myself, and I daresay there are a number of other members who consider the same, that it will be of very slight benefit to a great number, for the simple reason that they can get trams and omnibuses within 500 yards on each side of the line or even half that distance, which will put them down anywhere they liked. When we come to consider that only £175,000 is put down for that piece of work, and the Chief Secretary acknowledged last night that it may cost £300,000, I think that may be regarded as an additional burden. So, according to his own showing, the Chairman ought to have acted according to the usual practice, and to have voted with the "Noes." I rose for the express purpose of confirming what the hon. member for Blackall has already stated. I, personally, have never been asked in what way I was going to vote. I do not wish to find fault with anybody in the House – I do not know what the general practice is – but I certainly think it

was my duty to point out, in respect to what the hon. Chairman of Committees has stated, that he did not consider the £175,000 was a money vote, as it had been already appropriated, that he really voted for the whole thing £300,000, and possibly, £500,000. I am perfectly satisfied that if that vote was carried to-morrow and the work was commenced, it would do much good to the unemployed at the present time. But the unemployed all over the colony would all flock together, and the very moment the work was finished they would clamour for more. And so I say, it is far better to carry on railways where people can settle on the land, rather than here where, when the job is done, they will only ask for more.

## RAILWAY BALLAST AND EXPERT ADVICE

Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, I must candidly confess that, as a young member of this House, I am greatly surprised. Hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House laugh: they laughed the other night when I was speaking but before I sat down they drew very long faces, and it is just possible they may draw long faces on the present occasion. I must say also - being a resident of Queensland even before it was called Queensland, and not having been out of it since it was Queensland - I have heard a great many things; but the strangest thing I ever heard has come from the hon. member for Cook, Mr. Hill. He does not appear to me to be seeking the interests of the colony generally - of the taxpayers; but he seems to me to be most terribly wroth about this contract of McSharry and O'Rouke's and against the hon. gentleman who on one occasion occupied the position of Minister for Works. Now, sir, I cannot make out for the life of me how it is that this thing is followed out. We are told, and I think the country believes, that the Chief Engineer, Mr. Stanley, recommended that this ballast should be taken over, as ballast had been taken over by Mr. Smith, at 15 per cent. less than cost price. Well, when a gentleman occupying that position comes in and tells the Minister for Works he is of opinion that that ballast should be taken over in such a way, I maintain the Minister for Works would not be doing his duty if he did not take the advice of that officer. The officer is supposed to know far more about that work than the Minister for Works does himself. I think, notwithstanding the aspersions the hon. member for Cook has tried to heap on the hon. gentleman, the country itself will believe what the hon. gentleman, the late Minister for Works, has said. I am perfectly satisfied that honesty of principle has been carried out, and I believe that if honesty of principle had been carried out in such a way by the present Ministry they would have no occasion to complain. I, therefore, am astonished to think that hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House should laugh or even say a word when the hon. gentleman rose to speak. I think myself he is heaping degradation upon himself and not upon this side of the House.

## PAYMENTS TO THE HON. MEMBERS

(How right he was – R. L. C.) Mr. ADAMS said that as a new member he would like to express his opinion on the Bill. It had been said by a member on the other side of the Committee, that although the Opposition members opposed the Bill for payment of members they were not too proud to receive pay. On looking round the Chamber he saw as many black-coated gentlemen on the Government side of the Committee as he did among those who sat in opposition, and he had not the slightest doubt that the former sought payment quite as much as members of the Opposition. Perhaps he might be one of the poorest members there, yet he intended to vote against the Bill, as he believed it would be the means of bringing in professional legislators or, if they liked to call them so, professional spouters. Many gentlemen in the colony had far more time at their disposal than agriculturists, and he was sorry to say that the agriculturists, who were the backbone of the colony, were not represented in that Chamber as they ought to be. Among agriculturists there were not many who had a slippery tongue, and some man who had, and who was a professional spouter, would go among them and get their confidence if payment of members was accepted. He believed that, if the Bill passed, it would not be a blessing but, on the contrary, a curse to the colony.

## RURAL PROPERTY SELECTION, AN AMENDMENT

(Three months and making his mark – R. L. C.) Mr. ADAMS said clause 13 provided that, "when a lessee of a holding becomes entitled under the provisions of the 73rd section of the principal Act to a deed of grant of the land in fee-simple, all sums of money which have been paid in respect of the rent of the holding for the ten years next preceding the time when he becomes so entitled shall be credited to him in part payment of the prescribed price," etc. He did not think that, because a man was not able to pay for a selection at the end of ten years, he should be compelled to pay an extra amount of rent. It would be greatly to the advantage, not only of the Treasury but the country generally, if the clause was modified in such a way that whatever rent a man paid during his tenure should be credited to him as part payment of the purchase money. If a man took up a selection, it did not matter whether it was 640 or 1,280 acres, and settled upon it, he was a useful colonist, and should be encouraged to keep it by being allowed whatever rent he paid to be taken as part of the purchase money. If the Minister for Lands would accept an amendment of that kind he would be enabled to settle far more people on the land than he would under the clause in its present form. He was sorry he

had been absent from the Committee, because while he was absent two clauses were passed in which he had intended to propose amendments.

Mr. ADAMS said that he had risen to speak before, but the Premier had got up at the same time. He had waited to hear his explanation, and other members had got up afterwards, and he went out disgusted. He was sorry to say that when he returned to the Chamber he found that two clauses had been passed in the meantime, upon which he had something to say. One thing was certain – that the clause, as it stood at present, allowed the Land Board to impose 50 per cent. upon the selector.

The CHAIRMAN: That is not the question before the Committee. Clause 13 is the clause before the Committee.

Mr. ADAMS said as mover of the amendment, he was sorry to see that the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government had lost his temper. He had been in the House for three months and he was perfectly convinced that hon. members would give him credit that he had never tried to ruffle the temper of any hon. gentleman in it. He did not bring forward the amendment with any such desire, but having had the experience he had had in the colony, he was quite as well able to judge as any lawyer what was beneficial for the general public, and especially for those who desired to settle upon the land. He had introduced the amendment, not only in the interests of his constituents but in the best interests of the colony generally and he was perfectly satisfied that if the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government knew as much about selection as he did, that he would give way on that point with a good grace and not show his temper.

Mr. ADAMS said he quite agreed with what fell from the Minister for Lands, that to allow a selector to take up another selection anywhere in the same district would be rather too much. He took it from the ruling of the Chairman the other night that if an amendment was lost the original motion would be put and another amendment could not be proposed on the clause. He therefore moved that the word "ten" in the 2nd line be omitted with the view of inserting the word "twenty." He was perfectly convinced, from seeing the country as he had seen it under its many aspects, that 20 miles would not be too great a distance.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. member that he cannot move that amendment unless the hon. member for Burke withdraws his amendment.

Mr. PALMER: With the view of having the amendment of the hon. member for Mulgrave tested, I will, with the permission of the Committee, withdraw my amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. ADAMS said he thought ten miles was not sufficient, and moved that the word "ten" be omitted, with the view of inserting the word "twenty".

Mr. ADAMS said if he were in order he would move an amendment after the one before the Committee was disposed of. He would ask the ruling of the Chairman whether, if the present amendment were lost, he could move another.

Mr. NORTON: Not in a preceding part of the clause.

Mr. ADAMS said if that were the case he would move his amendment at once. He would move that in the first portion of the clause – "when the lessee of an agricultural farm is the bona fide occupier of any country land situated at a distance not exceeding ten miles" – the word "ten" be omitted, and the word "twenty" be inserted in its place.

The CHAIRMAN: I may point out that the hon. gentleman is dealing with another clause. The Committee is considering the 2nd new clause.

Mr. ADAMS said that if the hon. member for Mackay would only look at the hon. member for Stanley he would see how he had borne the burden and heat of the day; he had been so long in the country that he had not a hair between his head and heaven. The hon. member for Stanley deserved a certain amount of credit; he did not bring in the amendment for his own purposes, but for the good of the colony. It was absolutely necessary that they should take into consideration that it was for the good of the colony, and he was perfectly satisfied that the hon. member would accomplish his purpose; and the consequence was that he would vote against the amendment of the hon. member for Stanley and for the amendment of the hon. member for Mackay:

Mr. ADAMS said there seemed to be an objection to the clause simply because the junior member for Stanley could not avail himself of it, but he did not think the hon. member ought to be considered at all. He thought the good of the country generally should be considered, and it was well known that there were numbers of pieces of land really not worth anything to any outsider. People who lived adjacent to those lands should be able to take them up, and consequently he thought the amendment a good one. He was not very much taken up with the *Land Act* of 1854, and agreed with the member for Mackay that it ought to be burnt. He thought it would be better to consign it to oblivion. Under the previous *Act* anyone wanting to select land knew exactly what he was going to select, and not only that, but he knew what he was going to pay. Under the present *Act* it appeared to him that not only did a man not know what he was going to pay for the selection, but he did not know what he was going to pay for the survey of the selection. Surveys under the present system very frequently cost about twice as much as under the previous *Act*. He held in his hand a letter he received some time ago from the Lands Department, which said:

> *Sir,*
>
> *Referring to Mr. Thomas Williams's letter forwarded to you on the 5th instant, relative to a demand for £3 12s. 7d. on account of extra survey fee on selection, as per margin, I have the honour to state that the sum charged is what the survey has cost the Government.*
>
> *The amount now demanded is the difference between the money paid at date of application £6 14s 0d and the actual cost £10 6s 7d:*

Now, under the previous *Act* the selector always knew the cost of survey, but under the present

*Act* he did not. He had been advised, and the Minister for Lands had also been advised, that that selection had been surveyed on two sides, and the consequence was that in place of paying in accordance with the schedule the owner had to pay £3 12s. 7d. more. So much for the *Land Act*. With regard to the amendment of the junior member for Stanley, he considered it one that would be a benefit to the country generally, in as much as there were parcels of land now lying utterly useless, which would be utilised by those in possession of adjacent land. He should be most happy to support the amendment.

## SEED CORN AND THE COLONIAL SECRETARY

(Not one of Walter's chums – R. L. C.) Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, – I can only repeat that the Colonial Secretary distinctly said to me in his office that he could not supply the corn to agricultural societies; he must supply it to the persons who made the application. I beg leave to withdraw the motion.

Motion for adjournment.

## AND ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN SEED CORN

Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, - I have a few remarks to make, and I will conclude with the usual motion for the adjournment of the House. The remarks I am about to make have reference to a statement made in this House on the 11th August by the Colonial Secretary. I may as well read that statement first. In reply to myself, the Colonial Secretary said, "In reply to the hon. member, I may say that Mr. Hogan's name came down for seed corn, and that gentleman said he applied for himself and others."

I have known the hon. gentleman for many years, and I am perfectly satisfied, and my constituents are also perfectly satisfied, that he would never have made that statement if he had not believed it to be true. The hon. member must have believed the statement was true when he made it, but the moment Hansard got as far as Bundaberg I received an urgent telegram to this effect, "Mr. Hogan applied for seed maize as secretary for association and did not say a word about himself and others. Copy of letter posted."

I should not have called the attention of the House to this subject had I not been requested to do so by several of my constituents. The moment they saw the statement I refer to they thought it might, perhaps, injure the gentleman holding the position of secretary to that society, as it might be thought that he made the error,

and not the hon. gentleman. I will read the letter applying for the maize; it is dated May 21st 1886, and is as follows:

> *Sir – I am directed by resolution, passed at a committee meeting of the Mulgrave Pastoral, Agricultural, and Horticultural Society, held yesterday, to apply for a quantity of the seed maize at the disposal of the Government, and which will arrive shortly from America. This is an extensive maize-growing district, and already a large number of applications have been received here from the farmers by the society to procure some of it.*

It will be seen that there was not one word about Hogan and others; he has just sent the resolution as it was passed. As I said before, I do not wish the Colonial Secretary to believe that I myself or my constituents think he would make such a statement unless he believed it was a positive fact. With these few remarks, sir, I move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, – I will take advantage of the motion for adjournment to say a few words on the subject. People are, I think, only too glad to get a supply of the seed, and are quite willing to pay for it. But there is one matter that ought not to be overlooked. There is a great number of agricultural societies in the colony, and I believe that many have applied for some of this seed corn for distribution among the farmers. I think that if there are thirty bushels of corn left over after supplying the applicants whose names are on the list, it would be a wise thing for the Colonial Secretary to forward it to some of the agricultural societies of the colony for distribution. I know that the secretary of the Bundaberg society was instructed to make application for a supply, and when I called at the Colonial Secretary's Office the other day I was informed that his application would be taken as that of a private individual, although he represents about 200 persons. I think the officers of such societies are far more likely than the Minister to know who are bona fide farmers, and I hope the hon. gentleman will accept my suggestion.

Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, – I crave the permission of the House to make an explanation. I called at the office of the Colonial Secretary the other day, and on reading through the names of the applicants for the seed the Colonial Secretary distinctly stated that Mr. Hogan's name was down as a private individual, and I then pointed out that he was the secretary of the agricultural society at Bundaberg.

## LOCK* HOSPITALS AND FUNDS FOR THE BUNDABERG HOSPITAL

(Do times really change?) Mr. ADAMS said that to test the feeling of the Committee he moved that the vote for lock hospitals be reduced by £1,000.

Mr. ADAMS said that before coming to the House he had heard a great deal of Mr. W. Brookes, but he now found that he was a gentleman intoxicated with his own verbosity.

Possibly he might be wrong, but he thought he was able to grasp a small matter in a few hours' debate, as well as that hon. gentleman. No doubt the hon. member might be a great man standing on the floor of the House for the time he had done. But he (Mr. Adams) had not the slightest doubt that some people had got common sense as well as that hon. gentleman, and he could not see why they should debate for six hours at a stretch, and after the whole thing had been carried by the casting vote of the Speaker, that it should not be taken notice of. He had taken notice of it, and he asked why they should want £l,600 if the *Act* was to be abolished? It was time the public should know that no action was to be taken on this matter. He had seen within the last two days that 1,200 Hansards had been sent out by clergymen and others showing that the *Act* was to be abolished. That might do a great deal of good, so far as he knew. He did not know that there was much evil in it unless to those who thought evil. He was satisfied that there was not evil in many things read unless the people who read them were evil themselves: But if the *Act* was to be abolished, why should they want £1,600 for the lock hospital?

Mr. ADAMS said the hon. member for South Brisbane (Mr. Jordan) seems to have lost a great deal of his energy. Although he had advocated the abolition of the *Contagious Diseases Act* for a couple of hours the other night, and had carried his motion on a division by the casting vote of the Speaker, yet he was allowing the Government to ask for £1,600 for lock hospitals, just as if his motion had never been passed.

Mr. ADAMS said he saw there was £150 down for the Bundaberg Hospital, and he would like to ask if it was the same amount as last year.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Yes.

Mr. ADAMS said he had been snubbed on one occasion before by the Colonial Secretary, and he did not wish to be snubbed again by him. He had risen simply to say that the amount for the hospital at Bundaberg should be supplemented, for the reason that Bundaberg, being a seaport town, a great many persons come down from the north for accommodation, and many of them were unable to pay a solitary penny towards their maintenance. He might say also that he had, as a member of the committee, applied on several occasions to have people received at Dunwich, but they would not be received, on the ground that there was not sufficient accommodation for them at Dunwich. The consequence was they had to maintain them in the hospital out of charity, and to draw on other funds to maintain them. He had asked on several occasions that the sum voted for Bundaberg should be supplemented, so that they might be able to maintain those people without unnecessarily fleecing the subscribers to the hospital. He hoped the Colonial Secretary would see his way to granting something more than was at present granted to that hospital.

Mr. ADAMS said the hon. member was perfectly right in saying that people came all the way from Bundaberg to the Brisbane Hospital but any person who came down from Bundaberg had to get a cheque for £3 to pay for admission, besides which the Bundaberg people paid the steamer fare. It was perfectly true that patients would come to Brisbane from Bundaberg, but the people there were generous enough to give each of them a cheque for £3 to ensure their admission into the hospital. Perhaps some hon. members might be surprised to hear that sick people from the North often went into the

Bundaberg Hospital, and they were not admitted as persons paid for by the Government, but by tickets from subscribers. The Brisbane Hospital received £1,000 where other similar institutions in the country received £50. He did not see why Brisbane should be so unduly favoured. Equal justice should be done to all, or if any exception was made it should be made in favour of the seaport towns, where people were constantly coming by sea, and were they often fell ill and had to throw themselves upon the charity of the people. He was happy to say that the country people were charitable, subscribed liberally to their local institutions, and were able to give the poor patients a ticket of admission to the hospital without calling upon them to pay for it.

Mr. ADAMS said the Chief Secretary had told them the money had to come out of the Treasury. Well, if there was to be a general fleecing of the Treasury, the country hospitals had as good a right to fleece it as the Brisbane Hospital. If the pauper patients in Brisbane were paid for, the same should be done in the country. There was, no doubt, something in what the hon. gentleman said about all the patients being admitted on the police magistrate's order, if they were paid for by the Government; but it must be remembered that the subscribers to an institution had a certain amount of pride in being able to give a ticket now and again, and that pride would be sufficient to induce them to give a ticket to a suffering neighbour rather than allow him to go to the police magistrate for one. But he did think what was sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander – what was given to the Brisbane institution should be given to the institutions generally

(NOTE: *Lock Hospitals are now referred to as Quarantine Stations. They were reserved for patients with transmissable diseases that were incurable at the time.)

## THE CAIRNS POST-MASTER'S SALARY

Mr. ADAMS asked what the postmaster at Cairns received for his services.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: £6 per annum.

Mr. ADAMS said that was not enough to pay rent for a box to keep the letters dry.

The PREMIER: He can resign and somebody else will take it.

Mr. ADAMS said there were other patriotic men in the colony as well as the Premier, and he had no doubt the gentleman who held the office would do the work without remuneration for the purpose of serving his neighbors. Many persons would do that rather than see people walk miles and miles for their letters. But if they were to be remunerated for their services they should get sufficient remuneration. He hoped that before next year the Postmaster-General would see fit to remunerate the man, at any rate, sufficiently to keep a house over his head, if he did not remunerate him for the services he rendered.

## TAX PAYERS' MONEY

Mr. ADAMS said Mr. Speaker, – I should be glad if the hon. the Chief Secretary could see his way clear to grant leave of absence in this case. It is a well-known fact that Mr. Morehead is now on his way back to the colony, and I think, if there was nothing else that should induce hon. members to grant this application, the interests of the taxpayers of the colony should do so. The Chief Secretary may smile, but I maintain that the interests of the taxpayers of the colony ought to be considered on this occasion as well as they were in the beginning of the session, when extra taxation was placed upon them. We know, sir, that no election can be conducted without expense to the Government; and taking into consideration that Mr. Morehead is on his way home, and will be in his place next session, I think leave of absence should be granted. The expense of another election, no matter how small it may be, should be considered, and I appeal to hon. members opposite, who have the interests of the taxpayers at heart, to consent to granting this application. If it is to be a precedent, let it be a precedent. The *Act* and the *Standing Orders* give power to grant leave of absence, and in the interests of the taxpayers I think it ought to be granted in this case.

## GOLD MINING AND SHORT NOTICE

(A complaint still relevant and a family weakness, recurring through generations, for losing money in gold mines. These are often, as Mark Twain so shrewdly observed, "Holes in the ground surrounded by liars." His daughter Ellen's will allowed her trustees almost complete discretion – but not the discretion to invest in gold mines – R. L. C.)

Mr. ADAMS said he was personally interested in gold-mining matters, and had frequently had calls* sent to him fourteen days after they were actually due. He therefore thought it would be wise for the Committee to give the question thorough consideration, and say whether it would not be better to allow a day or two more than a day or two less.

*(NOTE: Presumably to raise finance for further exploration or development by the issue of additional shares – R. L. C. )

## SUBSIDISED HEALTH

Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, I for one deeply regret the introduction of this Bill at the present time. The *Health Act* of 1884, as we are all aware, was one of those which gave the Premier such a grand name. It was held up as being one of the best pieces of legislation that ever were formulated in any of the Australian colonies. It was looked upon by municipal bodies as a measure calculated to do a vast amount of good, and it must be evident to all who have read the various local papers and the returns that have been laid on the table, that it has done a vast amount of good in diminishing the death-rate. It would have been well, therefore, if the hon. gentleman, at any rate, had delayed the introduction of this Bill for a time, until the colony got a little older. Some reference has been made to what the Premier said when he introduced the *Health Act* of 1884. I remember reading those remarks at the time, and feeling extremely proud to think we had a gentleman of such ability and able to see so far ahead at the head of the Government. One remark the hon. gentleman made when moving the second reading of that *Bill* was this:-

"I consider, sir, that it would certainly be worth our while to spend a little money and a great deal of attention to preserve the lives of people in the colony, considering that we willingly spend so much to bring them, here."

Now, it appears, as though we are still spending as much as ever in bringing people to the colony the *Act* which was made to preserve their lives is to be wiped out, and they are to be left to their own resources. If we want to preserve the health of those people whom we bring to the colony, it would be better to curtail their number than not to look after their health at all. Do not let them die out. While that Bill was going through committee, the Speaker, who, I presume, must have been on the floor of the House, said:

"No mention was made in the clause with regard to the amount of the rate that the municipal council might levy. Municipalities were very heavily taxed as it was just now; what with the general rates, water rates, lighting rates, and loan rates, they were very heavily taxed indeed. That clause would place a very great power in the hands of local authorities."

We have seen since that the local authorities have a great power; but they ought to have been informed at the time that it was not the intention of the Government to leave that *Act* in force, although no doubt they have been forced to pursue their present course owing to the Colonial Treasurer, in consequence of his deficit, wanting all the money he can lay his hands upon. I was always given to understand that the present Government was legislating for the many and not for the few; and now, although the many have to pay their share of the taxes, their health is no longer to be looked after. It would be far better to give the *Act* a somewhat longer trial. With regard to the endowment, I think it ought to be paid up to July next instead of January, because the Government has never, to my knowledge, paid the endowment upon any rate until six months after it was due. I believe the *Bill* is a mistake altogether, and, in the interest of my constituents, I am bound to vote against it.

## ABORIGINIES, LAUDANUM* AND WALTER'S HORSE

Mr. ADAMS said: Mr. Speaker, It seems to be the opinion of members on both sides of the House that the *Bill* hardly goes far enough. When it comes to blacks being so abused by Europeans, and (with) young boys just came to the country adopting the vice, something should be done to stop it. But the objection to the Bill, Mr. Speaker, is with reference to laudanum. It says, "The term `opium means and includes opium, laudanum, or any preparation of either." Now, sir, it is absolutely necessary to keep laudanum on a station; in fact it is necessary to be kept by any person skilled with horses. I keep five or six ounces in my own house at a time, and many a time I have used the whole of that before I could get another bottle. I think the *Bill* ought to define how much laudanum should be kept; four ounces is not sufficient. Sometimes a man might have to travel a very long distance to get this valuable drug in cases of illness, and the patient might die before he returns, and in that case the cure would be worse than the disease. The other objection I have to this *Bill* is that the police can go into any dwelling between the hours of 6 in the morning and 12 at night. Take, for instance, a person with a grudge against another. It would be easy for him to make a very grand statement before a magistrate that he believed this drug was kept in a certain habitation, though he might know when making the oath that the thing was not so. Now, it would be very hard for a family to be disturbed in the small hours of the morning, or the middle of the night, by the police making a search. I think it would be wise to alter that, and say not later than 10. Even that is bad enough: 12 o'clock is, I think, out of the way altogether. I shall support the Bill going into committee.

*(NOTE: Laudanum - A socially acceptable opiate, said to be extensively used by ladies of the day who were experiencing the "vapours" – a fairly frequent occurrence at the time going by contemporary accounts: never had the opportunity to try laudanum on my own horse – R. L. C.)

## UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

Mr. ADAMS said he saw one difficulty in the clause to which he would call attention. In a place like this colony, where people went about from place to place seeking for employment, how were they to be asked to report themselves to the commissioner of police? They might have to go a very considerable distance to do it, as they might not be able to write. They should, he thought, be allowed to report by a marksman, or else be allowed to report to a justice of the peace.

## DEMOCRACY

Mr. ADAMS said that the clause would allow great power to the minority of a board. The 2nd paragraph provided that, "every such meeting shall be public, and all questions shall be decided by a majority present, and a quorum shall comprise not less than two members, nor less than one-third of the whole number of members for the time being." If there were only one or two or even three divisions or municipalities represented on a joint local authority, and there were only two members from each, when it happened that there were only two members present they could do just as they liked, as they would constitute one-third of the whole number, and they would be able to "pile on the agony" with reference to business to any extent. He would therefore move that the words, "two members, nor less than one-third" be omitted with the view of inserting the word "majority."

## CONDITIONS OF RURAL LEASES

In clause 236 – "Terms of lease", Mr. ADAMS said that on the second reading of the *Bill* he had pointed out to the Chief Secretary that the board might take-possession and have the power of leasing the land for a term not exceeding seven years; and he had also pointed out that isolated places where people allowed their rates to get into arrears were just the places where they could not get anyone to lease land for seven years. If the lease were extended to fourteen years, it would make people more anxious to pay their rates. He moved that the word "seven" be omitted with the view of inserting; "fourteen."

Mr. ADAMS said he knew that where a property changed owners the name of the purchaser was put on the rate-book. It was certain that the board had power to alter the rate, but the 2nd paragraph of the clause provided the same right of appeal from any alteration in the rate-book as from a valuation, and that the party should receive thirty days' notice of the alteration before the rate, should be payable by him.

Mr. ADAMS said he would remind hon. members that in some cases it was necessary to act promptly. He had twice been a mayor under the *Local Government Act*, and during his term of office there were several cases where tenants were about to leave premises while they were heavily in debt for rates. He had in those cases to issue his warrant instanter, or they would have cleared out, and the landlord would have had to pay the rates. Therefore the first part of the clause did not give the chairman too much power. He knew it was the usual thing, where it was possible, that a resolution should be arrived at by the council or board before extreme measures were resorted to.

Mr. ADAMS said he merely wished to point out that possibly 10 per cent. was not too much. If

a board did not require so much they could go lower, and if they wanted more it could go as high as 10 per cent. It would be all that was necessary if the minimum were reduced to 5 per cent., because if a board did not require more than 5 per cent. upon improved lands it could then tax at 5 per cent. But at present if a board did not want more than 5 per cent., and the minimum was placed at 8 per cent., the public would be taxed when taxation to that extent was not required at all. If the Premier would make it not less than 5 per cent., and not more than 10 per cent., it would be sufficient.

Mr. ADAMS said he would like more information. He supposed country lands would be, say four or five miles from a town, or where population was not very thick. Now, a plantation had to be fenced before a crop could be grown, and it was then fully improved without machinery at all. When they took into consideration that the machinery might cost £50,000 to £70,000, or even £100,000, it would be very hard on the owner to tax that sum. It was not spent for his own benefit, but for that of the whole country side. He would like to know whether it was intended that that machinery should be taxed.

Mr. ADAMS could only say that, after an experience of twenty-one years, this was the only clause of the whole *Act* that required to be amended. He had been requested to get it altered, and if the *Local Government Act* was going to be amended he should endeavour to get it done. It had been the bane of municipalities, and it would be a bane to the boards.

## ADVERTISING LAND SALES

Mr. ADAMS said no doubt, as far as Brisbane and provincial towns were concerned, posters might do very well, but he thought that in addition to posting them in the locality they should put them on the back of the Crown lands ranger, and let him ride all round the country, so that the people might see when and where the sale was to take place. People who lived in towns were not the only persons who wished to purchase land; it was generally those who lived in the country who desired to do so. He had called attention to that once before in that House. The practice in the outside districts was to insert a short advertisement stating that a land sale would take place on a certain day, and that particulars would be found in the *Government Gazette* of a certain date; but it was not everybody in those districts who could see the *Gazette*. They had not the same facilities as people living in Brisbane or other towns, who had only to go to the Land Office to get the required information. And yet some people travelled 40, 50, and even 100 miles to purchase land at Government sales. A short time before he came to the House a land sale was advertised at Bundaberg; a short notice appeared saying particulars would be found in the *Government Gazette*. There were no posters – not even on the back of the Crown lands ranger – and the consequence was that very few people attended the sale. He knew that several people, who did not purchase land at that sale, would have done

so had it been fully advertised. He was perfectly convinced that the Government, in place of saving money by keeping advertisements out of the local papers, lost a great deal more than the cost of the advertisements by the low price obtained for the land.

## ON SUGAR AND TIMBER MILLS

*Mr. ADAMS said before the Minister for Lands replied he should like to say a word or two. There could be no doubt that the present regulations were most harassing to the timber trade. At the present time timber-getters cut their timber and paid the royalty, but the timber laid on the ground for frequently a long time, as they would not take it to the mills. It might be urged that the timber-cutters were too numerous, but that was not the case. In many mills, when they were cutting soft timber, the mill-owners would not take hardwood, and the consequence was that they would not advance the money to pay the royalty until they were prepared to take the timber. It would be better for the mill-owners and for the men if a heavier license were imposed in place of the royalty. He trusted the Minister for Lands would consider the matter; and if possible remove the royalty.

Mr. ADAMS asked if mining machinery was taxed.

The PREMIER: That is exempted altogether.

Mr. ADAMS said that the machinery of a sugar-mill or a saw-mill was absolutely necessary to perform the work for which it was used, just as a carpenter's tools were necessary for him to perform his work.

(*Walter's plantation had a small mill, and his son-in-law Tom Riedy (and for a time his son James) was a timber getter and hauler. The installation of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's mills and equipment in North Queensland was heavily taxed by the Queensland Government: a curious act for a state that required development. Does this strike a familiar chord? R. L. C.)

## ON BUILDING SOCIETIES AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Mr. ADAMS said it would be very unwise to leave the latter part of the clause out. He knew that societies were sometimes got at. He knew of one instance in which money was going to be lent on a property, and a fortnight after the owner went insolvent. If the society had closed the transaction then that man would have defrauded his creditors. He believed that in a number of societies the rules were such that if depreciation took place in any way, and the security was not sufficient, the society could foreclose at any time. Now, if a society was going

to foreclose upon a, person, and he did not wish to lose his property, if he had other security elsewhere, no doubt he would be able to raise money from someone else to pay off sufficient to prevent the society from foreclosing. Therefore he thought it would be very unwise to give such a power as that referred to.

Mr. PATTISON said he did not know what the law was now, but the custom certainly was for married women to be large shareholders in building societies.

Mr. ADAMS said he thought the amendment was a very good one indeed. According to the rules of his society, as soon as a female got married she had to transfer her shares to her husband*. Several attempts had been made to alter that rule, but without effect.

(*Presumably one consequence of this particular amendment was to override this forced transfer rule, an objective that had evidently eluded Walter in past efforts outside the House.)

Mr. ADAMS said he thought the hon. gentleman who moved the amendment could have had very little to do with the working of building societies or he would withdraw his amendment. He (Mr. Adams) had assisted in working building societies, and had always found that there were some persons who were discontented. It would be easy for such persons to get a roll-up, and the consequence would be that the directorate would be put to a great deal of trouble and considerable expense. Whatever building societies he had been connected with had always considered that there should be not less than a two-thirds majority to alter any rule. It would be very undesirable to leave the words out.

## ON PUBLICANS

(An area of family participation; though Walter himself had ceased to be a hotel proprietor by this time – R. L. C.) Mr. ADAMS thought the hon. gentleman who had just sat down had hardly proved his case. He wanted to make it appear that publicans were, as a class, men of common sense, and yet that they would not engage men as contractors unless these men got drunk on their premises and spent all the money they had made out of their contracts. But he could assure the Committee that publicans would not engage men who were getting continuously drunk. As a general rule the publicans wanted sober men to do their work as much as other people. The hon. gentleman also said that there were publicans who were bad men. He was aware that there had been publicans in the early days of the colony who were no better than they ought to be. It is just possible that publicans, even in this present day, who were no better than they ought to be, but he could safely say there were other men who were no better than they ought to be. The gentlemen on the other side might be blue-ribbon men, but if they were they would know that it was always advisable to get the best men they could to hold publicans' licenses –

men who would not sell a man any more liquor when they saw he had already enough aboard. Hon. members might say he spoke in that way because he was a publican himself. He was a publican when he entered the House, but he was not a publican now, though he considered himself just as good a man when he entered the House as he was now. They were agreed that a man must have a character as a good member of society he must be a sensible man, and a man of tact before he got a license; but the moment that man got his license from the bench that moment he became a blackguard in the terms of the *Act*, because the *Act* distinctly told him that before he became a publican he could be a member of the board, but when he became a publican he was debarred. Another thing, many publicans had a large stake in the district in which they lived. They might have twenty or thirty allotments, and they would reasonably like to be able to protect their own interests, and yet they could not become members of the board, though the next man who simply rented a house at so much a year, who had no interest in the district, and who might be a sly grog-seller, could be a member of the board. He hoped both sides of the House would take the matter into consideration, and unite to wipe that slur upon the publicans off the Statute-book altogether and give them equal privileges with other persons.

Mr. ADAMS said he would support the amendment of the leader of the Opposition. The publicans were as respectable as any other class in the community, and he believed they were very much maligned. There was a class of men on some of the divisional boards about whom he knew this – that unless a man got on their books and owed them money, he would never get a job from those boards. Seeing that no money was to be paid in public-houses, he did not see why the publican should be disqualified; and as the question did not affect the *Bill*, he hoped hon. members on both sides would support the amendment.

## ON RATES AND VOTING RIGHTS

Mr. ADAMS said he noticed the difficulty pointed out by the hon. gentleman who had just sat down. But there was another difficulty. There were a number of individuals who lived in the country districts who might have five, six, or seven different properties, and who were naturally supposed to pay up the whole of the rates on these properties. They might have been furnished with notices or a list by the town clerk, or the divisional board clerk, and have paid accordingly. But suppose they came in, sometimes twenty or thirty miles, to record their votes, and found that they had not got a vote at all, for the simple reason that one of the properties had been missed. Under the old Municipalities Act any man could vote if he came in and paid up his rates before voting, and that worked very well. Now they had a sort of a roll to make up, but they had also the rate-book to go to. He thought that if any man came in and paid his rates to the rate collector, the collector should give him a receipt, and that receipt might

be handed to the poll-clerk, allowing that he was entitled to vote. He thought the difficulty might be got over in that way, and allow any man who wished to vote to have a vote, if he had paid up on the day of election. It would be a great boon to boards in country districts, because they would get a larger sum in rates than they would get in any other way. At the present time, under the *Local Government Act*, a roll was made out. At any rate, he believed the rate collector should be in his office at any time he was wanted to take the rates. Sometimes it happened that a vote was of some consideration. For instance, a certain portion of the people wanted a certain person to represent a certain, part of the district; there might be a resident of another part standing against him – a man whom those people did not want to get in – and he could assure hon. members that in such a case people would go long distances to pay up their rates for the express purpose of being able to vote for the person they thought it best to put in. He thought it would be far wiser to allow the people to pay up, even on the very last day.

## ON VOTE RIGGING

Mr. ADAMS said he had no intention of prolonging the discussion, but he would point out that he had known cases in which two neighbours had submitted their papers to one another for verification, and if they had to get another witness to their signatures they would have had to travel two or three miles. There appeared to be a number of bad people down here, and if they really wished to take away the ballot-papers in blank form they could score out the names and take the papers with them. His only object in drawing attention to the question was to make the ballot as secret as possible

Mr. ADAMS said there was another way of looking at it. Any persons who took a blank voting-paper in that way were punishable by the Act.

The PREMIER: You have to catch them first.

Mr. ADAMS said he maintained that there was no secrecy preserved if voting was carried out in the way the clause provided. On *Clause 95*, as follows:

> *The voter shall strike out from the voting-paper the name of every candidate for whom he does not wish to vote, and shall then sign such paper in the presence of some other voter for the same division, or of a justice of the peace. He shall then place the voting-paper in a closed envelope addressed to the returning officer at the place of nomination, and endorsed, 'Voting-paper, Division of … ,' and shall transmit the same by post, and any post letter so endorsed shall be transmitted post free, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.*

Mr. ADAMS said he had called attention to this clause on the second reading of the Bill. There had been a great deal said about voting as near as possible by ballot. Here it said that:

> *The voter shall strike out from the voting-paper the name of every candidate for whom he does*

*not wish to vote, and shall then sign such paper in the presence of some other voter for the same division.*

On the second reading he had requested the Premier to see whether it would not be advisable to turn that part of the clause right round, so as to make the voter sign the paper first, and after he signed to strike out the name of the candidate he did not wish to vote for. He had seen the difficulty himself, and he knew that many would be glad to see the man sign his name before he struck out the candidate's name.

Mr. ADAMS said if returning officers said such outrageous things as had been stated the penalty contained in the 2nd paragraph of clause 86 would apply to them:

*Every returning officer, presiding officer, poll clerk, or scrutineer who attempts to ascertain or discover, or directly or indirectly aids in ascertaining or discovering the person for whom any vote is given, except in the case of a person voting openly, or who having in the exercise of his office obtained knowledge of the person for whom any voter has voted, discloses such knowledge unless in answer to some question put in the course of proceeding before some competent tribunal; and*

*Every returning officer, presiding officer, poll clerk, or scrutineer who places upon any ballot-paper any mark or writing not authorised by this Act shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and on conviction shall be liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour.*

He did not think that any man that would be elected to a position on the board or a chairman of a board would lay himself open to such a penalty. He considered that to take the responsibility out of the hands of the board, or its chairman, would be a very great slur indeed.

## BYLAWS

Mr. ADAMS said it was well known that by-laws had been abused in many instances, and they might be abused again. He thought it was better that they should not give people a chance of abusing them.

## VEHICLE LICENCES

Mr. ADAMS said he noticed that paragraph 3 rendered vehicles of every description in a municipality liable to pay a license. That would be very hard on men living a few miles away and who were compelled to drive into town. He would suggest the insertion of the words, "plying for hire," after "all vehicles".

The PREMIER said it might, but the probability was so remote that he did not propose to alter

the law on the subject at the present time.

Mr: ADAMS said he intended to move an amendment on the 3rd subsection, for it would act very harshly indeed on small farmers who came into town to deliver produce. He moved that the word "used" in the 1st. line be omitted, for the purpose of inserting the words "plying for hire."

The PREMIER said he could not agree to the amendment, for the reasons just now given.

## ON PLANTATION LABOUR

Mr. ADAMS said : Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to say anything on this matter, as I believe it is the desire of hon. members to get on with the business of the country instead of occupying time by frequent motions for adjournment ; but on hearing the remarks of the hon. gentleman who has just sat down I cannot help thinking that the unemployed will have a perfect right to say, "Save me from my friends". That hon. member, I must say, is a perfect fanatic and will do far more injury to the working men of this colony than he will ever do them good, judging from the nonsense we hear from him occasionally. The hon. member says that if the planters were not to employ coloured labour there would be any amount of employment for the working classes of the colony. I am almost surprised that the hon. member is not a planter; he seems to know a great deal about it, and one would imagine from his remarks that there are tremendous profits made by working plantations with coloured labour. If the hon. member would only look a little further into the question he would see that if it were not for the black labour there would be no planters. I saw that it had been stated the other day, at a meeting of the unemployed, that they distinctly declared they would not accept 15s., 18s., or 20s. a week. Would the hon. gentleman like to employ a man at 20s. a week who only earned for him 18s.? It is not possible in the present state of the labour market to grow sugar with white labour, because white labour is not reliable. The moment they became dissatisfied from any cause, the white labourers would leave the planter in the lurch, and the whole of his crop of sugar might perish for all they cared. We want labour that we can rely upon, and we give the preference to black labour because we can rely upon it. To show how beneficial planting has been to the colony, I will mention one or two instances that have occurred in my own neighbourhood. On our estate of 500 or 600 acres of land which formerly supported two men, two women, and one child, the gentleman who now holds it is paying £45 a day in wages alone. That is sugar-planting; and I can assure the hon. member that nearly three-fourths of that goes to white people. Another place is paying, to my knowledge, £400 a month, and another £350 a month in wages in that district; and the population of the district has increased, as may be seen from the census returns, from 900 to more than 9,000 - and all through sugar-planting. In a new country like this, it must be admitted that working men, as well as other people, will have to put up with difficulties, and when stagnation occurs they ought to assist in bearing the burden as well as those who have been here before them.




No. 669 Parish of Electra

Reg. No. _____ District of Bundaberg

Surveyed by A. F. Fraw

# Part 5

AROUND THE WORLD IN

A RATHER SHORT TIME

Or

A Visit To England, Ireland, Scotland,
Oceania and Other in the years
leading up to the establishment
of Bundaberg.

# Chapter 14

# Introduction to Around the World

Having considered the situation in the Bundaberg of colonial Queensland in and about the 1870's the question arises – why would people leave their home countries (voluntarily or involuntarily) – to settle in a location that they would have known little, or more likely nothing, about? Or, to put the question in another way, who would prefer to settle in an undeveloped patch of open eucalypt forest on the south bank of the Burnett River one hundred miles from nowhere with no existing telegraph, road or port access, rather than dwell back in the 'civilized' world of the time?

The answer to this question must lie in the conditions prevailing in the emigrant's country at the time in question, and in the availability of the technology necessary for the ocean transportation required to deliver the emigrants to the remote island continent of Australia. It should be remembered that colonial Australia did not exist in a vacuum and events in other parts of the world could, and did, have a profound effect upon the developing colony. Such events would include the promulgation and subsequent repeal of the British Corn Laws, the Irish/Scottish potato famine, the developments in steam power technology and the American civil war.

While a detailed history of the donor countries would not seem to be required, and could be downright tedious in this context, an understanding of the conditions prevailing in the relevant countries as they effected the general population, and in the events mainly responsible for producing these conditions, could be illuminating.

The intention of this section of the book is to order and meld fragmented data into a simple, compact presentation giving an association of relevant events capable of ready comprehension;

and further to present an everyman's view of the historical landscape in the immigrant's country of origin as it was at the time of, or not long before, Bundaberg's early development.

Inevitably the mention of many happenings of a significant and/or tumultuous nature will be omitted or glossed over in attaining the objective of brevity. To those interested there are many good references available that can provide much more detailed information on the events and personalities of the time.

# Chapter 15

# Continental Europe

## The Song has ended but the Melody Lingers on

In the second half of the 18th century an explosion in scientific experimentation and discovery took place throughout continental Europe and Britain, new chemical elements and compounds were identified and laws, such as those on thermodynamics, were derived and published. In Continental Europe the Napoleonic Wars were finalised, at the battle of Waterloo of 1815, and as a consequence the British naval blockade had been lifted. Maritime trade was resumed but in Britain the trade in foodstuff was now inhibited by the maintenance of legislation, collectively referred to as the *Corn Laws*, which were protective measures introduced in response to the English agriculturalists' concern that their high grain prices could not be maintained under peacetime conditions.

Britain was to pioneer the Industrial Revolution and, shortly after the period when its success had become most evident, British technology was being purchased by Continental firms and British engineers were busy selling their industrial skills into Europe. The German, Belgian and Russian industries even received government financial support to promote these new industries in their respective countries. Areas particularly affected were the Ruhr Valley of Germany and the long established industrialised area of Wallonia in Belgium.

Wallonia, with its coal mines to provide energy and coking materials, commenced industrial activity in in the Middle Ages. With its wool spinning and weaving, glass and weapons manufacturing industries it was to have considerable success in adopting

the British industrial model and, by the 1820's, had numerous blast furnaces with their accompanying puddling and rolling mills. The concentration of populations due to industrialisation, as in England, led to the formation of socialist parties and to the establishment of trade unions. In other European countries, such as France, the introduction of industrialisation followed a more gradual progression.

The potato blight arrived in Northern Europe in the mid-1840's with the areas most affected being those of Flanders and Prussia. Resultant deaths in Belgium were estimated to be from forty to fifty thousand people, in Germany about forty-two thousand and in France about ten thousand. These death rates were much lower than those recorded in Ireland, and to a lesser extent Scotland, where alternative food sources such as rye, wheat or oats were unavailable to the general population.

# Chapter 16

# England

## Not so merry

The acquisition of new scientific knowledge in the eighteenth century, most notably in the areas of mechanics and of thermodynamics, was soon to produce dramatic results, particularly in England where economic and industrial thinking was to be heavily influenced by the works of such intellectuals as Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and his major work *The Wealth of Nations* (1776); and of Jeremy Bentham, *Fragment on Government* (1776) and his, *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. In 1797 Sir James Pulteney M.P. was to observe, quite correctly, that Smith's work, "would persuade the current generation and govern the next" (J. Steven Watson).

The 18th century transition from feudal to industrial England did little to improve the conditions of the ordinary worker; however it did result in a significant increase of the general population. Depopulation of the rural areas of England, as a consequence of the agricultural revolution, had commenced during the Tudor period and, by Elizabethan times, the small capacity iron puddling furnaces were giving way to the much larger capacity blast furnaces needed to manufacture the military equipment of the age such as ship's cannon. The preconditions for the industrial revolution were evolving.

Harsh working conditions, such as long hours, an unhygienic working and living environment and child-labour, prevalent under the landlord based feudal system, were to carry on into the industrial age whilst in industry working hours were heavily influenced by the need to keep expensive plant and equipment in operation. However there was greater opportunity for employment of men, women and also children in the ever expanding number of factories and, in most cases, the mill owners could pay higher wages than could the landed gentry. A rising

middle class of industrialists, together with its business associates, was prospering and gaining ascendancy over those who relied upon land based wealth.

In earlier times, and even into the 19th century, mills were constructed to service the local populations. These early industrial mills were typically small in nature, powered by water-wheels and were utilised in such applications as the spinning of thread. These mills were to evolve into the much larger, steam-powered factories whose high chimneys, necessary to provide the strong updraft required by the industrial equipment, provided a lasting visual and mental image of the Industrial Revolution. By the mid 1700's material such as smelted brass was being converted into consumer products in factories that also provided worker accommodation.

The latter half of the 18th century England, driven largely by the application of the new scientific discoveries and by the advent of coal based steam power, experienced a veritable explosion in the application of inventions which were to have nation altering consequences. Industrial evolution also had its effect as, for example, the techniques necessary to produce barrels capable of giving accurate and reliable cannon fire could also be applied to the manufacture of cylinders for the assembly of effective and economical steam engines.

Over this period the rapid development of entirely new processes, and of equipment with the capacity to provide quality mass production in items of a highly tradable nature, occurred in such areas as:

- mechanised wool combing, spinning of non-brittle thread and the weaving, dying and printing of wool and cotton fabrics;
- steam power as applied to locomotion on the canals, macadamized roads and steel rails that were about to span the nation greatly facilitating the movement of coal, goods and people;
- metal processing, casting and machining;
- fabrication of major metal constructions such as very long span bridges (the Severn Bridge of 1776) and large ocean-going sail and/or steam ships (Brunel's *S.S. Great Eastern* of 1858); and
- mass production of high quality table crockery where England had a near monopoly.

In his widely read and influential publications Adam Smith, amongst other matters, postulated that governments should cease to impose restrictions on industry and commerce and leave individuals free to seek their own profit and that this private profit would then result in public wealth. The highly successful application of Smith's dictates to the industrial and commercial scene in England was owed, at least in part, to the stable conditions in the country at the time, and to the country's predictable business environment consequent upon the wide adoption of the Protestant business ethic. Without the general acceptance and implementation of such ethics in a relatively stable environment it is possible that the truly dramatic effects obtained by following Smith's recommendations could not have been achieved.

Rapid industrial development, in combination with the low level of government regulation in the new industries then largely devoid of parliamentary interference, provided the perfect environment for Britain's rapid expansion of influence and was to result in its becoming the world's greatest industrial power.

By the early 1800's there had evolved organisations, such as the Luddites who were totally opposed to industrialisation and who were prepared to go so far as to destroy factories and industrial equipment. They were reacting to the swift transition to industrialisation that was replacing the crafts, particularly in the weaving industries. Here an unskilled worker using dedicated machinery was considerably more productive than a qualified weaver. The Luddites (presumably named after a folklore character named Ned Ludd) began their attacks on the industrial infrastructure as early as 1811.

By the early 1800's the supply of raw cotton, and hence the export of the finished cotton fabric, exceeded the more restricted supply of raw wool. In 1803 Captain Macarthur delivered a report advocating sheep production in Australia. His advice was acted upon and his assessment proved to be correct. However it was not until the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 that supplies from this source arrived in quantity. The English manufacturers and merchants now had access to large supplies of both raw cotton and raw wool.

The government was becoming concerned with the rising popularity of the various reactionary groups and used the militia and the army to protect vulnerable industrial infrastructure. Activists who were captured were hung or, if more fortunate, received lifetime transportation. In a similar vein agitators of the early 1830's who sacked a factory at Fordingham and wrecked its machinery, and others who destroyed the poor house at Headley, were executed following their trials at the assizes. These were not isolated incidents.

Jeffrey, in *The Edinburgh Review*, when describing the political situation of the 1820's commented that, "There are two parties in the nation the Tories, who are almost for tyranny, and the Democrats who are almost for rebellion." (*The Decade of Reform - The 1830s* by Alexander Llewellyn) The Whigs stood somewhere between these two extremes.

A liberal member of Parliament, Mr. E. G. Wakefield, in 1831 was to remark that "An English labourer and an English pauper, those words are synonymous. … he pilfers when occasion offers and teaches his children to lie and steal. … He is depraved through and through, too far gone to possess even the strength of despair." (Llewellyn) While the traditional disparity in wealth between the landed gentry and the labourers under the old feudal system had been accepted for so long as to be taken largely for granted, the accumulation of wealth by the recently rich industrial class was a new phenomenon, and highly observable.

The prosperity of the successful mill owners enabled them to obtain very palatial residences for themselves and their families but the same could not be said for the factory workers. Most workers, having little control over their economic circumstances, were forced to live in small, cramped and often damp accommodation with open sewers and shared toilet facilities.

Due to these conditions often fatal diseases such as tuberculosis, typhoid, cholera and smallpox were prevalent. In addition to the unsatisfactory housing, chronic hunger, nutritional deficiencies and malnutrition were common. The resultant climate of discontent created an environment readily receptive to reform. Despite all of this the population of England rose from about 8.3 million peoples in 1801 to 16.8 million in 1851.

Children of the early Industrial Revolution had a very limited opportunity to obtain an education and, because child wages were very much less than adult wages and as their labour was just as productive as those of an adult when working machinery, they obtained preferential employment. As the evolving industrial processes were totally new no worker – adult or child – had experience in factory production and hence adults had no latent advantage over the children as to the possession of employable skills. Work houses could sell orphans or abandoned children to masters who could, in turn, force the children to work for board and lodging only. If these children ran away they could be whipped and returned to their masters.

Children as young as four years old could be employed, and the daily working time could exceed twelve hours. Children's wages were typically between ten and twenty per cent of adult wages. In many cases dangerous work conditions prevailed as safety procedures were primitive or non-existent and tired or dosing children could fall victim to unshielded heavy machinery, mining trolleys or to toxic industrial fumes. Under these conditions deaths and serious injuries were common. However, despite these unacceptable conditions, the survival of children beyond the age of five years increased from approximately twenty-five per cent in 1740 to over seventy per cent by 1820.

Partially as a result of long standing settlement laws surplus labour in the south of England had no ready access to work opportunities in the north and a disparity in labour demand between the north and south, with the accompanying disparity in wage payments, was the result. It followed that industrial areas in the north such as Lancashire, prior to railway construction, had to draw workers from the local countryside. This workforce would be supplemented by labourers from nearby Ireland as required. To compound the problem industrial centres in the north, as well as creating a demand for labour, also required increasing amounts of farm produce. This was no help to the inhabitants of such south-western shires as Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire where weekly wages were 10 shillings or less, compared with those in Lancashire which could be as much as 14 shillings, and as a result the discontent and revolutionary tendencies were first to evolve in the southern areas.

A consequence of this was that, by 1830, lawlessness was rife particularly in the south and south-west of the country. The creation of an enclosure* of 2,000 acres in Oxfordshire was the catalyst for serious disturbance and the Prime Minister of the time, the Duke of Wellington, ordered the deployment of two regiments to the area. Prisoners were taken but released by the crowd at St Giles fair. Rioting was to spread and the nocturnal burning of hayricks became a common tactic. Attempts to deter these activities included the public hanging of three offenders in Somerset, each hung offender bearing the notice, 'For Firing Stacks'.

*(NOTE: Enclosure – the conversion of common land or open fields into areas fenced off – or enclosed – for the use of a specific owner)

In the more eastern areas of Kent and Sussex wage demands were often presented by Methodist preachers and violence was more measured and contained. Where applied it was invariably against people that the agitators strongly disliked, usually parsons, tithe men or overseers. The last mentioned could sometimes expect to be ousted from their parish in a vehicle such as a muck-cart or, if more fortunate, a wheelbarrow.

The workers' revolts of the early 1830's in the south and in the west of the country were precipitated as much by antagonism towards the tithe* collecting clerics as by hostility to the landlords. The anti-clerical attitude was widespread often to the extent of giving common cause to both labourer and farmer. At Selbourne the local vicar was so terrified by a hostile mob that he signed away one-half of his tithe. The Bishop's palace in Bristol was burnt down; the Bishop of Bath and Wells retired to Torquay, and the Bishop of London went into seclusion when the House of Lords rejected the first *Reform Bill*. This rejection was largely in response to the widely held establishment view that the primary purpose of the official church was to compliment the work of the civil government by toughening the fabric of society.

*(NOTE: tithe – Literally one-tenth: a proportion of the annual agricultural income collected as a compulsory levy from the local congregation for the maintenance and other requirements of the official church)

The formation of new non-conformist movements was taking place, a notable event being the branching off of the Methodist movement from the Church of England, with the acquisition of many adherents. On the other hand the Oxford movement favoured the return to a religious observation in line with pre-reformation practice and became referred to as the 'High Church'. As industry prospered so too did the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists. In the half century following the year 1800 Methodist chapels expanded in number from 825 to 11,000, and Methodism had obtained as adherents an eighth of the population. However, as it was the Methodists who were providing the working class with organization and training, their social standing was lower than that of other non-conformists and their movement had little appeal to such as the more established dissenters such as the Calvinists. Notwithstanding all of the above the Methodists were probably the most conservative of the dissenters as they did not wish to attack the Church of England establishment from which they had sprung.

In the party political arena, whilst traditional Wiggery had been a prominent defender of the Protestant ascendancy, by 1835 there was an influential group of Whigs led by Lord Russell, who were sympathetic to the anti-clerical atmosphere that was then prevalent and who stood for alienating the property of the church.

On the other hand the Tories were beginning to appear as defenders of the Anglican Church against the Dissenters and Catholics. Hence defence of the church became part of the Tories' platform which also included a proposal for protection of the landed interests.

The Whigs made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce legislation reforming the established church in Ireland, where perceived abuses were the most prevalent, and where opposition to the collection of the tithe had resulted in murders and other acts of violence towards the clergy of the establishment. As well as Sir Robert Peel's opposition in Parliament to Russell's legislation it was also opposed by people who genuinely believed that the church was more than an institution that could be reformed by legislation as its government, liturgy and dogma was directed by divine inspiration. The bill was dropped in the House of Lords with Lord Russell remarking that, "This country could not stand a revolution once a year." (Llewellyn)

From 1830 and up to the signing of the *Reform Bill* in 1832 there were many indications of an imminent revolt. By 1831 this mood for revolt had spread to the agricultural areas in the midlands and crowds lacking any semblance of control were to congregate in London itself. Also in this year the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, was to communicate to the Duke of Wellington his opinion that "the concessions that were made to violence in year 1830 have, I fear, had a permanently bad effect upon the character of the agricultural population." (Llewellyn) However it required the introduction of the *Poor Law Amendment Act* of 1834 to address the limitations of the inadequate relief measures that had been introduced during the French wars. The lack of relevance of these now anachronistic laws was becoming increasingly obvious with the passage of time as the relief was aimed at local, mainly rural, situations and was not a panacea for wages that were inadequate to meet living expenses encountered over extensive periods by the members of urban societies.

A very prominent figure, relevant to this era, was the previously mentioned Jeremy Bentham whose movement's main objective was directed to the reform of the law. To achieve this he promoted constant parliamentary activity as a means of sweeping away restraints on individual liberty as he was intolerant of the historical anomalies contained in the then current laws. His philosophy led to legislation based on accumulated information gathered by officially appointed commissions. It has been postulated that the age of law reform was also the age of Jeremy Bentham.

(NOTE: The holding of the 1889 Royal Commission into the Queensland Colony's sugar industry is one example of the consequences of Bentham's philosophical heritage.)

In the preparation of the *Amendment Act* to the *Reform Bill* Benthamite principles were employed by an informed commission which interviewed thousands of witnesses whose differing backgrounds as to rank, profession and nature of employment were able to provide a great variety in knowledge and opinion. The commissioners' final report was based on three main principles:-

- The system of relief should be made uniform throughout the country;
- Those receiving relief should not be as well provided for as those working in mines, in mills or on farms; and
- A diversified system of parish unions



**Westminster** – the seat of the English Parliament

responsible for the construction and administration of work-houses, intended to replace the outdoor relief measures, should be set up and controlled by commissioners in London who would issue regulations as to diet and discipline.

The implementation of these measures under the act largely achieved the desired results by eliminating the undesirable practice of providing relief in lieu of adequate wages, and of providing comfort to the aged and the genuinely incapable in such a manner as not to make the relief preferable to the rewards of independent labour. With the elimination of the anachronistic settlement laws and the corresponding increase in the mobility of labour the new law was also to produce a steady reduction in expense to the exchequer. Migration of labour from the poverty struck south to the industrial north was actively encouraged by the commissioners.

However resistance to the amended *Act's* provisions was encountered and the regulations against outdoor relief proved difficult to enforce. Some resistance was of a very serious nature, and in the 1837 recession Stoke-on-Trent, the first industrial town to have had the parish union system applied, was faced with a situation where 30,000 workers were retrenched at much the

same time. A ruling was made that no outdoor relief was to be given to the unemployed until the workhouses had filled and, under those conditions, they very quickly did.

As had occurred with the older relief provisions, ongoing industrialization was to highlight the fact that a set of conditions still largely formulated to meet the requirements of the passing, agricultural age could not adequately cope with the differing nature of the poverty peculiar to the urbanised situation of the newly formed industrial towns. Protests against the new poor laws were to quickly morph into protests against industrialization itself with its new mills and their clustering into the evolving industrial towns.

A new problem acts as a prompt for a new debate and on one side of this debate were the advocates of maximum production with maximum labour availability. The proponents of this view believed that this approach would solve the prevailing social problems and that measures such as reduced working hours would have the undesirable effects of reduced productivity with a corresponding reduction in profits and national wealth. Adherents of the other side of the debate queried the whole industrialised system and advocated a return to the system of support for the landed interests which would act as protection for the working classes.

There was however a more positive side to the various industrial disturbances as they led to considerations of reform and to the formation of the initial trade unions. These could pursue what would ultimately prove to be more effective, and lawful, avenues of reform. Bargaining between worker and employer was initially between the trained and skilled workers, whose labour was difficult to replace, and the owner/managers. However as the Industrial Revolution concentrated workers into specific locations such as the factories, mills and mines of industry it thereby facilitated the organization of bargaining groups, or trade unions.

These groups of organized workers could stop or disrupt production by strike action leaving employers with the choice of higher labour costs or lack of production and hence sales. Prior to its repeal in 1824 strike action was forbidden under the *Combination Act* of 1799. However the unions gradually overcame these restrictions and in 1842 a major, general strike was organized by the Chartist movement. Despite all of this, over the years 1815 to 1832, the quantity of raw cotton processed by the factories of Lancashire quadrupled.

The fall in the death rate over the same period created a dramatic rise in the population. Rapid urbanization, with the consequent migration from the agricultural areas to the developing townships, had the effect of separating a large percentage of the population from its traditional lands with the corresponding loss of the open, rural areas previously utilized as playing fields. It is possible that this may, in turn, have led to the gradual evolution of organized sport in the industrial regions of England.

(NOTE: The earliest surviving English book on the rules of football was published in about 1860. It allowed for twenty players to a side and for the application of quite robust tactics.)

The concentration of workers and others under the industrial revolution lead to the formation of the great cities that we accept as normal today. In these embryonic cities the power of steam facilitated the rapid expansion of newspaper and book publishing with a further increase of the public awareness of civil issues and injustices.

Into this period of population instability a system of railways was to be constructed which would dramatically increase the mobility of travellers, and in particular, of the workers. A railway line was built from Liverpool to Manchester in 1828, and in 1833 parliament approved the construction of a line from London to Birmingham with a linkage to the Manchester line. London was now connected by rail to the developing centres of industry in the north.

Initially there was restrained enthusiasm for the investment of private capital in railway construction. However by the closing years of the 1830's a grid of privately funded railways had been installed across the country to meet the demands of the new era. These railways were now positioned to provide competition to the transport of commodities that had previously been provided by the horse drawn canal barges that had serviced the industrial revolution for the preceding half century.

With the advent of the *Reform Act* law relating to voting rights was relaxed, though it still did not introduce universal suffrage. It was the time of such activists as those men who came to be known as the Tolpuddle Martyrs. This group consisted of six men, Messrs J. Brine, J. Hammett, G. & J. Loveless and T. & J. Standfield who initially formed an association referred to as 'The Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers'. These men objected to the 1830's tendency to lower wages and, with the current, standard wage of seven shillings a week refused to work for less than a weekly ten shillings.

By invoking a little used law dating back to 1797 the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, was able to arrest the Tolpuddle group and they were, on being found guilty, transported to Australia where it is hoped that they had greater opportunities for advancement and/or higher wages than prevailed in the England of the time. Despite this setback other workers managed to form into friendly societies that acted as effective social and work related support groups.

In 1838, following the combined action of the London Working Men's Association and the Birmingham Political Union in Birmingham, the *Peoples Charter* was drafted by a committee of six in an attempt to address the perceived omissions in the *Reform Act* of 1832. The most active of this committee were Lovett, Place and Roebuck. Lovett believed that the accumulation of property into the hands of individuals was the cause of all evils. This belief was combined with a hatred of the established church.

The *Charter* was intended to be a public petition and had six dominant demands:

- For the introduction of a secret ballot;
- For general elections to be held annually;

- That ownership of property not be a necessary requirement to be a Member of Parliament;
- That Members of Parliament receive a salary;
- That electoral districts be of an equal size; and
- That universal male suffrage be introduced.

When the People's Parliament of Chartists met in 1839 there was a depression of trade in Lancashire and the agricultural harvest had been poor. In Newcastle, which had a large Irish population, arms were being collected and in Halifax workers were actively drilling with pikes made from broomsticks. Sir Charles Napier commenting on the poor of the north noted that they had, "a stern look of discontent, of hatred to all who are rich, a total absence of merry faces." (Llewellyn)

Laws forbade the gathering of more than fifty people, so the first Chartist convention, held in London in February 1839 was limited in attendance to this number. Divisions of opinion were immediately apparent as some delegates favoured the use of violence, others a general strike and still others the election of a people's parliament. Middle class attendees were almost certainly frightened off by the motto finally adopted by the conference of, "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must."

Though working class activists saw the *Charter* as a cure-all for the social and economic ills of the day the number of these demands were probably enough to create a lack of popular acceptance for the *Charter*, by ensuring the division of support for any particular issue.

Nevertheless over one and a quarter million signatures were accumulated in support of the document and the *Charter* was presented to the House of Commons in mid-1839. Though supported by future prime-minister Benjamin Disraeli it was defeated 235 to 46. A second petition in 1842 and yet a third petition presented in 1848, were also defeated.

Meanwhile agitation was to continue through the spring, particularly in the north of England, and government troops were utilized to preserve order. An outbreak of violence at Newport resulted in twenty-four protesters being killed and many of the Chartist Movement's leaders were detained or arrested in other locations. With the violence and turmoil of the French Revolution still fresh in middle-class memories the enthusiasm for radical reform was dampened, and when the national leadership was dissolved many members of the Chartist Movement transferred their attention to more specific and pressing local problems.

As the passage of time was to demonstrate, the movement proved to be far from a total failure as it was to raise, or at least increase, awareness of many pressing issues. A large number of its former adherents were to join other associations such as the temperance league and workers' education groups. It is also probable that its activities helped focus public attention on the need for repeal of the *Corn Laws* – but more of that later.

By the 1830's increased public awareness of the working children's plight, particularly in the middle and upper classes, helped to introduce a change in the climate of opinion, though legislation in the form of the *Factory Acts* of the 1830's and 40's was necessary to change

the behaviour of the factory owners; some of whom – to be fair, and possibly with some justification – thought that the children's wage payments were necessary for the children and their families to avoid starvation.

Along with other provisions the *Acts* precluded children younger than nine years old from working, and youths under eighteen years were allowed to work no longer than twelve hours per day. Schooling for children was also introduced in line with the recommendations of the commission that had been instituted to provide advice in the formulation of the *Factory Act* of 1833. In the 1850's the use of child and female labour in the mines was finally disallowed.

Dramatic changes were also taking place elsewhere in the empire. Both the radicals and the free-traders were anxious for the British to divest themselves of the trappings of empire. In 1822 it had been suggested in parliament that if Canada were to sink below the ocean England would have little to lose. Later Disraeli, in 1852, was to express the view that the colonies were a, "millstone around our neck." (Llewellyn) However there still remained a significant body of opinion that favoured the retention of empire.

In 1833 Stanley introduced a bill to end slavery in the sugar cane fields of the West Indies. The slave owners were to receive £20 million in compensation; and while all children under six years old would be free, any slave aged over six years would have a maximum working day of ten hours, seven and one half of which was to be devoted to labour for the owner and two and one half hours to the slave's own benefit. By this means the slaves should have been able to obtain their redemption in a period of twelve years.

Meanwhile the pattern of convict settlement in Australia was evolving into a preference for free settlement. In 1830 there were only 309 free settlers in the colony as against 3,225 transported convicts; however four years later this ratio had changed to 1,564 free settlers to 3,161 transported convicts.

In China following the seizure of the English merchants' opium chests by the Chinese commissioners, and the resultant short war between the British and the Celestial Empire, the victorious English were to gain their objective of much improved trading rights to the Chinese ports and the lease of the harbour at Hong Kong, together with the acquisition of complementary defensive naval bases.

Up to this point a very significant issue of these times has received scant attention, the introduction of the *Corn Laws*, and the consequent rise of the anti-corn laws groups. For the sake of clarity it should be pointed out that, in this context, 'corn' referred to all grains used for human and domestic animal consumption, not just the corn grain itself. These laws had a major, and largely adverse, effect not just on the English population but also on the populations of Ireland and Scotland where cumulative circumstances were to produce national tragedies.

During his wars with England Napoleon had made an unsuccessful attempt to mount a blockade of the British ports, and at a later date the now dominant English navy returned the compliment by mounting a blockade of the Napoleon dominated continental ports. The elimination of grain imports caused a rapid expansion of cultivation in Britain and this caused much planting that was not economically

viable in its own right hence the need for protective tariffs. When Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo in 1815 the British blockade was lifted and corn prices in England fell from 15 shillings and 10 pence a bushel in 1812 to 8 shillings and 2¼ pence per bushel in 1815.

As in the 18th century there was a general feeling, particularly amongst the protectionists, that it was essential for nations to be self-sufficient in food production. As the right to vote for parliamentary members was dependent upon land ownership the landowners had a disproportionate influence upon parliament and this influence was again used to direct parliamentary proceedings.

This protectionist feeling was not shared by the free-traders who were very conscious of the effect that any tax on the constituents of bread would have on their own production costs and on the financial circumstances of their potential customers. This dichotomy of opinion engendered a marked hostility between the manufacturers, represented by the northern Whigs, and the squires, represented by the radical Tories.

In 1804 the landowner dominated Parliament passed the first *Corn Law* which lead to a rapid expansion in English grain production, with the consequence of high bread prices for the workers. This was to be followed by the second *Corn Law* which allowed the entry of foreign wheat free of duty only when the price of the English grain equalled or exceeded 10 shillings per bushel. When this legislation was being passed the presence of armed troops was needed by the Parliament to protect it from a large and very angry crowd.

Whilst the general trend following the Napoleonic Wars was towards increasing populations, the expansion of industry and falling prices, an economic cycle of approximately five years duration produced a succession of recessions with their accompanying infliction of hunger and other hardships upon the poor when the cost of staples such as bread rose markedly.

The citizens of the rapidly expanding industrial towns hated the high bread prices as they had to spend the major portion of their income on grain based food for sheer survival, and their employers were very concerned at the level of wages that may be claimed to purchase the highly priced food. If there was no excess income for the workers to purchase manufactured goods the employers lost trade, had to discharge some of their workers, and the regressive spiral worsened. The employers saw this as a transfer of wealth from themselves to the agricultural landowners under government legislation.

In 1828 the *Corn Laws* were again modified, under the Duke of Wellington's ministry, to allow for a sliding scale of duties, the amount dependent upon the prevailing grain price, which it was hoped would help to remove some of the distress. By 1832 the conditions pertaining to the right to vote had been relaxed under the *Reform Act* and this change advantaged the merchant class. This class was far more likely to be favourably disposed to a change in or repeal of the *Corn Laws*.

Corn prices were still fluctuating wildly and were to double between the year of 1835 and the recession year of 1837. A further recession

in 1839, combined with a succession of poor harvests, reignited the discontent associated with the laws. As a consequence associations previously formed in London and Manchester to oppose the laws were amalgamated under the guidance of Richard Cobden and formed into the Anti-Corn Law League which had the capacity to execute a national campaign.

A minor victory for the League occurred in this year when *The Times* expressed opposition to the *Corn Laws* though, on the other hand, the year also saw the first clashes, some violent, with the Chartists. The cause of this friction was the strong rivalry between the Chartists, whose goal was a major overhaul of the country's constitution, and the League, whose only objective was the repeal of the *Corn Laws*. The League countered the opposition of the Chartists by founding operative Anti-Corn Law Associations in Manchester and Leicester each with quarterly subscriptions of 3 pence.

Cobden, probably influenced by Adam Smith's proposition of seventy years earlier that rational men bought when prices were cheapest and sold when prices were dearest, believed that expanded and unrestricted trade promoted harmony between differing classes and nations. A friend of Cobden, and a very gifted orator, John Bright, offered to assist Cobden with his campaign and Bright was very effective in spreading the message that the landowners, with their privileged position compliments of the prevailing legislation, were a cause of considerable suffering to the poorer members of society. This was a message that had considerable appeal to both the working and middle classes.

The mood of anti-clericalism was also harnessed by the League in its cause. Parsons benefitted from the bread tax through their tithe revenues which, owing to the close connection between the official Church and the State, were seen as additional taxation on the workers means of sustenance. John Bright had previously opposed the payment of tithe and in Durham had expressed the view that, "This body of men especially appointed to take care of the flock should, instead of being the shepherds, appear to all men's eyes as the shearers." (Llewellyn) Cobden, though himself a churchman, shared these views.

In 1840 officials of the Board of Trade came out in sympathy with the League and a select committee of the House of Commons investigating all import duties produced a report strongly in support of the free-trade cause.

In the 1841 general election of the House of Commons Richard Cobden became the Member for Stockport and he was now in a position to constantly remind the Parliament that reform of the *Corn Laws* was necessary. When the economic recession of 1839 continued on through the years 1840 to 1842 speeches by Cobden and Bright commanded large audiences. In the same year they were joined in their opposition to the *Corn Laws* by Daniel O'Connell the leader of the Irish nationalists in parliament and this, in combination with the effect of a partial failure of the potato crop in Ireland (and to a lesser effect in England) put very considerable pressure upon the Conservative government of Sir Robert Peel.

The year of 1841 also saw a revival of violent clashes between the League and the northern Chartists. The Irish, who at the time made up a fifth of the population of Manchester, were engaged by the Anti-Corn Law League to provide for the protection of their members at their meetings.

Edward Watkin, in his writing of Cobden's biography described one such altercation. The Chartists carrying banners and short staves broke into a meeting and started to lay about themselves with the staves. The Irish, upon seeing the near killing of a League supporter by a Chartist with an iron bar, tore down the banners, broke the shafts and laid about themselves so effectively as to drive the Chartists out of the square.

A year later in Manchester there was another altercation at a meeting between Feargus O'Connor's Chartists and the combined free trader supporters and the O'Connell followers. Watkin reported that forms, desks, chairs and gas pipes were used as weapons; all furniture was smashed and Feargus O'Connor was knocked down three times and acquired seven wounds during the engagement. On the other hand the Reverend Schofield, who had been nominated as the Chairman of the meeting, acquired a black eye, loose teeth, cut lip and contusions. Four of his Irish defenders were badly hurt, two with fractured skulls – they however, "are used to it and will soon be well." (Llewellyn)

Starting in 1841 the League launched a major appeal for funds and committees were set up to run the sales promotion campaign. Well-crafted cards were engraved which displayed the campaign's target figure and these were distributed to the collectors. The lady collectors were issued with cards displaying the engraved portraits of leading free traders. The national target for the collection was £50,000 of which an amount of £40,000 had been collected by 1843.

The League was also not averse to the manipulation of the corrupt political situation particularly in relation to the acquisition of voting rights for the achievement of its own objectives. Bright made an estimate in early 1845 that £250,000 (a very large sum in those days) had been spent by the League to acquire land in the north-west of the country for the attached voting rights to be exercised by its supporters.

Subsequently Cobden was to obtain the support of the rich northern merchants, who applied the same professionalism to the promotion of the League as they did to the administration of their own industries. This was to result in the creation of the most efficiently financed and organized propaganda machine in Victorian England.

By the early 1840's England had entered into a new age and the cotton manufacturers and merchants of Manchester were seeing their city as a northern capital, rivalling London in status. By January 1846 Sir Robert Peel had yielded to political reality and the duty on oats, barley, wheat and corn was reduced to 1½ pence per bushel which effectively eliminated the influence of the *Corn Laws* on bread prices and thus on the staple food of the workers and of their families.

# Chapter 17

# Ireland

## For You Must Go and I Must Bide

Superficially the mass exodus from Ireland, and the abnormal and dramatic increase in the death rate amongst its citizens, that occurred in this country in the late 1840's and early 1850's was a result of the "Great Famine" caused by the potato blight. However many countries were affected by this blight but only Ireland, and to a lesser extent Scotland, was to experience such catastrophic results. It follows that the genesis of the national disaster culminating in the "Great Famine" must be found in the pre-history of this horrific event. This pre-history consisted of a long sequence of tragic circumstances that cumulatively made Ireland extremely vulnerable to the effects of the blight. The following pages are dedicated to providing a brief coverage of some of the more significant of these circumstances, and of some of the contemporary reactions to their occurrence.

Small scale migration to Ireland, much of which had been initiated by the English Crown, commenced in the 12th century, and resulted in the establishment of a sub-grouping of the Irish population referred to as the 'Old English'. A later and much larger scale population infusion, known as the 'Plantations', consisting mainly of Scottish, Welsh and English settlers began in the reign of Henry VIII with the rate of this infusion being increased under later monarchs. The final official plantations took place under Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate in the 1650's. Thousands of the soldiers that he had used to subdue the Celtic, mainly Catholic, clan leadership were settled in Ireland and a consequent mass confiscations of land from the Irish landowners ensued.

The plantations seriously modified the demography of Ireland, and left it with a divided



**A section of the defensive wall of (London) Derry**

population precariously shared between the remnants of its original Celtic inhabitants and the large, implanted Protestant and/or British communities. The dominance in Irish affairs of this infused population, supported by the English government, resulted in the formation of formal Crown government in Ireland in the 17th century

The preconditions were now set for the holding of such an encounter as the Battle of the Boyne that was to take place in Ireland in the latter part of this century, the year 1690. The rivalry for the English crown that precipitated the eventual battle was between the Catholic (ex – but arguably still constitutional) King James II of England and the Protestant King William III of Orange who had been installed as the English monarch in place of James the previous year.

The Ulstermen, being mainly Presbyterians from Scotland, felt a greater affinity with the Protestant William than with the Catholic James despite James' Scottish ancestry. Prior to the battle the inhabitants of first



**Enniskillen Castle** – near Lough Erne

Londonderry/Derry,* then Enniskillen and lastly most of Ulster itself had revolted against James thus providing William with his stepping-stone into Ireland. James Stuart's arrival in Ireland, from his exile in France, was via the port of Kinsale.

*(NOTE: Londonderry if talking to a Northern Ireland resident; Derry if discussing matters with one from the South)

The impending battle would take place at the River Boyne crossing of Oldbridge near Drogheda, approximately 50 kilometres north of Dublin. James Stuart's two subordinates for the battle were Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, who by 1690 had taken control of the whole of Ireland other than the province of Ulster and the city of Londonderry, and the French general Lauzun. William's second in command was a 75 year old professional soldier the Duke of Schomberg.

Prior to the main battle Jacobite forces under General Hamilton had mounted an unsuccessful siege on Londonderry in an attempt to take

the walled city from William's supporters. The defenders of Derry were assisted by troops from Enniskillen in the west, these troops being noted both for their ruthlessness and for their skills in warfare. The Enniskilleners engaged any Jacobite forces approaching Derry to prevent them from assisting in the blockade of the town.

Another relevant factor, prior to the Boyne River battle, was the condition of William's troops under Schomberg's command, whilst in their winter camp at Dundalk. Due to the combined effects of dysentery and lack of provisions it was estimated that nearly half of the force in the camp were severely incapacitated, with many actually dying. James did not avail himself of the opportunity this presented to attack the camp with his own fresh troops, an attack that would have had a high probability of success. Exhibiting the apparently constitutional indecision of the Stuarts James allowed the opportunity to pass and in doing so helped to set the scene for the defeat of his own forces in the coming battle.

To the Irish of Celtic descent the impending battle presented an opportunity to reverse the consequences of the Irish Confederate Wars, in which Cromwell's conquests had deprived the original Irish upper classes of their lands and the people of their civil rights. On the other hand the implanted population's main concern was to retain their rule, and that of the English government, in Ireland. Fearing a repeat of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, in which widespread killing had occurred; they overwhelmingly supported the forces of William.

From William's point of view the conflict had a wider strategic perspective, as the campaign in Ireland was another element in his confrontation with Louis XIV of France. James had the support of his Catholic cousin Louis who was William's continental rival. Louis had supplied James with 6,000 of his own troops to provide support in the coming battle. William, who was also Stadtholder of the Netherlands, had under his command troops of Dutch and other nationalities of the League of Augsburg alliance as well as soldiers from England and Scotland.

As a religious conflict the international circumstances were therefore far from being clear cut as Pope Alexander VIII was a supporter of William, under their League of Augsburg alliance, against the threatened dominance of Europe by the French forces of Louis. From the European viewpoint a victory by William in Ireland would result in more nations looking favourably upon the William of Orange/Papal alliance and, as a consequence, would be more willing to join this alliance thus rendering impossible Louis' ambition to achieve European conquest.

Following the battle on the Boyne nearly one hundred years and a bloody revolution in France were to pass before Napoleon Bonaparte emerged to revive Louis' ambitions. In furtherance of these ambitions continental Europe, England and Russia were to be subjected to all of the turmoil and death associated with battles on both land and sea, that the wars of Napoleon's campaign of conquests demanded in order to obtain French dominion,

and which finally came to a conclusion at the Battle at Waterloo in 1815.

The nature of the forces to be engaged in the actual Boyne River battle gave William a decided advantage. The Jacobite forces were mainly drawn from the Irish Catholic population and were 23,500 in number of whom the cavalry, which was comprised mainly of disposed Celtic gentry, proved to be of high calibre. There were also several French regiments. The infantry were predominately made up of subsistent farmers who were untrained and poorly equipped, some only with farm implements, and any who carried firearms were equipped with the obsolete matchlock muskets.

On the other hand the Williamite army was comprised of the remainder of the 20,000 troops who had been in Ireland under Schomberg since 1689 augmented by a further 16,000 troops who arrived with William. The soldiers from the Netherlands and from Denmark were well equipped professionals with the latest flintlock rifles. The large contingent of Huguenot troops was also well trained and much better equipped than the Jacobite force.

The Jacobite officers were confident that William's first move in the battle would be an attempt to gain possession of the river crossing at Slane, and this proved to be the case. However the officers could not convince James of this probability and when the attack eventuated it was too late to defend this ford. During the battle Schomberg was killed during a charge across the river

The results of the battle itself could almost be regarded as inconclusive as the casualty numbers were relatively low. They included about 2,000 fatalities, mainly from the Jacobite force, probably due to the fact that they were the withdrawing army, while William's forces had more wounded. The relatively low casualty count was due to an orderly withdrawal of the Jacobite army protected by the skilful counter-attacks of its competent cavalry, thereby eliminating the main cause of fatalities, the unresisted slaughter of a defeated army whilst engaged in disorderly retreat.

The circumstances that determined the ultimate outcome of the battle were largely dependent upon the conduct of James himself. The order to withdraw, and thus concede the battleground to William's forces, had a demoralizing effect upon the Irish troops and James' rapid exit from the field combined with his return into permanent exile in France, via Dublin and the port of Kinsale, did little to restore confidence. During his brief stay in Dublin he insulted Lady Tyrconnel by commenting on her husband's countrymen running away from the battle, to which the good Lady retorted that, "his Majesty had set the example." (*An Illustrated History of Ireland From A.D. 400 to 1800* by Mary Frances Cusack)

Nevertheless, although William was to have his triumphal march into Dublin two days after the battle, the Irish forces withdrew in good order across the River Shannon to take position in Limerick, where they were subsequently besieged by the Williamite forces. The siege was lifted following the signing of the *Treaty*



**Looking across the Boyne River valley towards Tara from the Hill of Slane**

*of Limerick* under which most land owners were allowed to keep their land provided that they swore allegiance to William. There were 52 provisions in the Treaty, some significant provisions being that the members of the Catholic army were to have:

- the free exercise of their religion;
- the right to sit in Parliament;
- the freedom of trade;
- the safety of their estates;
- a general amnesty;
- the honours of war to the troops; and
- the free choice as to their future destinations.

However the English Protestant establishment was displeased with this 'lenient' treatment of its former adversaries and as a result, in 1695, there followed an intense campaign of violent, bigotry, more political than religious in nature.

As a consequence penal laws were introduced that prohibited Irish Catholics from:

- the right to sit in Parliament;
- the right to be elected as a member of Parliament;
- the right to vote;
- the right to enter any office of trust;
- the right to enter into any form of remunerative employment;

In addition they were:

- to receive a fine of £60 per month for non-attendance at a Protestant form of worship;
- forbidden to travel more than five miles from their homes, to keep arms, to maintain suits at law, or to be guardians or executors;
- to be subject to the ruling of any four justices of the peace who could, without further trial, banish any man for life if he refused to attend a Protestant service;
- to be subject to the ruling of any two justices of the peace who could call any man over sixteen years of age before them and to bestow his property on his next of kin if he refused to abjure the Catholic religion;
- not be allowed to employ a Catholic schoolmaster to educate their children;
- not be allowed to send any child abroad for education – penalty £100 – and in addition the child would forfeit all right to inherit any property in Ireland or England;
- if a Catholic priest, to be hung on entering the country;

Some of the other provisions were:

- if a Protestant who suspected any other Protestant of holding property in trust for a Catholic, and who filed a bill against the suspected holder in trust, to be awarded the said property;
- if a Protestant were to consider that any Catholic tenant-at-will on a farm was to be earning one third more than his yearly rent that Protestant could enter the farm in question and, by simply swearing to the assumed fact, take possession;
- any Protestant may acquire the horse of a Catholic, regardless of its actual value, for a sum of £5;
- any horses and wagons owned by Catholics could be seized by the militia at any time for the militia's own use; and
- any Catholic gentleman's child who became a Protestant could at once take possession of his father's property.

It is difficult to imagine any provisions so at variance with the spirit of the recently signed treaty or to comprehend, in this day and age, the nature of the mindset that could enact provisions which prohibited the greater part of the population from the owning or leasing of land; the holding of political office or even of voting; the obtaining of an education, the entry into a profession; or of acting in any manner calculated to result in a prosperous life. Nevertheless by the early 1790's a relative tolerance had returned to civic affairs and by

its centennial the siege of Londonderry would appear to have been commemorated by both Catholic and Protestant inhabitants.

As a consequence of the promulgation of the above laws a new system of landlord/tenant relationships was introduced. Although the original Irish population constituted eighty per cent of the total population they now lived under conditions of both poverty and insecurity. It was the English and Anglo-Irish who owned the land and these people now considered Ireland to be a hostile country in which to live so absentee landlords, who engaged the hated middlemen for management, were common and rental income left Ireland to bolster the English, not Irish, economy.

These conditions would not be changed until much later, and then not by a great deal, until the promulgation of the *Acts of Emancipation* of 1793 and 1829, which acts allowed the Irish (still mainly Protestant) landowners to again sit in the English parliament. In 1791 the Dublin based Catholic Committee joined forces with the Northern Presbyterians to form the United Irishmen and the Protestant Wolfe Tone became the secretary of the Catholic Committee – made possible by the non-sectarian nature of the times, and by 1792 it is probable that both Protestant and Catholic would have preferred union with Britain rather than tolerate the existing, corrupt and self-seeking Dublin administration.

In 1792 Lord Edward FitzGerald was to remark to the House in Dublin, "I do think, sir, that the Lord Lieutenant and the majority of this House are the worst subjects the King has." In response to the predictable storm in the house, and to the demand for retraction, he then provided to the House the extremely ambiguous, "I am accused of having said that I think the Lord Lieutenant and the majority of this House are the worst subjects the King has. I said so; 'tis true; and I am sorry for it." (Cusack)

The dominant problems in the towns and cities of this period were social rather than religious. As the decline in textile industries became more evident the Presbyterian middle class in Belfast and Dublin who, together with the working classes, was reliant for its income on these diminishing industries felt under pressure. The gap between the Presbyterian middle-class and the Anglican ruling class, the Ascendancy, constituted the main social division that prevailed in the urban areas of the time. Unfortunately the period of relative tolerance was about to come under severe stress.

The *Relief Acts* of 1778 and 1782 permitted Catholics to buy and lease land and to work on equal terms with the remainder of the population. As they had adjusted to a very frugal lifestyle, they could consistently outbid Protestants in their willingness to pay higher rents and to accept lower wages. This increased competition together with population pressures produced friction in the agrarian areas of Ulster. In response to this two opposing parties, both committed to violence, were about to evolve. On the Protestant side the Peep-o'-Day Boys instigated early morning attacks on Catholic farms, and on the Catholic side a reactive organisation, the Defenders, was formed whose initial purpose was to counter these attacks. The Peep-o'-Day Boys were to assume the appellation of the Protestant Boys and these were, in turn, to form the basis of membership in the creation of the Orange Society.



**Powerscourt Castle**

The Landed Gentry – On Land Granted to Richard Wingfield and Occupied by His Descendants From 1609 to 1959

In the County of Armagh, which had at the time roughly equal populations of Catholics and Protestants, religious divisions were also about to emerge. Due to the economic downturn of 1791 to 1793, in combination with reaction to the activities of a tactless government and the loss of initiative by the moderate leaders of the United Ireland Party, this party's rank-and-file was coming under the influence of the Defender movement.

By 1795 the Orange Order was making its presence felt in Armagh and the menace of its rituals caused several thousand Irish Catholics to flee the county. Heavy handed actions based upon badly informed opinions led to decisions by the authorities that exacerbated the resultant polarization. This increased polarization in turn caused the United Ireland Party itself to evolve into yet another militant organization.

In 1796 the Dublin government introduced the *Insurrection Act* which resulted in the proclamation of Ulster with its attendant mass arrests, floggings and house burnings. The United Ireland's organization was infiltrated by government agents and sixteen out of the eighteen of its Leinster committee were arrested. As a consequence of this induced turmoil the moderate, middle class leadership of the movement was swamped by a faction that subscribed to the more violent creed of republicanism. Subsequent decisions by the authorities further isolated the moderates which drove many of them, including Wolfe Tone, into exile. The militants, who now constituted the remnants of the party, went underground.

The nationalist movement, with most of its leaders in goal, exiled or executed, now entered upon activities based on underground action with an Irish Catholic bias. This was a complete reversal of the moderate Protestant/Catholic republican movement that had prevailed less than a decade before. All of this activity by the authorities gave inhabitants the impression that the current Prime Minister, William Pitt, wished to ferment open rebellion, and to use its suppression as a means to make Ireland more dependent on the dictates of the English Parliament.

Following continuing provocation on the part of officialdom, aggravated by the activities of the Orange Order, a partial and fragmented uprising occurred in various localities of Ireland. It was suppressed by a militia upon whose activities Lord Cornwallis described, in the wording of his governmental report to the Duke of Portland, as, "murder was the favourite pastime." (Cusack)

The final act of rebellion occurred in Wexford where a population, initially opposed to the uprising, was provoked by the North Cork militia under Lord Kingsborough. Indiscriminate shooting at the peaceful country inhabitants and torture of their relatives by the militia drove an initially passive population to desperate action. The subsequent uprising was led by Father John Murphy who had previously been active in suppressing the rebellion, but who was to change his stance following the burning of the Catholic Chapel of Boulavogue. The insurgents marched upon and captured Enniscorthy where they set up camp on Vinegar Hill.

The capture of Enniscorthy by the rebels enabled the freeing of some prominent Protestants, who had been imprisoned as a result of their sympathy for the movement, and one of these, a Mr. Bagenal Harvey, took over the leadership of the insurgents. Subsequently Father Murphy was killed during an attack on Carlow and Mr. Harvey resigned his leadership in favour of the Reverend Philip Roche.

The Vinegar Hill camp was besieged by twenty-thousand royalist troops, equipped with a large artillery train, under General Lake. Following one and a half hours of fighting the Irish troops ran low on gunpowder and gave way. The usual slaughter followed and included the burning of the Enniscorthy hospital where the wounded were shot in their beds. Catholic priests and others who had protected the lives or property of any Orangeman or royalist during the uprising were deemed to have influence with the rebels and were also executed.

Wolfe Tone, who had returned to Ireland in the company of a squadron of French troops, the arrival of which was too late to have any effect on the outcome of the uprising, was captured, condemned of treason and died in prison – officially by a self-inflicted cut throat.

By 1801 William Pitt was promoting the concept that emancipation of the Catholic majority was a solution to the Irish problem. However his proposals were decisively blocked by the actions of George III who seemed to be strongly of the opinion that the emancipation of Roman Catholics would result in the destruction of the Church of England, an institution that he had sworn to preserve.

Pitt received no credit for his unsuccessful attempts at emancipation and during the debate on the Catholic Petition, introduced by Charles Fox into the House of Commons of 1805, when speaking of the Irish Catholics and with reference to the Pitt government, Mr. Ponsonby was to remark that, "I know them well; and I know, at the same time, whatever is good in them they owe to themselves; whatever is bad in them, they owe to you, and to your bad government." (Cusack)

A relatively short time after these events however Ireland's fortunes were to change as it was to acquire a most effective advocate and representative in the form of Daniel O'Connell. Daniel was born in 1775 and was a descendant of one of the old Celtic families. In a sojourn abroad, while still a young man, he was to observe at first hand the French Revolution and its aftermath. He was accepted to the Dublin bar in 1798 and became a very powerful advocate in the defence of his fellow countrymen.

In the early days of O'Connell's public life Robert Emmet, the leader of the abortive Irish uprising of 1803, was executed and martial law was enforced until its repeal by the Whigs on their accession to government in 1806.

By 1810 Daniel had come to prominence as the leader of the Catholic Party and was to continue as a leading representative of Ireland over the next forty plus years. It was said that he taught Irishmen that chains did not make the slave, but rather the spirit in which the chains are worn, and that he awoke in the hearts of his countrymen the knowledge that love of freedom is the first step towards obtaining it.

At last, on the 13th April 1829 and largely due to Daniel O'Connell's efforts, the royal signature was affixed to the *Act of Emancipation* and Irishmen were no longer considered to be non-citizens simply because they were to follow their own conscience. The first step had been taken on what was to become a long road.

By 1842 a rental income of, £6,000,000 was remitted out of Ireland to English landlords and so the situation continued whereby the English economy received the benefit from this constant drain on Ireland's finances. The employment of the middlemen as agents relieved the absentee landlords of any responsibility towards their tenants, whilst providing them with this regular rental income.

One way for the middlemen to exploit the Irish cottier was rendered possible by the tendency of landlords to lease large tracts of land

to their resident middlemen. This land was then subdivided by the middlemen into progressively smaller parcels of land which were then sublet to the peasant farmers. Tenants could be evicted for non-payment of rent on what was often non-viable land. They could also be evicted if the land was subsequently required for the grazing of sheep or cattle to provide England with mutton or with the beef that was becoming increasingly popular. As a consequence of this repressive system the Irish Catholics lived in dread of the landlords and their agents, and any attempts to create productive enterprises were crushed.

In a speech in 1844 Benjamin Disraeli described Ireland as having, "a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church, and in addition the weakest executive in the world." From Wikepedia – *Great Famine (Ireland*.) Over the period 1801 to 1845 one commission or special committee after another was prophesying that Ireland was on the verge of disaster, her population was increasing rapidly, three-quarters of her workforce were unemployed, housing conditions were appalling and the standard of living was unbelievably low – and all of this in one of the most productive agricultural countries on the planet.

By 1841 the Irish population was just over eight million with two-thirds being involved in profitless agriculture. Instead of receiving payment the tenant's labour went into the rent necessary to obtain access to the small plot of land required to grow feed for his family. The possession of such land could quite literally be the difference between life and death, but the area of land was so small, and the soil often so poor, that the only way to produce sufficient food was to embrace monoculture - in this case that of the humble potato.

Having been introduced into Ireland in the latter part of the 17th century as a supplementary food for the rich, by the 18th century the potato had evolved into the staple food of the poor, supplanting rather than supplementing the previous diet of dairy and grain products. It was the high productivity of the potato crop, and its capacity for storage, that created the conditions for the establishment of the cottier class system with its cheap work force and low living standards.

By the early 1840's there were a half million cottiers in Ireland and these, in turn, had an average of three and a half dependents. It is relevant to note that one third of the potato crop that they produced was committed to the provision of fodder for the livestock whose lamb and beef products were dedicated to the English market. It is also relevant that Ireland had experienced previous failures of the potato crop, but these failures were either not universal or did not occur at times when production was so relied upon for the sustenance of the poor.

By virtue of this heavy reliance upon a diet based on monoculture to sustain the general population the preconditions for a disaster had been set in place. At the time however it was hard to see how living conditions could have become much worse for the native Irish population; but in the mid 1840's they did and in a catastrophic manner, with the coming of 'The Great Hunger'.

The origin of the 1840's Potato blight, *Phytophthora infestans* is unknown but it is

possible that it evolved in South America to arrive in Ireland via North America and continental Europe. It is probable the actual time of arrival of the blight in Ireland occurred in 1844. Following its arrival into Europe its spread through Belgium, Holland, the north of France and the south of England was rapid. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* in a stop press of the 13th December of the same year reported the blight had 'unequivocally' arrived in Ireland.

Following the advent of the blight it is estimated that up to fifty per cent of the crop was lost in 1845 and seventy five per cent in 1846. In 1847 there was virtually no seed potato to plant and in 1848 losses were still of the order of thirty-three per cent. In 1846 the first deaths by starvation were recorded and, as over three million of the population in Ireland were dependent upon the potato as a food source, a national crisis of almost indescribable proportions was about to devastate the country.

Various proposals relevant to the alleviation of the crisis were put to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and even to the Queen. Suggestions varied from the proposal for the implementation of public works to construct railways, the opening the ports to foreign corn (don't forget that the infamous *Corn Laws* were still in place up to 1846, and its effects would carry on beyond this time) and of stopping the distillation of the grain crops to produce Irish whiskey. Judging by the official reaction to the prevailing situation this latter proposal was the last measure that was likely to be adopted.

The successive government's responses to the crisis all shared the same characteristic of being too little, too late and too ineffective. In 1846 Prime Minister Robert Peel did finally manage to repeal the *Corn Laws*; however the dissention in the Conservative Party caused by this repeal resulted in the fall of the Peel ministry.

Peel's successor Lord John Russell introduced public works projects which, by the conclusion of 1846, employed a half million Irish labourers. However these projects proved to be impossible to manage. Sir Charles Trevelyan, the official appointed to administer the government's works program, was also to place limits upon the program as he believed that "the judgment of God sent the calamity to teach the Irish a lesson" (Wikipedia). These work programs were subsequently abandoned and replaced by soup kitchens and workhouses established under the *Poor Law*.

A provision in the *Poor Law*, and one that was to exacerbate the disaster prohibited anyone who held a lease to one quarter of an acre or more of land from receiving government relief. It followed that any peasant farmer who held a lease to this area of land and who had no produce remaining after meeting the cost of rent, duties, taxes and rates could receive no relief benefits unless he was to surrender his lease to the landlord. As a result of this clause alone 90,000 tenants had to surrender their lease in 1849, followed by a further 104,000 tenants in 1850.

Shortly prior to Daniel O'Connell's death in 1847 he was to point out that in Belgium, as a response to the serious matter of the potato failure, legislation had been introduced to ban grain exports but to allow imports. No such measure was to be provided to relieve the citizens of Ireland. Following his death in 1848

a radical group from his erstwhile movement was to secede and to attempt the unsuccessful Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848, an action that would not have been countenanced by their former leader given his experience with the French Revolution.

Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was to observe in a letter to Lord Russell written in 1849 to request additional relief measures, "I do not think that there is another legislature in Europe that would disregard such suffering as now exists in the west of Ireland, or coldly persist in a policy of extermination." (Wikipedia)

John Mitchel, a prominent political writer of the time pointed out in 1844 that hunger had been a powerful force towards rebellion at various times; in 1846 he commented upon, "the wretched way in which the famine was being trifled with" and asked of the government whether or not it had any conception that, "millions of human beings in Ireland had nothing to eat". Shortly thereafter he expressed the view that, while the government may hold differing opinions on the feeding of the Irish people, it would, "agree most cordially in the policy of taxing, prosecuting and ruining them." (Wikipedia)

Mitchel was to carry on in like vein until, in 1861, he wrote a widely circulated pamphlet on, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* one line of which expressed the commonly held view that, "The Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine." (Wikipedia)

For his trouble Mitchel was charged with sedition. However this charge was subsequently dropped and instead, under the new *Treason Felony Act*, the jury awarded him free passage to Bermuda for fourteen years at the government's expense. I cannot recall the name of the actual Irish patriot who, on renting a public hall to deliver a speech that was judged to be seditious was arrested on the spot, hauled off, successfully charged and sent into exile for many years. Following his eventual return to Ireland his first act was to rent the same hall and his opening remark to the assembled audience was, "As I was saying before I was so rudely interrupted … ." This person was probably not Mitchel, but he obviously held very similar views and attitudes.

Charles Gavin Duffy, Irish historian and the eighth premier of colonial Victoria, was to point out that Ireland was part of the richest empire of the time and why could not a remedy, adopted by the rest of Europe of retaining the food produced in the country by its people, be applied to Ireland? This at a time when large quantities of expensive corn (complements of the *Corn Laws*), together with an increasing amount of livestock and its by-product of bacon and ham was being dispatched to England from Irish ports under the protection of the army. This caused much additional bitterness towards the English. Unfortunately for the starving population it was the landlords profiting from these exports, and not the general population, who had the ear of the parliament.

Owing to the middleman landlords' policy of leasing their land in smaller and smaller lots the middlemen now had many tenants whose rent was less than £4 per year. With rents so low, and under the provisions of newly introduced laws, the local landlords were now faced with the increased expenses incurred in meeting the



**A derelict cottage on Connemara's west coast**

payment of the rents that had previously been the responsibility of the tenants. Their response to this fresh obligation was to evict the small area tenants and to combine their leased areas into larger holdings, with higher rents, thus avoiding the expenses that would have otherwise been incurred.

The resulting clearances were to start in earnest by 1847 but it was 1849 before the police started to record the number of evictions. Between 1849 and 1854 the number of recorded evictions was 250,000 persons and it is estimated that the total number of evictions between 1846 and 1854 was in excess of 500,000 persons. This number included people who 'voluntarily' left their homes, following the payment of a small sum of money, on the false assurance that they would receive accommodation in the workhouses. The worst areas of eviction were considered to be West Clare and County Mayo.

Despite the requests for action, and the urgings of many responsible citizens, government activity to alleviate the continuing disaster continued to be provided in a reluctant and ineffective manner. While accurate figures as to the actual number of deaths over the period of the famine do not exist it has been estimated that between one and one and a half million

people died of disease and starvation, with most deaths being caused by disease.

The diseases that were observed to be causing the greatest mortality were measles, smallpox, diarrhoea, tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough and other respiratory infections. To increase the misery, if this was at all possible, an epidemic of cholera emanated from the Asian continent, travelled through continental Europe and then Britain and attacked the vulnerable Irish population in 1849.

Conditions peculiar to, or more prevalent in, 'the Great Famine' period which greatly increased the susceptibility to disease were the concentration of the starving citizens at soup kitchens and their overcrowding at work houses where such diseases as typhus, typhoid and various fevers could be contracted. Diarrhoea was an inevitable result of the poor hygienic situations resulting from these unsanitary conditions.

Over the period of 'The Great Famine' in excess of one million of the Irish migrated to the United States, Canada, Australia and England. In the worst year of the famine alone over a quarter of a million Irish emigrated, with most emigrants coming from the west, from where my own great-grandmother, a young Mary Shannon emigrated from Ennistymon, County Clare in 1851.

Women were just as likely to emigrate as their menfolk, and it was mainly the younger members of the families who left Ireland to find a better life in a new land. Remittances from these emigrants then allowed other family members to migrate.

The trend to migration once established was to continue and from a population of eight million in 1841 Ireland was to have a much reduced population of four million four hundred thousand by 1911.

Perhaps the last words on the subject should be given over to the Irish and to the English themselves. Firstly on behalf of the Irish the aforementioned John Mitchel was to comment in 1860, sometime after the famine, that,

> *I have called it an artificial famine: that is to say, it was a famine which desolated a rich and fertile island that produced every year abundance and superabundance to sustain all her people and many more. The English, indeed, call the famine a 'dispensation of Providence' and ascribe it entirely on the blight on potatoes. But the potatoes failed in like manner all over Europe, yet there was no famine save in Ireland. The British account of the matter, then, is first, a fraud; second, a blasphemy. The Almighty indeed sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine.* (Wikipedia)

On England's account Nassau Senior, an Oxford University economics professor and associate of Malthus* and who was almost certainly speaking with a Malthusian bias, was to observe that the Famine,

> *would not kill more than one million people, and that would be scarcely enough to do any good.* (Wikipedia)

*(NOTE: The Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus whose 1798 work, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* was to influence the development of following scientific works such as Charles Darwin's theory on natural selection and on the politics of the time e.g. the introduction, in 1801, of a nation-wide census for England, Scotland and Wales.)

# Chapter 18

# Scotland

## Will Ye No Come Back Again

As with the dissertation on Ireland, one has to start somewhere and where better - or worse - than at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The Jacobite risings, including the first in 1725 that had initiated an early start to the Scottish emigration to the Americas, had also resulted in a series of British government measures to diminish the cohesion of the clans and the supportive social structures of their agricultural communities.

The British government tried the promulgation of a series of acts that were intended to subdue the Highlanders and, when these acts proved to be ineffectual, troops were sent in and a series of forts were constructed to further isolate and control the clans by the limitation of travel and the suppression of news sharing. Perhaps the best known of these fort-garrisons are Fort William in the Great Glen and Fort George at Inverness. Another series of these forts were made accessible to the southern lowlands by Major-General George Wade's roads. Wade also formed the Black Watch militia to assist in pacifying the turbulent Highlands.

The suppressive measures reached their extreme following the Battle of Culloden where British troops imposed savage reprisals on the Highland population, and when the repressive *Act of Proscription* required all swords to be surrendered and forbad the wearing of the kilt. A new breed of black-faced sheep had been developed that could survive the rigors of the Highland topography and climate and this, combined with an increasing demand for cattle and sheep products in England, markedly increased the value of the land occupied by crofters to the clan chiefs and landowners. The relevance of clan chief 'ownership' can be explained by the consideration of an old, 16th



**A land sparcely populated** - with a modern tree plantation in the highlands

century law that required the chiefs to present themselves to the authorities in Edinburgh on a regular basis for the provision of bonds as to the conduct of the people in their territories. This was to culminate in their regarding themselves as landlords by default. Whilst land ownership brought wealth to the landlords the clan members, forced to exist as crofters on small areas of poor land or to emigrate, naturally became bitter at their lot.

The requirement placed upon the crofters by the landowners to provide free labour and to work long hours in such activities as kelp harvesting and processing for the production of fertilizer/soil conditioner lead to further instability in the still overpopulated Highlands. The lesser 'gentry' were able to sustain some wealth creation activity by droving livestock along the drove roads for sale in the Lowlands, an activity familiar to any Australian who has camped along our own dedicated stock routes.

Commencing in Tudor times and with the rate increasing into the period of the industrial revolution, a forced displacement from agricultural areas took place which was referred to in England as the 'Enclosures' and in Scotland as the, 'Highland Clearances'.



**Dunvegan Castle** – on the Isle of Skye

In Scotland the clearances commenced after those in England and were particularly brutal owing to the rapid collapse of the clan system, the ruthless application of the eviction process and the lack of legal protection of citizens' rights under Scottish law. It is also of relevance that occupancy of land was largely based on Celtic tradition and family trust rather than upon documented land titles.

From at least the early part of the 18th century observers were commenting on population problems in the Scottish Highlands. The Highlands do not have the extensive areas of arable soils that are to be found in the Scottish Lowlands, England or Ireland and, at least by Australian standards, Scotland is a very tiny country. The difficulties that would be encountered in attempting to deal with population pressures of this magnitude are daunting. Given the capabilities of the time emigration was one obvious solution. However, as the words of the old song go, "It ain't what you do it's the way that you do it."

The reliance upon the chieftains for protection proved to be trust misplaced as the chieftains realized that an eviction process was to their

economic advantage. They engaged factors* with sheep farming expertise acquired in the Lowlands, or even from England, to move the resident populations off potential grazing land (forcibly if necessary), destroy their cottages and introduce and then manage the new industry.

*(NOTE: Factors – Prior to Culloden, and after to a lesser extent, clan chiefs leased land to middlemen called tacksmen (tack = lease). The tacksmen in turn sublet portions of this land to the clansmen. They were also responsible for the call up of the clansmen to military service. In the 1740's a significant number of clan chiefs abandoned the use of tacksmen and instead employed factors acting on commission paid by the chiefs to achieve direct collection of the clansmen's rents. The role of these factors was to increase following the later Clearances.)

Early innovators in forced migration were considered to be the MacLeod chieftain of Dunvegan Castle on the Isle of Skye, in the 1730's and Admiral John Ross of Balnagowan Castle, in 1762. However the McLeod chiefs were also to provide shelter in Dunvegan to some of their clansmen giving comfort to these people whilst they constructed new dwellings (crofts). They also provided moneys from their private reserves to improve the lot of any of their distressed clansmen resident on Skye.

The Englishman, George Granville Leveson-Gower, Marquess of Stafford, and his wife Elizabeth Gordon, Countess of Sutherland, became later and, to the Highlanders, infamous advocates of the 'improvements'. In 1807 they engaged their factors, Patrick Sellar and James Lock, each being regarded as both very efficient and completely ruthless, as agents to promote sheep grazing and to initiate their industrial endeavours such as coal mining, brick and tile manufacturing and herring fishing.

To meet these ends an initial ninety families were forced to leave their crops and lands and move their stock, furniture and building timbers to an open location on the coast where they had then to construct their new dwellings. Many other families were to follow.

In what became known as the, 'Year of the Sheep' to the Highlanders, or 1792 by the calendar, another mass emigration took place. Previous migrations had been to the sea coast, the Lowlands, to Ireland or to the American colonies. This new migration was mainly to Nova Scotia (New Scotland), Ontario and to the Carolinas. It would appear that religious considerations influenced the choice of destination in the forced migrations, as many of the people from the Highlands were of the Catholic persuasion and these were consigned mainly to Canadian destinations, Canada having a French Catholic tradition. Presbyterians were mainly directed to North Carolina.

The 1840's brought further trauma to Scotland as a result of the combination of a cholera outbreak and the Highland Potato Famine. As in Ireland this brought death, starvation and further clearances, sometimes as a consequence of violent evictions, to the Highlands with an estimated one million seven hundred thousand persons forced to emigrate

over the period 1846 to 1852. Deaths caused by these clearances were particularly prevalent in the youngest and oldest segments of the population. The industrializing areas of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee in the Lowlands, and Liverpool and Newcastle-upon-Tyne in England, were beneficiaries of this migration.

While famine relief was more effective in Scotland than it was in Ireland over the same period, the dependence on the potato as a major portion of the staple diet left the Highlands vulnerable to potato blight, just as it did in Ireland, and for the same reasons. The potato was the only high yielding food crop suitable for the poor soils and small plots available for cultivation by the Scottish crofters

A severe winter occurring in 1847 followed the commencement of the potato blight in Scotland in the previous year. Sir Edward Pine Coffin directed the application of naval vessels to distribute oatmeal rations to the desperate crofters. These rations came at a price as the crofters, in return, were expected to labour eight hours per day for six days a week to construct works such as public roads. The ration quantities provided 680 grams for men, 340 grams per woman and 230 grams per child. As elsewhere in the British Isles the process was extraordinarily bureaucratic and as a consequence it provided employment for legions of clerks.

In Scotland as in Ireland and, under these circumstances, to a lesser extent in England the ubiquitous *Corn Laws* were to have their unfortunate impact. The seriously deprived crofters were obliged to watch privately owned consignments of grain being exported from their harbours and, as happened in Ireland, troops were required to control the subsequent protests.

The reaction of landlords to the crisis varied, though the net result of their actions on the resident population was probably much the same. In all fairness it should perhaps be remembered that the eviction of non-rent paying tenants was not peculiar to the Scottish Highlands though, under the conditions prevailing at the time, the displaced tenant was faced with only one really viable option – emigration. In providing a free passage to receptive overseas countries some landlords expected to provide a better lifestyle for their ex tenants; and for the majority of the descendants of the departing crofters this expectation was probably realised.

On the other hand landlords, such as John Gordon of Cluny, attracted much criticism by hiring a fleet of ships to dump his forcibly evicted crofters on to an apparently unsuspecting Canada. In a similar reaction as to the large scale Irish migration of the time, the Scottish diaspora in the recipient countries such as Canada and Australia, and – more latterly – New Zealand was obliged to organize relief measures for the new arrivals.

In the years following 1852, and up to 1857 when the potato crops had reverted to healthy growth, a further sixteen thousand crofters were shipped to Australia and to Canada.

# Chapter 17

# The United States of America

## Yankee Doodle Not So Dandy

England lost its eastern American mainland colonies in 1783 as a consequence of the American War of Independence: however it was to retain its sugar producing island colonies in the West Indies following a major, and victorious, sea battle with the French navy in the Caribbean Sea. These islands, with their reliable rainfall and rich volcanic soils, were perhaps of greater value than the lost colonies to a major sea power such as England at this time. The plantations, in both the lost mainland colonies and in the Caribbean Islands, were to retain their slave labourers following the successful rebellion.

The location of early industrial mills or factories in the United State was, to a large degree, influenced by the availability of water power – which required the fast-flowing rivers provided by relatively steep stream bed gradients. This requirement was met in the north-east of the country, a geographic circumstance that no doubt had a major influence on the rationale for, and the outcome of, the tragic civil war of the 1860's.

In this war the country lost somewhere in the vicinity of 600,000 combatants; a greater number than those lost in all other American wars combined. This was partly because of the intensity of the combat and, more critically, because the country sustained casualties on both sides of the conflict. Here, as in Britain, there had been serious friction between the



**Steam power** - the reconstruction of a Mississippi Steam Boat

free-trade demanding industrialists of the north and the protectionist inclined, land rich plantation owners of the agrarian south.

It was cotton from the south, but milled in the north, that provided the impetus for the United States' industrialisation. The construction of these cotton mills commenced in the 1790's and they were located largely in the Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts areas, where the establishment of mills on the Blackstone River became regarded as the birthplace of the American Industrial Revolution.

Child labour was as important to American industry as it was to the British. However in the United States, where trade unionism had much less influence, the use of child labour continued up to the 20th century. Following Ireland's Great Famine immigrants from that country also provided a significant source of cheap labour to the developing industries.

Prior to and during the civil war, the southern states, with no means of harnessing water-power, had to rely upon the much less efficient power of horses to provide for their industrial muscle.

It was not until after the civil war that southern cotton mills would become economically viable by utilizing the power of that new deliverer of energy, coal fired steam.

The victorious northern states' elimination of the agriculturalists' slave labour, previously used to provide cheap labour to the southern plantations, ensured that the southern economy suffered a further dramatic weakening as employers of agricultural labour now had to compete (if possible) with the industrial wages of the north.

The reduction in competition provided by the American Civil War, with its consequent elimination of the slave labour based workforce, provided a boon to Australian agriculture. However this boon did not extend to the production of cotton where the passage of much time and the acquisition of considerable experience were needed before this particular industry was to become viable in Australia.

To the west of the country, in California, gold had been discovered and a flood of immigrants, the forty-niners, flooded into the state. Many of these miners would subsequently relocate to the Victorian gold rush fields and were to make their presence felt at the Eureka Stockade and, by dispersion, into other industries including sugar cane production. (For example Mr. Faulkner of Woodlands, Woongarra).

# Chapter 20

# Oceania

## We were the First that ever Burst into that Silent Sea

### An Overview

In general usage the term Pacific Islander refers to the Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian – (Austronesian) inhabitants of Oceania.

### The Melanesians

From Queensland's historical perspective the group of Pacific Islanders of most interest are the Melanesians. Whilst indented labour in Fiji was mostly of Indian origin the indented labour utilized in Queensland's cane fields was drawn mainly, but not exclusively, from Oceania. The dominant sources of supply for this indented labour were the Melanesian populations of the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands.

The Melanesians were early arrivals in this very extensive region and their main areas of occupation are now the island of East (Papua) and West New Guinea, Torres Strait, the Admiralty and Bougainville Islands, the Bismarck and Louisiade Archipelagos, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji; while the Micronesians are to be found in Kiribati, Guam, Nauru, the Northern Marianas, the Marshall Islands, Palau and in the Caroline Islands. The Melanesians were probably also the original inhabitants of the Celebes, Borneo, Java and Sumatra before complete replacement by invaders from Southern China.



**A Pacific Ocean outrigger canoe**

The Melanesians are the ancestors of the Papuan speaking peoples and their early migrations spread at least as far as the Solomon and Fijian Islands. Limited interaction occurred between these peoples and the later migrating Austronesian speaking people, commencing from about 1600 B.C. This interaction occurred in pockets along the northern coast of New Guinea, and in particular on the islets adjacent to the larger islands of the Bismarck Archipelago.

A migration that preceded the Austronesian expansion, and which had some interaction with the Melanesian peoples was that of the Lapita pottery making peoples whose migration routes led them to populate the very extensive maritime area to the east of New Guinea in the western and southern expanses of the Pacific Ocean. Their expansion into the Bismarck Archipelago resulted in the creation of pottery in the area which has been dated from about 1,350 B.C. Lapita artefacts have also been unearthed in locations as far removed as Fiji (from about 1,150 B.C.), Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu and New Caledonia (from about 1,000 to 800 B.C.), The Lapita culture appears to have gone into terminal decline over the period 250 to 0 B.C.

## NEW CALEDONIA

New Caledonia is located in the sub-region of Melanesia in the south-west Pacific approximately 1,200 kilometres east of Australia. It is comprised of the main island Grande Terre, the Loyalty Islands to the east, the Isle of Pines to the south and the Chesterfield Islands and Bellona Reefs to the west. It is said that the rugged coastline of the islands reminded Captain James Cook of the western coastline of Scotland (In Latin 'Caledonia') when he sighted it in 1774 and hence the name became New Caledonia or New Scotland.

The populations of these various islands consist mainly of Melanesian peoples. At a considerably later time Polynesian seafarers arrived and mixed into the general populations.

The first European arrivals in New Caledonia were whalers and sandalwood traders but the supply of sandalwood diminished and some of these traders became troublesome. Here as elsewhere new arrivals brought new diseases to which the original populations had little or no immunity and many of the islanders succumbed. As a result of this, and of other sources of friction, there resulted a commencement of hostilities and, perhaps as a result, the crew of the American ship, *Cutter* was killed and eaten by the Pouma tribe.

French missionaries started to arrive in New Caledonia in 1843 and Napoleon III, in an attempt to copy the British colonization of Australia and New Zealand, had France claim the islands. This claim was withdrawn following British objections. However in 1851 a French landing party was attacked by the native islanders at Balade and only one of the French party survived the subsequent massacre. A formal annexation by France ensued and, in 1853, Auguste Despointes' expedition raised the French flag at the location of the massacre.

In the following year France established Port de France (now Noumea) as its capital and, following the British example, established a prison colony for criminals and political prisoners. There was a serious native uprising in 1878, and the following 1881 rising was only put down after considerable bloodshed. Subsequent to this the infusion of European settlers (including former convicts) and Asian workers, in combination with a decline in the islander population from introduced diseases, all but eliminated the potential for further insurrections.

## THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

The first known European to land in the Solomon Islands was Alvaro de Mendena in 1568. European missionaries and some settlers arrived during the 18th and 19th centuries, with the German New Guinea Company assuming control of the north in 1885. The control of the southern islands came into British hands when they became a protectorate in 1893 and the eastern islands were rolled into this protectorate in 1898. Subsequently, in 1900, in an exchange of territorial responsibility, Germany surrendered the control of the northern islands to Britain in exchange for a British withdrawal from West Samoa. The Solomon Islands have had independence since 1978.

## FIJI

The Lapita peoples are thought to be the first migrants to arrive in Fiji, possibly as early as 1,500 B.C., with the arrival of the now dominant Melanesian people being much later, in around 500 B.C. Burials discovered near Sigatoka were accompanied by pottery of the characteristic Lapita style originating from the north of New Guinea which is at least 3,000 years old. The Sigatoka burials were also accompanied by obsidian originating from the island of New Britain. New Britain is located a distance of 4,500 kilometres from the Fijian Islands and, although this glass like volcanic rock is known to have been transported throughout the Western Pacific by the Lapita seafarers its occurrence does not appear to be common in Fiji.

Other burials, accompanied by pottery whose designs were characteristic of that of the Lapita people of northern Papua New Guinea and of the Solomon Islands of about 550 B.C., were discovered at Bourewa, Fiji in 2005.

In the tenth century A.D. Fiji came within the sphere of the Tongan Tu'I Empire and this introduced some of the Polynesian language and customs to Fiji. However this Tongan influence was to go into decline in the thirteenth century. The later Polynesian invasion of Fiji that occurred in 1847 may have been prompted in part by memories of this earlier occupation.

A heavily fortified battle fort that had been occupied between 1250 and 1560 has been discovered at Kuku in Nausori and it contained some surprising discoveries, such as an iron axe that must have been supplied by contact with very early European traders. Could this contact have initiated an epidemic that contributed to the weakening of the Tu'I Empire's hold on Fiji?

Tribal warfare was the norm in Fiji as it was elsewhere in the Pacific, and even today reminders of these wars can be found in the leg bones of defeated adversaries that have been set in the expanding forks of what were then saplings to be secured so that posterity could view the results of the victor's triumph, permanently fixed in the now mature trees.

In 1822 European settlement was established at Levuka, in 1830 by Methodist missionaries William Cross and David Cargill. They were accompanied to Levuka by emissaries from the Tongan high chief and by a Fijian convert.

The Fijian chief of Viwa, Ratu Ravisa (Varani), was converted by the ministry of the Reverend John Hunt. Varani was subsequently to have considerable significance as a Fijian missionary where he acted as an effective counterbalance to the leading Fijian war-chief Ratu Seru Cakobau. In 1847 Prince Enele Ma'afu of Tonga invaded and, in 1848, set himself up in Lakeba.

The warlord Ratu Seru Epenisa Cakobau was installed as the Paramount Chief of Bau and adopted the title King of Fiji in 1853. On having to face a Tongan army led by Taufa'ahau, and the aforementioned Ma'afu in 1854, he acted to secure the unifying forces of Christianity – together with its western influence – by his conversion to the Methodist persuasion. As a consequence the Methodist influence in Fiji has remained very strong, even up to the present time. In the following year Cakobau overcame the Rewa revolt and its leader, Mara, was executed in 1859.

In 1840 the first American expedition to Fiji took place under the leadership of Captain Charles Wilkes. In 1849 the store of settler-trader, and United States Consul, John Brown Williams was destroyed by stray cannon fire and looted by the natives. The United States Navy appeared upon the scene and demanded 5,000 United States dollars to compensate for Williams' losses.

The home of the accident prone John Brown Williams was again destroyed, this time by an arson attack that took place in 1855 and another visit by a United States warship ensued. This time 44,000 in United States dollars compensation was demanded. Following still another unfriendly visit by a U.S. warship in 1858, Ratu Seru Cakobau offered to cede the



**Sugarcane growing at Rakiraki** – Fiji

islands to Britain for 40,000 United States dollars, an offer that was not accepted. Yet another American warship was to arrive in 1867 threatening to bombard Levuka.

Following Cakobau's installation as Paramount Chief under, a confederacy of Fijian chiefs, the Polynesian Company of Australia offered to pay his debts and to assist in the formation of a constitutional monarchy, nominally under King Cakobau, but with the Legislature and its Cabinet under the domination of Australian settlers. Serious government overspending was to follow and a government official again offered to cede the Fijian Islands to Britain. This time the offer was accepted and so, on the 10th October 1874, Fiji became part of the British Colonial Empire.

In 1875 a disaster that has unfortunately, proven to be only too common when the initial contact or merging of a mobile population with an isolated one occurred, and a deadly measles outbreak killed one-third of the susceptible Fijian population.

The year 1879 marked the commencement of the recruitment of indentured Indian labour, and Fiji's first major sugar mill was constructed at Nausori two years later. This was the start of

one of Fiji's major industries; sugar production had arrived and the Colonial Sugar Company was to become of great commercial significance to the island colony. In 1882 the colony's capital was moved from Levuka to its present location in Suva.

## THE OCEANIC POLYNESIANS

Polynesian maritime migrations have resulted in a very wide population distribution spreading eastwards across the Pacific Ocean. In the Pacific the main Polynesian centres of population occur (loosely listing the islands from west to east) in the Tuvalu, Wallis & Futuna Islands, Tonga, the Samoan Islands, Tokelau, Niue, the Cook Islands, French Polynesia (which harbours the historically significant Tahiti), Easter and Pitcairn Islands and the Hawaiian Islands.

The most southerly islands, those of New Zealand also form part of this grouping being the second last of the islands to be colonized – in 1100 A.D., some one hundred years after Samoa. It is possible that this late discovery was a consequence of the Polynesians' navigational technology which was best adapted to equatorial sea-travel. Their last colonization, by the Moriori tribal group, probably occurred in about 1400 A.D. and was of the Chatham Islands, 900 kilometres to the east of Christchurch. By the end of the 18th century the Moriori – who are now extinct – had an estimated population of about 2,000 persons.

The forebears of the people who were to become the Polynesians originally derived from southern China via what is now called Taiwan. Their original seafaring skills were almost certainly developed by their to and fro crossings of the straight between Taiwan and the mainland. They were by far the greatest seafarers of the Neolithic period, and their development of the outrigger canoe was the technology that helped to drive their population expansion, with its very extensive areal extent.

This dual (sometimes triple) hulled craft was probably not dissimilar to the crafts used by our ancient Celtic ancestors to cross the narrow straight between Northern Ireland and the west coast of Scotland. However, while the Europeans were to develop the planked monohull for ocean going sea transportation, the Polynesians successfully adapted the outrigger canoe for this purpose. In all cases the main hull of the canoe which, in the case of the Polynesian craft and of the Torres Strait craft from the boat builders of the Sepik River, could be of a very considerable size. This hull was hollowed out using fire and adze from a single tree trunk.

From about 3500 B.C. the early Polynesian expansion progressed through the Malay Archipelago and the Philippines, replacing the original hunter-gatherer populations in the process. These early hunter-gatherers are thought to have occupied the islands of Indonesia for at least the previous one million years.

Elsewhere the Polynesian expansion was successfully resisted by the resident Melanesian populations and today the New Guinea Highlanders are almost entirely of Melanesian descent, while the occupants of the Solomon and Bismarck Islands are approximately



**Overview of an outrigger's deck** – Fiji

eighty-five per cent Melanesian and fifteen per cent Polynesian.

The Polynesian migration along the Indonesian archipelago was to occur much later than the southern migration of the Australian aboriginal peoples which is believed to have taken place about 50,000 years earlier.

## NEW ZEALAND

Upon their arrival in New Zealand the Maori, of Polynesian origin, had the very large, flightless native birds of the islands as a meat source. The extinction of these birds left dolphins and whales (and tribal warfare) as their remaining meat source. The Maori were expert fishermen and in the south island the harvesting of penguins and seals was practiced as was the hunting of mutton-birds in the far south during this bird's annual migration. The roots of ferns were harvested and tenderized by pulverizing while seasonal berries and spinach like vegetables were also available.

Maori men were capable and dedicated warriors who both manufactured and utilized beautifully crafted spears and clubs which often incorporated greenstone or jade ornamentation. There was frequent intertribal warfare both before and after European contact and fortified villages were constructed in strategic locations

as a means of protection. A series of trenches and stockades would be constructed around a hill site, somewhat reminiscent of the iron-age forts of Britain.

Abel Tasman, in 1642, was the first European known to view New Zealand. However his attempt to contact the Maori resulted in the death of four of his men in a skirmish and he abandoned any further attempts at contact. Captain James Cook, as part of his voyage to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus in 1769 and to search for the Great South Land, first observed the New Zealand coastline near the present Gisborne. His men gathered a large volume of information about both the North and South Islands during his circumnavigation of these islands. He was to visit the New Zealand islands twice more before being killed by the natives on a Hawaiian beach in 1779.

By 1840 there were about 100,000 Maori and 2,000 Europeans in New Zealand. The European population consisted mainly of whalers, sealers and missionaries and was confined largely to the Bay of Islands and other coastal areas. From about this time the availability of traded guns, and the introduction of diseases for which the Maori had no immunity, established the basis for a rapid population decline. The Ngapuki tribe acquired traded muskets about 1818 and for the next fifteen years the Musket Wars determined the subjugation of musket-less tribes by the tribes with access to the firearm. This ensured that, by 1833, all surviving tribes owned muskets.

Another tragedy was to follow the return to the north island of New Zealand of a seal hunting ship after its visit to the Chatham Islands. The crew described islands of plenty where the natives knew nothing of fighting. A war party of 500 Maori armed with guns, clubs and axes set out and arrived at the Chathams on the 19th November 1835, followed by a second contingent of 400 warriors on the 5th of December. The Chatham Islanders were told that they were now slaves and a slaughter commenced. A Maori warrior later described the event. "We took possession – in accordance with our customs – we caught all the people. Not one escaped. Some ran away from us, these we killed, and others we killed – but what of that. It was in accordance with our custom." (Diamond) In the first few days following the attack it was reported that they killed hundreds of Moriori, cooking and eating many of the bodies.

It needs to be remembered that, before becoming too critical of the Maori and other Pacific Ocean tribes for this and similar incidents, that some of the customs of our not too distant English and Celtic forebears also left a great deal to be desired. It appears to be an almost universal constant that a member of a clan or tribe is likely to have little or no regard for the rights of members of other clans or tribes. The bleak picture painted by the trauma and loss of life experienced during the course of nation building in countries such as England, Ireland and Scotland, and more latterly the United States of America, seems to indicate that mankind has not yet developed an elegant or non-violent method to break down the clan or tribal structures – however judging by experience up to the present time it would appear necessary to break down these structures wherever a viable nation is to be created.

In 1833 the British government appointed a British Resident to New Zealand, as a response to increasing lawlessness between settlers and traders, and in 1835 it signed a *Declaration of Independence* with northern Maori chieftains. However the lawlessness increased and questionable land sales were common so, in 1840, Captain William Hobson was sent to New Zealand as Lieutenant-Governor to acquire Sovereignty of New Zealand by means of a treaty.

This treaty, the *Treaty of Waitangi*, was drafted in both English and Maori versions each containing three articles. It was signed in February 1840 by the northern chiefs and over the following eight months it was circulated throughout the country making it possible for five hundred chiefs to eventually sign. However the differing versions were capable of differing interpretations and herein lay the foundation for future disputation.

Following the signing of this treaty, and with New Zealand now becoming an English colony, approximately 40,000 new immigrants were to arrive and by 1858 the population of Maori and immigrant were near equality. Even more immigrants of English, Scottish, Irish and Chinese descent were to arrive in the South Island during the gold rush of the 1860's.

With increasing pressure on land ownership, and with problems arising from the ambiguities of the *Treaty of Waitangi*, skirmishes with the Maori escalated into war. This commenced in the north of the country by the mid 1840's and in the remainder of the country by the 1860's. The weight of numbers eventually brought about the defeat of the Maori fighters. However the war was far from one sided with the Maori military engineers often providing superior technology to those of the colonial forces. It has been claimed that it was the Maori who taught the basics of trench warfare to the British army during the course of these Maori Wars

## OTHER POLYNESIAN ISLANDS

The more easterly islands such as those of Hawaii and French Polynesia, while of great significance to the voyages of Captain James Cook, had little practical influence on the Queensland history of the mid 1800's and will not be considered further.

## CONCLUSION

From the above it follows that, compared with the situations prevailing in the major part of what is now referred to as the western world and in Oceania, the embryonic Bundaberg in the colony of Queensland could be regarded as a haven of peace and tranquillity. Its attraction now becomes obvious.

As to the question, who would prefer to settle in an undeveloped patch of open eucalypt forest on the south bank of the Burnett River one hundred miles from nowhere rather than dwell back in the 'civilised' world of the time? – Well I would for one!

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# Part 6

DESCENDENTS

OF

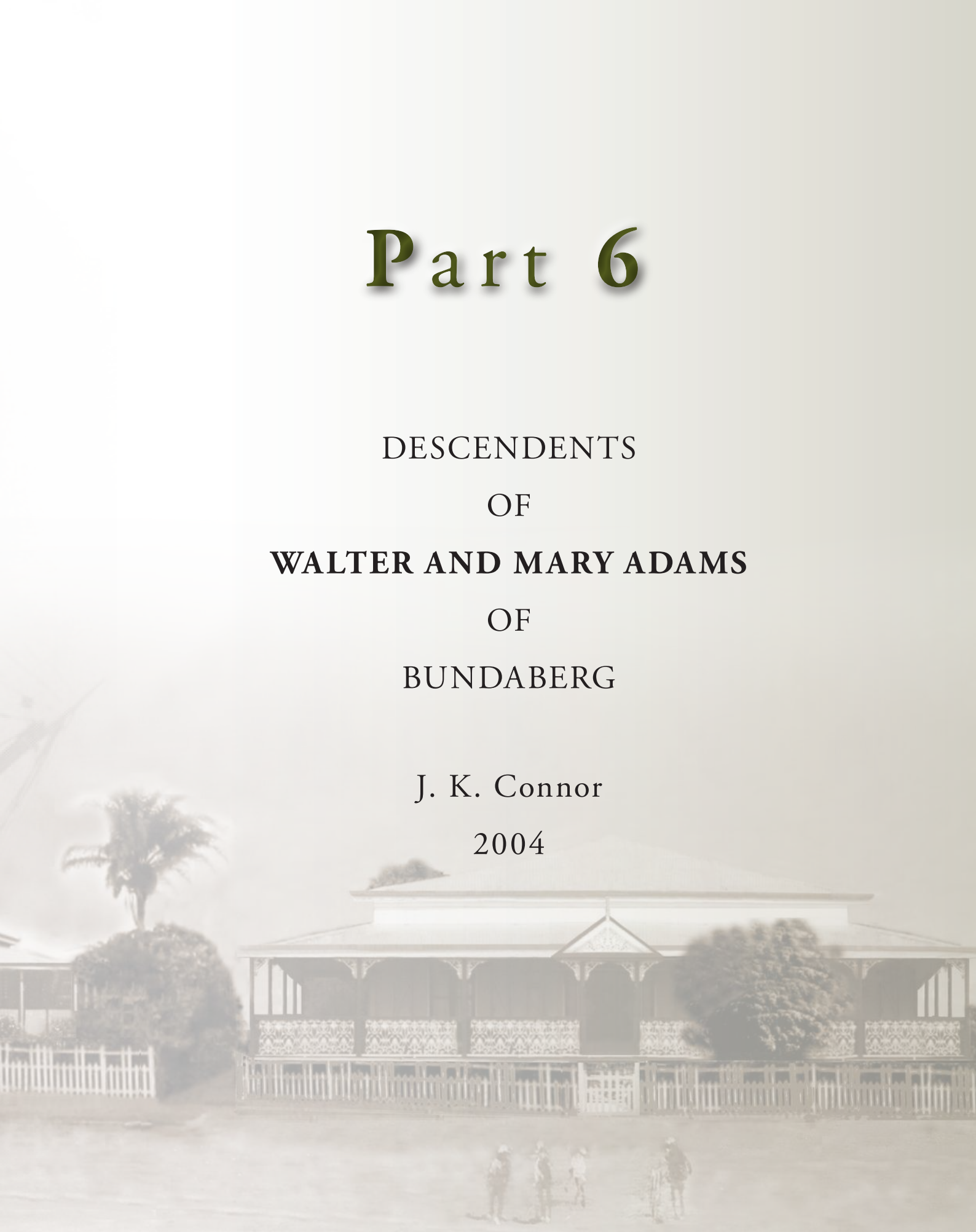
**WALTER AND MARY ADAMS**

OF

BUNDABERG

J. K. Connor

2004



# WALTER AND MARY ADAMS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

ADAMS Walter
b: 22 Nov 1830 Somersetshire
d: 15 May 1892 Sydney
m: 20 Mar 1854 Mary Shannon

ADAMS George Manus
b: 18 May 1855
d: 19 Nov 1888
m: 9 Nov 1882 Cecilia Mary ("Lillie") Fogarty

ADAMS Mary Elizabeth
b: 13 Aug 1883
d: 26 June 1886

ADAMS Walter Thomas
b: 13 Dec 1884
d: 8 Sept 1957
m: 26 April 1911 Emily McGrath

ADAMS Matilda Jane
b: 30 Nov 1856
d: 18 Mar 1918
m: 3 Jan 1880 Thomas Riedy

RIEDY William Walter
b: 20 Nov 1880
d: 25 March 1954
m: 12 June 1907 Anna ("Annie") Hammelswang

RIEDY George James
b: 5 Feb 1882
d: 4 Aug 1882

RIEDY Thomas Reginald
b: 5 June 1883
d: 11 Aug. 1957
m: 22 June 1914 Daisy Agnes Broom

RIEDY Mary ("May") Winifred
b: 31 Dec 1884
d: 20 Feb. 1970

RIEDY Ellen Elizabeth
b: 26 Nov 1886
d: 16 Sep 1974
m: 19 Apr 1911 Bertram Robinson

RIEDY George Manus
b: 5 Feb 1889
d: 3 Jul 1969
m: 29 May 1915 Ivy Ann Selena Turner

RIEDY Martin Aloysius
b: 6 June 1891
d: 21 May 1924

RIEDY Matilda Gladys
b: 12 Apr 1893
d: 12 June 1963
m: 11 Oct 1916 Charles Robert Desborough

RIEDY Maria Florence
b: 6 Aug 1895
d: 5 Oct 1895

RIEDY Annette Bridget
b: 5 Oct 1896
d: 1984
m: 15 Feb 1938 John Michael Winter

RIEDY Ann Muriel Thelma Adams
b: 14 Aug 1900
d: 1971
m: 2 Jul 1929 Timothy Edward Joseph Taeffe

ADAMS Mary Ann
b: 30 Dec 1857
d: 22 Jul 1919
m: 29 Jan John Henry Edma Bertheau

BERTHEAU Annette Mary ("Peggy")
b: 18 June 1876
d: 21 April 1965

BERTHEAU Charles Zacharie
b: 16 March 1878
d: 23 Jan 1957

BERTHEAU Walter Henry Edma
b: 5 June 1880
d: 6 Dec 1948

BERTHEAU Edmund James
b: 2 April 1882
d: 15 Sept 1948

BERTHEAU George Manus
b: 14 Nov 1883
d: 20 Jun 1923

BERTHEAU Matilda Jane
b: 9 March 1886
d: 16 Nov 1887

BERTHEAU William John Coulter
b: 18 June 1888
d: 12 July 1889

BERTHEAU Maria Emilienne ("Myra")
b: 21 Sept 1890
d: 12 Oct 1976

BERTHEAU Nellie Bernadette
b: 9 June 1893
d: 29 May 1978
m: 15 Feb 1937 John Cobham Payne

BERTHEAU Mary Ann Adams
b: 30 June 1896
d: circa 1963
m: 24 Feb 1925 Alexander Smith

BERTHEAU Adeline Muriel
b: 13 March 1900
d: 20 Aug. 1940

ADAMS James Walter
b: 23 May 1860
d: 18 July 1936
m: 20 July 1887 Catherine Beatrice ("Kate/Sissy") Mackinlay

ADAMS Walter Patrick Victor
b: 24 June 1888
d: 23 Sept 1889

ADAMS Ruby Mary Elizabeth
b: 29 June 1890
d: 18 Nov 1890

ADAMS Florence Beatrice
b: 30 Nov 1891
d: 3 Aug 1949
m: 30 Sep 1916 Hugh Webb Higgins

ADAMS Vivienne Josephine
b: 30 Dec 1894
d: 3 Feb. 1926

ADAMS Ernest Oswin
b: 7 Jun 1901
d: 1977

ADAMS Sarah Margaret
b: 14 Oct 1862
d: 11 Sep 1935
m: 24 Feb 1885 Albert Joseph Buckley

BUCKLEY Mary Clare Elsie
b: 3 Apr 1886
d: circa 1976
m: 6 Dec 1912 David Easton Percy

BUCKLEY Cecilia Vere
b: 3 Apr 1888
d: 31 Oct 1889

BUCKLEY Irene Clarissa
b: 12 Aug 1890
d: circa 1971
m: 23 Dec 1912 Sidney Easton Percy

BUCKLEY Walter James Vitalian
b: 14 March 1893
d: circa 1953
m: 2 Sep 1922 Ellen Elizabeth Gertrude Simpson

BUCKLEY Marie Bernadette
b: 8 Nov 1895
d: 8 Dec 1979
m: circa 1926 John Thomas Webb

BUCKLEY Dorothy Josephine
b: 29 July 1899/1900?
d: circa 1974
m: 4 Aug 1920 William Hilleard

BUCKLEY Beryl Veronica
b: 26 Oct 1902
d: 5 Mar 1905

ADAMS Maria Emily
b: 6 Jul 1865
d: 7 Mar 1946

ADAMS Susanna
b: 30 Aug 1867
d: 6 Mar 1869

ADAMS Ellen Elizabeth ("Nellie")
b: 17 March 1869
d: 31 Jan 1948
m: 24 May 1893 Richard Walter Adams

ADAMS Lancelot Constantine
b: 13 Jul 1890
d: 3 Feb 1944

ADAMS Eric Walter Henry
b: 27 Jul 1894
d: 22 Aug 1938

ADAMS Leila Bernadette
b: 22 Jan 1896
d: 10 Jun 1966

ADAMS Leslie Joseph
b: 26 Sep 1897
d: 1 Jan 1962

ADAMS Mary Eileen Angela (Aileen)
b: 17 Jul 1900
d: 9 Jul 1975

ADAMS Marjorie Hammond ("Peggy")
b: 13 May 1903
d: 27 May 1985
m: 23 Sept 1937 Laurence Kingsley Connor

ADAMS Jean Marie
b: 1 Dec 1906
d: 2 Oct 1994

ADAMS Dudley Manus Clair
b: 18 Jul 1909
d: 2 Feb 1969

ADAMS Betty Ursula
b: 24 Apr 1913
d: 3 Oct 2003
m: 1948/1949 Colin Terrance Hall

# Chapter 21

# An Heir

## A Tragedy and a Resolute Lady

George Manus Adams was born in Maryborough in 1855. To celebrate the event, Walter and Mary bought an allotment in the town in his name.

When Sommerville Plantation in the Woongarra was selected, he was a lad of 16 years, old enough to have been involved in its development; and in the running of the Adams (later Metropolitan) Hotel in subsequent years. Land Commission records show that George and his younger brother James assisted the then Bailiff, D. Kennen, in clearing the selection from February to June 1872. From August 1873 to August 1874 George served as the Sommerville Bailiff.

His first independent venture on record was an application in 1881 for a liquor licence. The Sugarcane Hotel was to be built on the corner of Chapellow's and Kirby Roads in the Woongarra. The hotel traded in 1881, not in George's name, but in that of his brother-in-law, Tom Riedy.

On 9th November 1882 Cecilia Mary (Lillie) Fogarty and George were married and in the following year, 1883, he was granted the licence of the Sydney Hotel which was located on the corner of Bourbon and Toonburra Streets. He retained this licence until he took over the licence of the Metropolitan Hotel in 1886 after his father's election to the Legislative Assembly. George died in 1888 at the age of thirty-three years, leaving a widow and three year old son. The children of the marriage were Mary Elizabeth, who died as an infant, and Walter Thomas. (Appendix C1 – George's Will)

Lillie was a daughter of Thomas Fogarty and Eliza Dal(e)y, natives of County Clare, Ireland. Thomas and Eliza were married at Launceston, Tasmania, on 13th February 1843 at ages of 23 and 19 years respectively. Thomas Fogarty died at Hobart on the 16th December 1863.




**George (seated) and his brother James**




**George and his wife Cecilia (Lillie)**

No records have been found of the births of Lillie or her elder sister, Margaret Gertrude; however, the deaths are recorded of unnamed male and female twins born to Thomas and Eliza on 6th April 1859 at Longford, Tasmania.

Margaret Gertrude Fogarty, aged 24 years, married Gerald Griffin, aged 34 years, at Deloraine, Tasmania on 10th February 1873.

In 1864 and 1865 a Gerald Griffin was a householder in Charlotte Street, Brisbane. He, therefore, may have experienced life in Queensland before moving to Tasmania.

On 24th February 1877, Elizabeth Fogarty died at Brisbane in Queensland. In that year the name of Gerald Griffin appears on the electoral role at Kolonga, a settlement near Mount

Gaeta north-west of Gin Gin. Also in 1877, he was the licensee of the Criterion Hotel, North Bundaberg.

In February 1881 a Miss Fogarty, dressmaker, was resident at Edina and Kolan Streets, North Bundaberg. Lillie had probably moved to Queensland with Elizabeth, Margaret and Gerald.

Gerald and Margaret had three children, Michael, born 8th June 1877, Gertrude Theresa, born 26th June 1879, and Gerald born, 15th April 1881. Gertrude and Gerald died as infants, on 15th December 1880 and 9th April 1882 respectively.

On her husband's death on 8th February 1881, Margaret assumed the licence of the Criterion Hotel and remained the licensee until 1884.

On 20th August 1884 Margaret married Lewis O'Mara. His occupation at this time is unknown; however, from 1886 to 1890 he was licensee of the Railway Hotel, which still operates on the corner of Perry Street and Hinkler Avenue, North Bundaberg. They had three daughters, Margaret Annie, born 28th June 1885, Ellenor Mabel, born 11th April 1887 and Cecilia Mary, born 31st October 1889. Margaret died intestate the day after Cecilia's birth.

On 10th April 1883 Margaret sought a conditional purchase lease under the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* on 225 acres 2 roods of land between Sandy Creek and Welcome Creek, west of the current Moore Park Road. Walter Adams was trustee for the application. On 9th September 1885 the lease was confirmed and a Certificate of Fulfilment of Conditions was granted, after payment of total rents of £113, on 9th September 1889, less than two months before Margaret's death.

On 26th January 1890, the Railway Hotel and billiard room was destroyed in the Great Flood. Lewis re-built the hotel and regained the licence in April but he transferred it immediately to Mary Moore.

On 24th December 1890, Lewis, now working as a clerk, petitioned the Supreme Court for administration of Margaret's estate which consisted solely of a life insurance policy for £1,000 with National Mutual Life Association of Australasia. The company contended that the policy had lapsed through non-payment of premiums. Supported by a surety of £2,000 obtained from Charles Zacharie Bertheau, Lewis was granted administration on 12th January 1991. Whether the insurance was paid we can only speculate.

There is no record of Lewis re-marrying. He subsequently moved to Mount Morgan where he died of typhoid fever on 20th April 1898.

Two sisters of Margaret and Lillie, Gertrude Mary and Eleanor Marion, and a brother, William, are also on record in Queensland; however, there is no evidence of their presence in the Bundaberg district. Instead they moved to the North Queensland Goldfields/Gulf Country.

Gertrude Mary married Daniel Ryan in 1889 probably at Charters Towers. They moved to Croydon in 1890, then Townsville in 1891 where Daniel was Chief Postal Clerk. They had five children, Eileen Maud, Arthur Gratton,

Mary, Gertrude Eleanor and Marguerite born in 1890, 1892, 1896, 1897and 1901 respectively.

Gertrude died in 1902 and Eleanor appeared on the electoral rolls in 1905 performing, 'domestic duties' at Daniel's address, presumably managing the household and raising the young family. In 1908 Daniel and Eleanor married. They had no children.

In 1915 Daniel was elected as M.L.A. for Townsville in the T. J. Ryan Labor Government. After his defeat in the next election the family moved to Brisbane where Daniel returned to public service. Eleanor and Daniel died in 1942 and 1952 respectively while living at Ashgrove.

Eileen Maud married Daniel Ernest Hickey in 1920 at Brisbane following his return from service in the 11th Field Ambulance in World War 1. He worked as a salesman and manager in the photographic industry.

Arthur Gratton, apart from a short period as a cane grower near Innisfail, worked as a marine engineer. In 1932 he married Eva May Gagen and they had a daughter, Barbara Mary. Arthur died in 1945.

Mary Ryan died in infancy. Gertrude Eleanor and Marguerite did not marry and both lived at the residence of their father and step-mother until their deaths in 1957 and 1978 respectively.

In 1883 Lillie's brother, William Fogarty, married Mary Jane Butler and from 1884 until his death in 1890 was resident in Normanton. He and Mary had three children, Lloyd William Montague, Amy and Jessie Eliza born in 1884, 1886 and 1888 respectively.

Lloyd William was a carrier/mail driver and teamster at Camooweal and Burketown and, later, a drover at Winton. In retirement he and Mary Jane lived at Kynuna and Kajabbi. Mary died in 1957 while they were at Kajabbi and she is buried at Mt Isa. Lloyd William was living at the Eventide Home at Charters Towers when he died in 1968. There are several gaps in Lloyd William's Queensland electoral record and it is reasonable to assume that these gaps represent forays into the Northern Territory. An examination of recent Territory electoral rolls suggests his descendants occupy or occupied significant pastoral holdings near Mount Connor and in the Victoria River and Plenty Highway districts of the Territory. The daughters of Lloyd William and Mary Jane, and their descendants who also remained in Queensland, had married names of Collins, Mitchell, Lloyd and Fuller.

No record, other than her birth, has been found of Amy Fogarty. Jessie Eliza married Francis William Binstead, a stockman on Rocklands Station near Camooweal in 1906. They had a son, Herbert Francis, in 1907 and a daughter, Alice Evelyn, in 1909. After that year there is no record of the couple in Queensland. Both girls presumably moved across the border into the Territory.

Returning to Lillie and George in Bundaberg – they had two children, Mary Elizabeth, who died at the age of 32 months, and Walter Thomas.

A year after George's death, Lillie was left with the care of her own son, not yet five years, a twelve year old nephew and three nieces, aged four and two years and a babe in arms.




**The Metropoliton Hotel** – Bourbong Street

Lillie became licensee of the Metropolitan Hotel on George's death and retained the licence until 1898. In that year she applied for the licence of the Burnett Hotel but there is no record of the licence being granted. It is of note that Lewis O'Mara died in 1898. It is possible that Lillie received funds from his estate to be administered in trust for his children. In April 1899 she opened the new Leichardt Hotel in Bourbong Street and she ran this hotel until 1904. On her departure the hotel was renamed the Commercial Hotel.

From 1907 to 1910 Lillie was licensee of the Queensland National Hotel, Laidley. Did the death of Mary Adams in 1904 have an influence on her departure from Bundaberg? We can only speculate.

Lillie retired from the hotel trade in 1911. By that year her son and Margaret's children were all adults. Lillie died in January 1918 and was returned to Bundaberg to be buried alongside her husband George.

Michael Paul Griffin married Blanche Ethelwyn Coombe on 13th June 1900. Ethel was a daughter of James Knight Coombe of J. K. Coombe and Sons, 'Smiths, Engineers, Implement Makers and Horseshoes' of Targo




**Walter Thomas and Emily's wedding reception** – at the McGrath homestead

Street, Bundaberg. The partnership running the business was dissolved in March 1898 but Paul may have learned his trade of patternmaker under his future in-laws before joining the Bundaberg Foundry Limited where he worked until his death in 1935. He not only was a co-worker of Richard Walter Adams at the Foundry but also he and Ethel were close friends of Watty and Ellen Elizabeth Adams. Paul and Ethel had four children, Gerald Francis Knight (born 20th February 1901, died 19th March 1903), Leslie Staniford (born 31st December 1902, died 1929), Clare Sergent (born 30th August 1904) and Elsie (died 26th August 1908). Clare married Francis William David Watson in 1927.

Annie O'Mara married Francis Edward Field on 4th February 1913; Francis, a hotel keeper, appears to have died at a relatively young age, possibly in Victoria. Annie, as a widow, continued in his profession as licensee of the

Prince Alfred Hotel and of the Hotel Grande, Ipswich, from 1936 to 1941 and 1941 to 1946 respectively. She died in 1971.

No post-birth record of Ellenor Mabel O'Mara has been found.

Cecilia O'Mara married John Patrick Hall, a clerk, on 19th October 1910. They had four children, Cecilia Margaret, Joan Therese, John Lewis and Josephine Eleanor. John died in 1931 and Cecilia in 1965.

Walter Thomas (Watty) Adams was educated at Nudgee College, Brisbane. In 1904, at the age of twenty, he represented Bundaberg as a player in its Rugby Union team and in the following year he was selected to represent Queensland. On the family moving to Laidley, Watty worked as a barman at the Queensland National Hotel. In 1911 he married Emily McGrath, daughter of pioneers in the Lockyer district.




**Walter, Emily and Family**

Hanorah Moroney landed at Moreton Bay on 6th July 1852 as a ten year old from the *Marie Somes* with her parents, Thomas and Mary, brothers, Patrick and Mathew, and sisters, Ellen, Mary and Margaret. Thirteen days later the *Argyle* arrived at the colony and Philip McGrath, an eight year old, disembarked with his parents, Patrick and Bridget, and brothers, James, John, Patrick and Michael. Both Thomas and Patrick were labourers and the families were from Clare and Tipperary respectively. At the turn of the century, Philip and Hanorah were farming at Burnside on Laidley Creek.

Following his marriage Watty established a cordial manufacturing business in Laidley, a trade he may have learned in Charles Zacharie Bertheau's factory before leaving Bundaberg. Among civic positions held by Watty were Chairman of Lockyer Centre Q.A.T.B. and Secretary of the Laidley Amateur Race Club.




**The Cordial Works**

Watty and Emily had one daughter and four sons, Honora Cecilia (Noreen), George Philip Walter, Philip Walter (Phil), Walter Thomas (the Young Wattie) and Patrick Joseph (Spud).

Noreen married a stock and station agent, John William (Jack) Lalor around 1942 before Jack enlisted in the AIF. On discharge in 1945, he was a Corporal in the 47th Battalion, a unit involved in the capture of a major Japanese base at Salamaua on the Huon Gulf in north New Guinea in September 1943 and the Bougainville campaign in July and August 1945. Jack embarked at Rabaul, New Britain, in December 1945 to return to Australia. Jack and Noreen had two sons, John William Jnr. and Peter Thomas, and a daughter, Helen Marie.

In 1955 George followed the tradition of his great grandfather, grandfather and grandmother by holding the licence of the Metropolitan Hotel, Bundaberg and, following in his father's footsteps, George represented Queensland in Rugby League (Walter Thomas was Rugby Union – no League in his day) in the half-back position. A move to Mount Isa and Darwin followed by enlistment in the army terminated this representation. From 1940 George was




**Walter's Lawnhill delivery**

licensee of the Don Hotel at Darwin, and he was there on 19th February 1942, when mainland Australia came under attack for the first time when the Japanese armed forces mounted air raids on Darwin.

The Don was destroyed in the attacks so George joined the 'Adelaide River Stakes' in the exodus of Darwin's inhabitants to the south and whilst at Adelaide River he joined the AMF on the 24th February. In July 1942 he joined the AIF and on discharge in 1946 he was a Sergeant in a Security Section.

While licensee of the Metropolitan Hotel in Bundaberg, George married a widow, Emily Winifred (Dem) Ovenden. Dem together with her family provided George with strong support in his subsequent hotel and post office management roles and in retirement.

Philip (Phil) enlisted in the AMF in 1940 and served in a Garrison Company. He married after discharge and he and his wife, Monica Elwyn (nee Kelly), had a daughter Kathleen Lorraine Mary (Lorraine) and a son, Brian Philip. The son of Phil, Brian Philip, is the only known




**George Adams behind the bar of Bundaberg's "The Met"**

descendant of the original Walter Adams who has retained the Adams surname into the fourth generation.

Walter, (the Young Watty), enlisted in the AIF and served as a Private in the 8th Motor Ambulance Convoy.

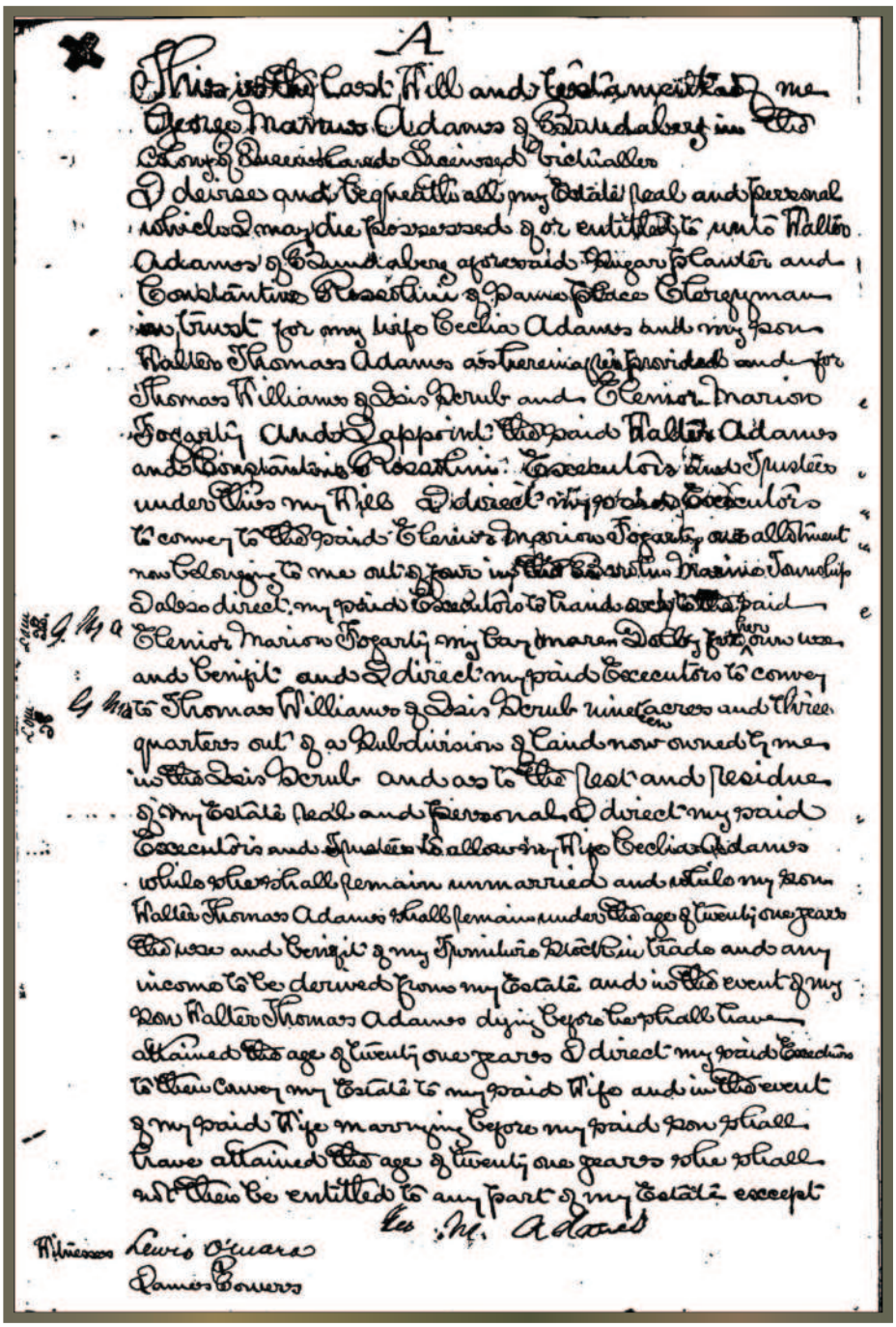
Patrick, (Spud), also served in the AIF as a Signaller and Driver in an Air Support Control Unit. He later joined the younger Watty in the 8th Motor Ambulance Convoy.

Other descendants of George and Lillie bear the names of Payne and Purcell.

Lillie Fogarty/Adams was a remarkable woman. Not only did she lose her husband as a young man but she also lost her sister and was the main, and soon, only source of support for Margaret's children from two marriages. The loss to the Adams family on the death of the heir to the family's fortunes was compounded when this woman of substance left Bundaberg.

# APPENDIX C1a

**The will of George Manus Adams**
– Page 1



A

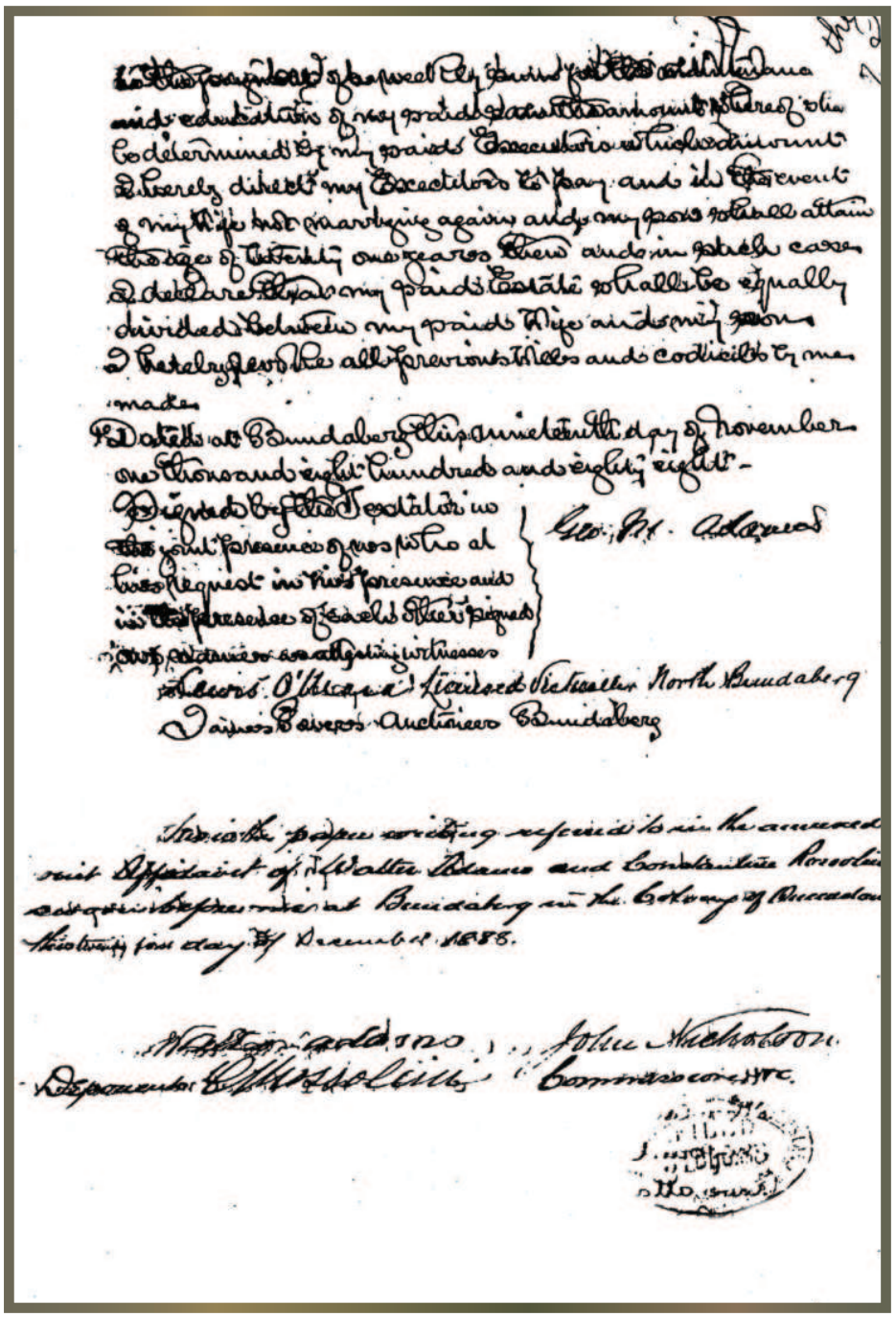
This is the Last Will and Testament of me George Manus Adams of Bundaberg in the State of Queensland Licensed Victualler

I devise and bequeath all my Estate Real and Personal which I may die possessed of or entitled to unto Walter Adams of Bundaberg aforesaid Sugar Planter and Constantine Rosenthal of Parnassus Place Clergyman in Trust for my Wife Cecilia Adams and my son Walter Thomas Adams as hereinafter provided and for Thomas Williams of Dais Derub and Elenior Marion Fogarty absolutely And I appoint the said Walter Adams and Constantine Rosenthal Executors and Trustees under this my Will I direct my said Executors to convey to the said Elenior Marion Fogarty all that allotment now belonging to me out of Farm 109 Parish Bundaberg Township Dalby direct my said Executors to transfer the said Elenior Marion Fogarty my Car Mare Dolly for her own use and benefit and I direct my said Executors to convey to Thomas Williams of Dais Derub nine acres and three quarters out of a Subdivision of Land now owned by me in the Dais Derub and as to the rest and residue of my Estate Real and Personal I direct my said Executors and Trustees to allow my Wife Cecilia Adams while she shall remain unmarried and while my son Walter Thomas Adams shall remain under the age of twenty one years the use and benefit of my Furniture Blacksmith trade and any income to be derived from my Estate and in the event of my son Walter Thomas Adams dying before he shall have attained the age of twenty one years I direct my said Executors to then convey my Estate to my said Wife and in the event of my said Wife marrying before my said son shall have attained the age of twenty one years she shall not then be entitled to any part of my Estate except

her G. M. Adams

Witnesses Lewis Ogilvie
James Bowers

# APPENDIX C1b



**The will of George Manus Adams** – Page 2.

Note the Signatures of Walter Adams and Father Rossolini – Probably written when George was seriously ill with pneumonia

# Chapter 22

# Workers of Wood, Soil and Stone

Matilda Jane, the eldest daughter of Walter and Mary, was born in Maryborough in 1856.

In 1880 she married Thomas Riedy, a native of Newmarket-on-Fergus, County Clare. They had five sons and six daughters, William Walter, George James, Thomas Reginald, Mary Winifred, Ellen Elizabeth, George Manus, Martin Aloysius, Matilda Gladys, Maria Florence, Annette Bridget, and Ann Muriel Thelma Adams. George James and Maria Florence Riedy died as infants.

No record has been found of Tom Riedy arriving in the colony. His obituary stated that he came to Australia in 1872 and that he obtained employment in the Williamstown sheep country of Victoria; however his arrival may have preceded this as he was probably in the Wide Bay-Burnett district by 1871 as, on the 26th August of that year, he selected via the Maryborough Lands Office, Lot 140 Portion No. 32 in the Parish of Kalkie. The selection consisted of 20 acres of agricultural land and 145 acres of 2nd class pastoral land which extended from the South bank of the Burnett. The lease was awarded on 14th September 1872 but residence only occurred from about November 1875. On inspection on 15th May 1876, a W. Maher, farmer and labourer, was resident on the land as Thomas' Bailiff. Five acres of land had been cleared and planted to maize and two additional acres of scrub had been felled. A cottage of sawn pine consisted of two rooms, floored and shingled, and was in fair condition but was plainly furnished. He appeared on the Bundaberg electoral roll under the six month residency provision in 1876.

In the following year Thomas leased land at Rubyanna and on the 8th July 1878 he applied to select Lot 669 which was 781 acres in the Parish of Electra near Pine Creek. In June 1881 a Certificate of Compliance was granted on this property. However, it appears that Joseph



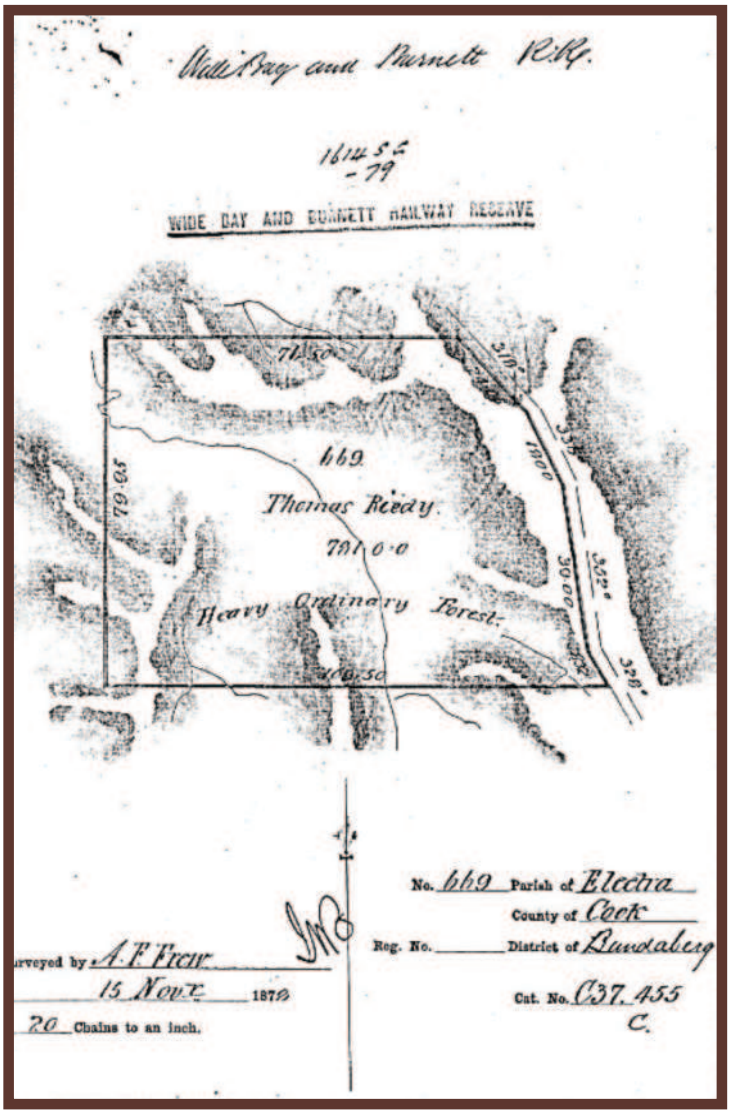
**Matilda Jane**




**The Riedy Family**

Gillen, the same who had beaten Walter to the punch on the Symons' Barolin property and who had returned in May 1884, following 16 months in the "Old Country", held a mortgage on this property. (Appendix D1)

On the 25th November 1884 application was made to transfer the selection to Gillen but it was withdrawn on 13th October 1885. On 13th August 1887, however, the transfer from Thomas to Gillen was affected. Earlier, in 1873, Joseph and his brother John had been granted the first lease for a Government backed ferry service across the Burnett River. Joseph's other claim to fame, or notoriety, was in being the only person fined over the "Battle of the Burnett", a fracas in 1882 at the Queens Hotel over the arrival of coolies from Ceylon.




**Lot 669** – Parish of Electra

Thomas was also involved in the hotel industry and held licences for the West End Hotel, located on the corner of Quay and Tantitha Street, in 1880, the Sugarcane Hotel from 1881 to 1883 and the Star of the East Hotel in 1892 and 1894. By 1905 he was working in the Bundaberg district as a teamster. All his sons followed him into this occupation.

On the 22nd August 1906, Tom purchased at public auction two town allotments at Murgon. He gave his place of residence as Wondai so it is probable that at least some of the family had moved to that district before 1908 when Tom, Thomas Reginald and Mary Winifred appeared on the electoral roll as timber getter, teamster and milliner/dressmaker respectively.

By 1910 Matilda Jane and the rest of the family had joined them. The year 1913 marked a significant development in the family. Matilda Jane, George Manus, Martin Aloysius and Ann Muriel Thelma Adams returned to Bundaberg. The Bundaberg and Upper Burnett branches of the Riedy family remain to this day.

Tom died at Wondai in November 1938, a month before his 93rd birthday. Matilda Jane had predeceased him by over 20 years. (Tom's obituary – Appendix D2) The couple had been pioneers and pillars of the Catholic Church in Wondai and the high altar in St John the Baptist Church bears silent witness to the sacred memory of Matilda Jane.

The descendants of the two sons who remained in the Burnett also staked out different




**A Riedy Family Portrait**

territories. Those of William Walter stayed at Wondai or moved only the short distance to Mondure. Those of Thomas Reginald moved further afield to Mundubbera, Durong, Proston and Boondoomba as well as Wooroonden and Mondure.

William Walter married Annie Hammelswang, a daughter of pioneers of the Childers/Gregory district. They had four sons and a daughter, William Walter Thomas, Eric Reginald James, Roy Eardly Adams, Leila Mary and Clarence George.

Thomas Reginald married Daisy Agnes Broom and no doubt establishing a useful contact for the family. Daisy was a grand-daughter of Thomas Broom, a pioneer of the Wide Bay and Gayndah districts who was renowned for the superior quality of his team bullocks. They also had four sons and a daughter, Cyril James, William Thomas, Arthur Reginald, Mary Matilda and George Herbert

During World War II, in May 1941, Arthur Reginald Riedy enlisted as a Private in 2/3 Pioneer Battalion. He embarked for overseas service in November 1941 and, therefore, would have been involved in the Battalion's role in the capture of Finschhafen among other operations. Finschhafen was an air and naval base on the eastern end of the Huon Peninsula of New Guinea and the operation occurred in September and October of 1943. The unit probably returned to Australia for rest and retraining in March 1944 and in April 1945 the 2/3 Pioneers were to disembark at Morotai in the Moluccas.

On 1st May 1945 Tarakan, an island off the north eastern coast of Borneo, was invaded by an Australian brigade group, Oboe One Force, of nearly 12,000 men. Coulthard–Clark, publication year 2001, summarises the campaign. The operation was primarily intended to seize the airfield, which was needed to create a base for air and naval units supporting further operations against Japanese forces in Borneo, an objective not achieved since the airfield was found to be badly bomb cratered and waterlogged. When it was usable it was too late in the campaign to be relevant and the cost of the operation was not justified by the results. Gavin Long, publication year 1963, describes the action involving Arthur Riedy. On 7th May 1945 the 2/3rd advanced along John's Track which followed the course of the Amal River.

*... they met unexpectedly strong resistance. The leading platoon came under heavy fire just east of Pamusian; it attacked and one man was killed and the company commander, Captain R. L. Doman, and one other were wounded.*

*At 8.25 am on the 12th one of the fresh companies under Captain C. C. Knott attacked after heavy artillery and mortar fire. The objective was a long razor backed ridge sometimes only 3 feet wide on top and with almost sheer sides. It was covered with scrub and the bombardment had thrown in the path of the attackers a tangle of fallen limbs of trees; this not only impeded the advance but also improved the defenders' field of fire. The leading platoon lead by Lieutenant Travers met concentrated fire but pressed on. Corporal Mackey's section which was leading was under fire from three well sited positions at the top of an almost sheer rise. Mackey, accompanied by Lance Corporal Riedy, charged the first machine gun post, but slipped and fell into it. A Japanese soldier seized him but he struggled free, bayoneted the Japanese, and, with Riedy, killed the others in the post. Covered by Riedy's fire, Mackey then charged another post with overhead cover containing a heavy machine-gun and threw a grenade through the firing slit, killing the gun's crew. He then borrowed Riedy's Owen gun and charged up a steep bank towards the third post, firing as he went. At the edge of the post he was hit and fell but not before he had silenced the enemy's machine-gun. He had killed at least seven Japanese and taken three machine-gun posts. When Riedy saw Mackey fall he went forward to bring him out but found him dead. Riedy remained there firing at very close quarters until he was wounded.*

*Travers reorganised his platoon, in which every NCO had now been hit, and kept up heavy fire to help another platoon led by Sergeant Jones which was moving around the left. The platoon fought at close range for three hours and, when ordered to withdraw, only Travers and three others were occupying the position. Jones' men, after struggling through fallen branches and thick undergrowth, came under converging fire and were forced back. It was now midday, the fight had lasted three hours and a half and 9 had been killed and 19 wounded – half the strength of the attacking forces.*

The Japanese position was not finally taken until 14th May when Liberator aircraft, used in close support for the first time and

with Lightning fighters dropping napalm immediately after the bombing, proved most effective.

For the action Corporal John Bernard Mackey was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross and Lance Corporal Riedy was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal and promoted to Corporal.

Mary Winifred (May) bookkeeper, dressmaker, milliner and home maker, did not marry. Following the return of Matilda to Bundaberg May would have been the acting domestic anchor of the Riedy household.

Ellen Elizabeth married Bertram Robinson, an English migrant. Bertram gained a high reputation as a carpenter and builder in Brisbane. He worked on a number of public buildings including St. Stephen's Cathedral. They had a daughter and a son, Joan Matilda Sophia and Brian Bertram. Joan married Patrick Edmund Kennedy who served in a Mobile Laundry and Decontamination Unit in the AIF. Brian, a schoolteacher, also enlisted in the AIF, initially in an anti-aircraft unit; however in 1945 he served as a Sergeant in a Special Personnel Group in Manilla, which was the base of MacArthur's General Headquarters South West Pacific.

George Manus married Ivy Ann Selena Turner. They had two daughters, Shirley Matilda and Margaret Ellen (Nellie) and three sons, Ronald George, Max Thomas and Cyril James. Shirley married Ernest Arthur Ryan who served in the AIF. He was involved in the April-May 1945 build-up of Australian forces at Morotai. Nellie married George William Zeimer.

Martin Aloysius accompanied his youngest sister to the Dalby district on her appointment as a nurse to the local sanatorium. He died, unmarried, while working as a teamster in the Bunya Mountains.

Matilda Gladys married Charles Robert Desborough who worked as a clerk and accountant in Wondai, Yelarbon and Brisbane. Robert migrated with his parents, William and Elizabeth, on the *s.s. Perthshire* which departed London on 28th March 1912 and reached Brisbane on 2nd June 1912. They had three daughters, Lola Ursula Thelma, Gabrielle Matilda Annette and Marie Natalie Elizabeth (Molly). Lola married Edward Wann who served as a trooper in the 11th Light Horse, an AMF unit. Gabrielle, a schoolteacher, did not marry. She spent her later years in Bundaberg near her younger sister, Molly, who had married Charlie Golchert, a cane farmer descended from one of the early German families who came to Bundaberg to take up farming land in the Woongarra Scrub. Charlie served in AIF Transport Companies from 1941 to 1945.

Annette Bridget worked as a nurse in a number of areas of the State before marrying John Michael Winter of Ventry Station near Isisford. They had a son, John Michael Leonard.

Ann Muriel Thelma Adams worked as a psychiatric nurse at Dalby, Rockhampton and Goodna. She married Timothy Edward Taeffe, a clerk and shop-keeper who had served in the AMF during World War II. They had two daughters and a son, Noleen Thelma, June Mary Joan and Joseph Edward Leon.

Leon Taeffe was a fine sportsman who achieved at cricket, rugby union and tennis. He graduated from teachers' college and spent more than a decade as a primary school teacher, mostly at Mitchelton State School. He was admitted to the Bar in 1971 and in November 1995 he took silk as a Senior Counsel. It is said there was no fiercer sight than Leon in full flight during one of his many court appearances. As with many apparently hard men, Leon, underneath his veneer, was a generous and good humoured man (Oberhard - 2003). He died on May 11th 2003 at the age of 64 years.

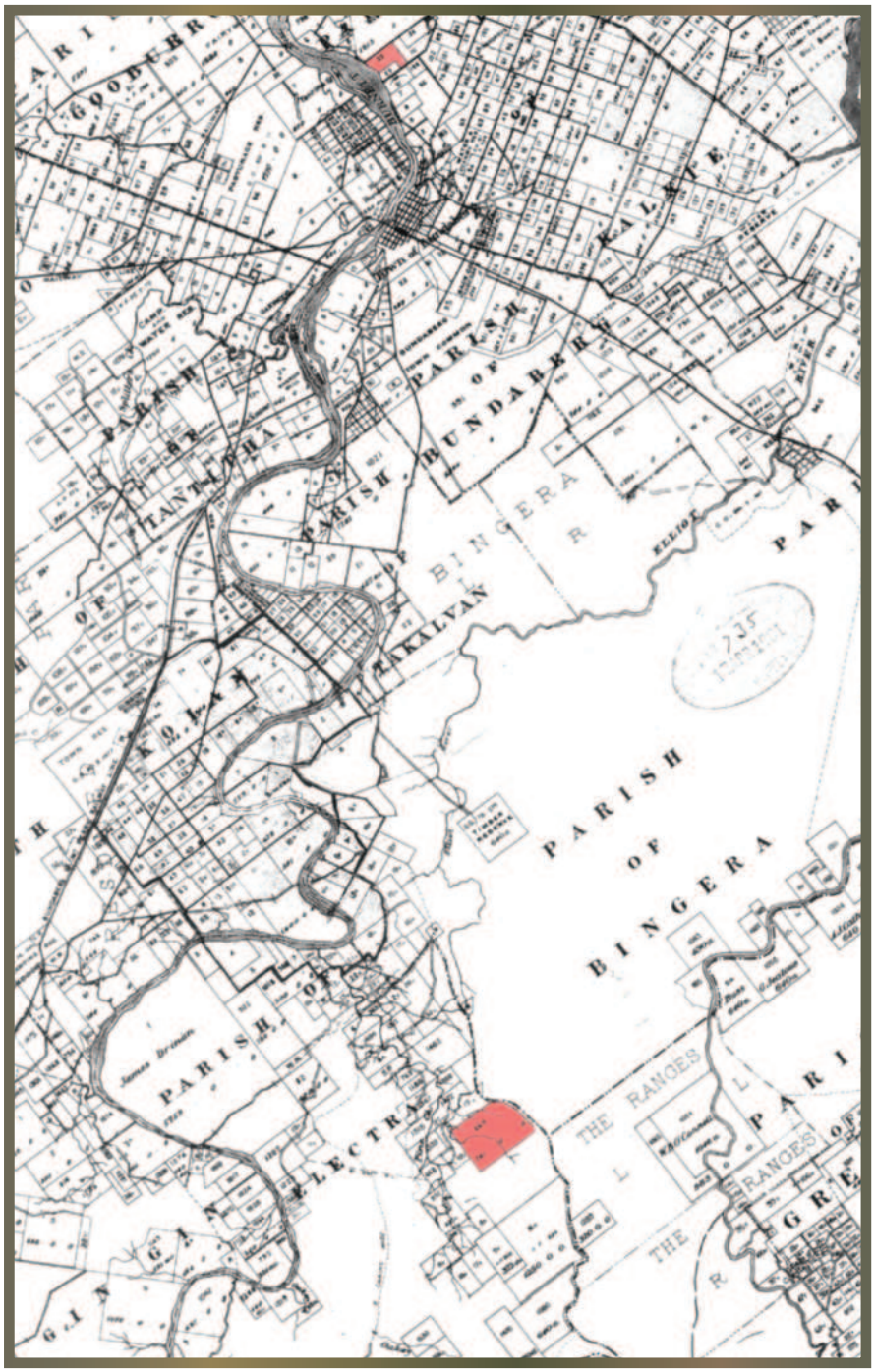


**Leon Taeffe**

Descendants of Tom and Matilda Riedy also bear surnames of Ballantyne, Boge, Bradley, Chard, Croft, Dierke, Draheim, Fleming, Fryer, Gadischke, Graham, Habermann, Hollett, Horan, Horne, Kitching, Kratzmann, Lange, Larsen, McInnes, McNichol, Mapp, Millgate, Parker, Peardon, Richardson, Sbresni, Schulz, Sempf, Southall, Spelta, Stayner, Stehbens, Thompson, Truebody, Waters and Watson.

The progress of the Riedy family reflects the changes in Queensland society over this period. Tom showed the versatility of the self-starters of his day before he and his sons turned to teamstering and the timber industry. The next generation farmed the land rather than harvesting its natural resource. A core of the recent generation has remained on the land but the majority have entered trades and professions.

# APPENDIX D1




**Thomas Riedy's land holdings in the Bundaberg district**

# APPENDIX D2

## OBITUARY OF MR. T. REIDY

### November 1938

As briefly advised in last issue the land and active life of the oldest citizen of Wondai district came to an end on the night of Tuesday of last week, when Mr Thomas Reidy passed away peacefully in his sleep.

Born at Newmarket-on-Fergus, County Clare Ireland, in 1815, Mr. Reidy would next month have celebrated his 93rd birthday. In 1872 he came to Australia, first to Williamstown, Victoria. Always inclined towards the land, he obtained employment in the sheep country as a drover. Later he turned towards Queensland and eventually selected grazing land adjacent to Bundaberg, where he married Miss Matilda Jane Adams. At Bundaberg he became well established in the sawmilling and timber industry, besides becoming proprietor of two hotels.

A little over 30 years ago, with Mrs. Reidy and young family he came to this district, his pioneer activities and selection of land extending over the Wondai and Murgon areas. The timber industry again appealed to him and for a great many years - in fact right up to some three years ago when his age was 90 - he was known far and wide for his ability to handle a bullock team.

Three years ago he retired from regular work, taking up residence in Wondai with his daughter May, who accorded him devoted and patient attention in his declining years. On the night of his demise he had engaged in a game of cards and retired in usual good spirits but did not respond to the usual morning call from his daughter, to whom her sudden bereavement came as a great shock.

It is a coincidence of more than passing interest that the late Mr. G. P. Barber, ex MLA for Bundaberg, a close friend and with whose entry into Parliament Mr. Reidy was closely associated, passed away (aged 75) under exactly similar circumstances the preceding night in Brisbane.

Always an ardent churchman, the late Mr. Reidy was amongst those who established and erected the Roman Catholic Church at Wondai, his regular attendance at which was an integral part of his life, his and his daughter's home being always open to, and the recognised headquarters in Wondai of, the RC clergy. The high altar in the church bears silent witness to the sacred memory of his wife, who predeceased him over 20 years ago.

There are three sons Willliam Walter (Wheatlands), Reginald Thomas (Woroonden), George Manus (Bundaberg), and five daughters Mrs. B. Robinson (Brisbane), Mrs. C. Desborough (Yelarbon), Mrs. J. Winter (Ventry Station), Mrs. E. Taeffe (Brisbane) and Miss M. Reidy - 24 grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. Also one brother - still living.

The funeral, which was largely attended, took place from St John the Baptist R.C. Church on Thursday afternoon to Wondai cemetery, Rev. Father Cullen conducting the services. F. H. Jones Pty Ltd had charge of the funeral arrangements.

# Chapter 23

# A French Connection

Mary Ann, the second daughter of Walter and Mary Adams, was born in Maryborough in 1857. In 1876 she married John Henry Edma Bertheau whose father, Charles Zacharie Bertheau, was born on 6th November 1815 at Merrysac, Yvonne, France to a wine growing family. No record has been found of his arrival in Australia. He married Ann Coulter at Parramatta, New South Wales, in 1846. Their first child, Eliza, was born the next year at that town. By 1849 the family had moved to South Australia where John Henry and his older brother, Charles Edmund, were born. The second daughter of Charles Zacharie and Ann, Marie Emeliene, was probably born in 1854 but no record has been found. Zacharie William and Matilda Jane were born in 1857 and 1860 at Belfast and Kord, Victoria, respectively.




The family moved to Queensland in 1861 where their last child, Claudius

Augustus, was born in 1864 and died in 1866. Charles Zacharie operated cordial works in Gympie, Maryborough, Gayndah, Stanton Harcourt and Mount Perry before establishing an aerated water, liquor and cordial factory next to the Caxton Printing Works in Quay Street, Bundaberg in 1875. (Appendix E1) Prior to this, in 1870, he had been the licensee of the Ballarat Hotel in Maryborough.

It is likely John Henry became associated with the management of Sommerville Plantation soon after marrying Mary Ann; however, the earliest electoral record to suggest this was in 1884 when his residence was given as the Woongarra Scrub. His close identification with the management of the affairs of Walter and Mary was further evidenced by his appointment as co-executor and trustee of Walter's will which remained in place until a matter of days before Walter's death. It appears he was the son-in-law who filled voids created by the death of George Manus and the alienation from his father of James Walter in 1890.




**A Family portrait**

The Bertheau family, however, saw their future in Childers and they acquired land in that district. On record are 640 acres granted to Charles Zacharie at Childers in 1881, 124 acres on the Gregory River to John Henry and 160 acres at Childers to Zacharie William in 1886, 40 acres and 123 acres on the Gregory to Charles Edmond in 1893 and a further lease and grants at Childers in 1897, 1899 and 1902 to John Henry. (Appendix E2)

The family appears to have established permanent residence in the Isis Scrub in 1901. Within three years, John Henry was dead.







***Above*: Mary Ann and Adeline Muriel**

***Left*: Maria Emelienne – Myra**

John Henry and Mary Ann had six daughters and five sons, Annette Mary, Charles Zacharie, Walter Henry Edma, Edmund James, George Manus, Matilda Jane, William John Coulter, Maria Emelienne, Nellie Bernadette, Mary Ann Adams and Adeline Muriel.

Matilda Jane and William John Coulter died as infants and are buried in a combined Bertheau/Adams plot in the Bundaberg Catholic Cemetery.

Charles and Edmund worked on the family farms. Both were later to suffer from mental

illness and were to spend their latter years in institutional care.

Annette Mary (Peggy) managed the domestic arrangements at the home farm, Ashgrove, at Apple Tree Creek until the mid 1950's.

Walter was based at the satellite farm named Grange. He farmed the properties until his death in 1948.

George transferred skills developed in administering the family's finances to establish an accounting practice in Brisbane.

Maria Emelienne (Myra) and Adeline both demonstrated artistic talent, cut short in Adeline's case by a relatively early death.

Nellie married John Cobham Payne. John was a senior member of the legal firm of Payne and Grose. He took over the practice from his father, Frederick William Payne, barrister-at -law and City Solicitor when Bundaberg was gazetted as a city in 1913.

John served in World War I with distinction but suffered severe wounds including major damage to his face. His nose was replaced by a graft of one of his thumbs, a technique later used by Drs. Macindoe and Tilley at the Royal Victoria Hospital, East Grimstead, on Battle of Britain burns victims who became members of the 'Guinea-pig Club'. John was awarded the Military Medal and, on his return to Australia in May 1917 he had risen to the rank of Sergeant (his obituary suggests Sergeant Major).

In World War II, although barred from active duties owing to wounds received in the earlier campaign, he never lagged in the cause of patriotism. John joined the Volunteer Defence Corps and, on discharge, was either a Private, as suggested by the WWII Nominal Roll, a rank which would have reflected his natural modesty, or, as stated in his obituary, a Major which probably more accurately reflects the value of his contribution. He was a Past President of Legacy, The RSL and the Rotary Club and Patron of the Bundaberg Rifle Club.

Although John and Nellie had no children, his love of children was well known and he regularly held functions, particularly a Guy Fawkes Day bonfire, for the local children.

John died on 5th December 1954 when electrocuted by what was probably the first electric lawn mower in the Bundaberg district. The machine had a frayed earth connection.

Mary Ann Adams married Alexander Smith, an insurance inspector and public servant. They had two children, Alexander George and Mary Adeline.

Descendants of the Bertheau branch of the family also carry the surname of Langbroek.

# APPENDIX E1

## Bundaberg Industries

## Bertheau's Cordial Factory

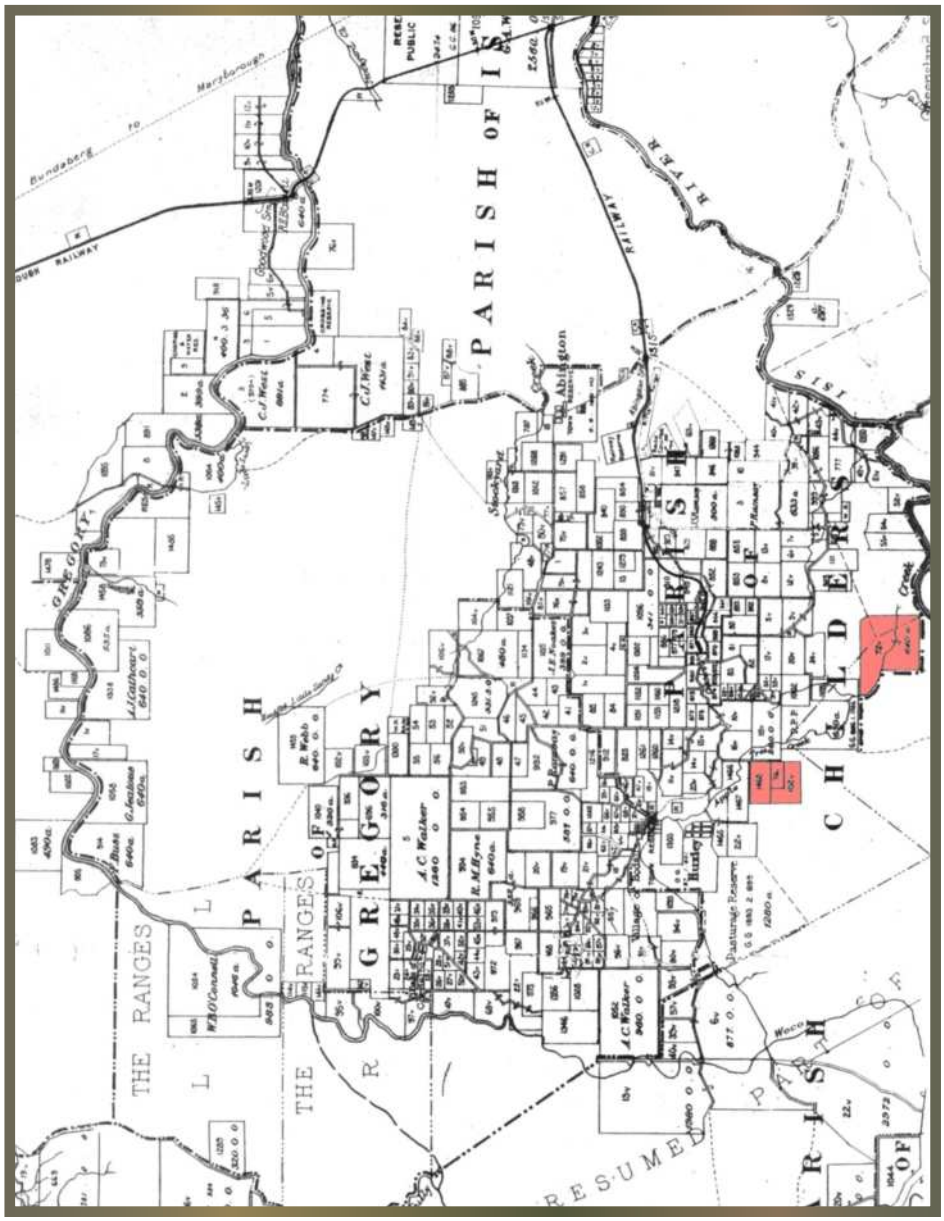
This factory is the oldest institution of the sort in Bundaberg, the present proprietor being one of the pioneers of the district. All sorts of aerated waters are made, the trade of the town being pretty well taken up by the two factories who manage to work together for the public good and for their own. Mr. Bertheau went home not long ago, and brought back with him some of the latest and most improved machinery obtainable, and the people of Bundaberg have practically the same class of waters available to them as at home. In addition to keeping a substantial stock of temperance beverages, Mr. Bertheau has a fairly assorted stock of wines including port and sherry, imported direct from San Francisco.

Copied from *Wide Bay and Burnett Directory* – 1886/87.

# APPENDIX E2

**Bertheau's major land holdings in the Childers district.**

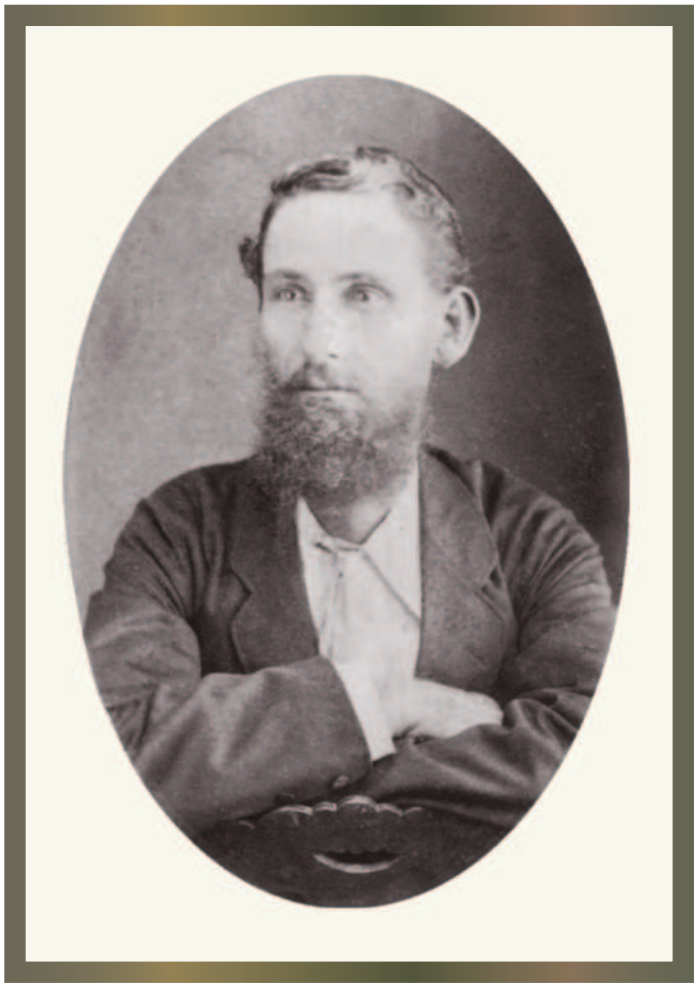
John Henry Edma had a further 124 acres in the Gregory Shire, and Zacharie William an additional 160 acres in the Childers Shire



# Chapter 24

# A Wild Colonial Boy

James Walter, the second son of Walter and Mary Adams, was born in Maryborough in 1860. He was a lad of 11 years when the family moved to the Woongarra Scrub. He grew up with the development of the family's fortunes in the district but, because of age, would have played a minor role in the early days of establishment and expansion; however he assisted in clearing the Sommerville land.



Until 1890, and possibly through to 1900, he was associated with the operation and management of Sommerville Plantation. In 1890 he had a major falling-out with his father. Walter wrote to Nellie, his youngest daughter, from the Parliamentary Library on 7th November 1890, "as to James not going down to the house I believe it is because I told him a few wholesome (sic) truths for which I shall not beg his pardon." Reconciliation only occurred in a matter of days before Walter left

for medical treatment in Sydney in 1892. The treatment was unsuccessful. This reconciliation was marked by James replacing John Henry Bertheau as co-executor and trustee, with Denis Hogan, of Walter's Will.

In 1887 James married Catherine Beatrice (Kate) MacKinlay. They had two sons and three daughters, Walter Patrick Victor, Ruby Mary Elizabeth, Florence Beatrice, Vivienne Josephine and Ernest Oswin. Walter and Ruby died as infants.

It is unclear how the couple came together. Kate's parents, Patrick and Eliza, were married at Forbes, New South Wales, in 1863. After residing for several years at Bathurst, the family moved to Brisbane. The Postal Directory of 1868 listed, "MacKinlay Bros., Grocers" as trading in Edward Street. Patrick also had grocery delivery runs in George, Boundary and Bartley Streets from 1883 to 1886, in 1887 and in 1888 respectively. From 1892-1895, he was a produce dealer at 58 Wharf Street and, from 1903 to 1907, a commission agent at 28 Symes Street, Fortitude Valley. The family resided at Mary Street in 1868, Elizabeth Street in 1876 and 1877, Ann Street from 1883 to 1886 (at Seagrave's Boarding House from 1885 to 1886), Bradley Street in 1888 and also at Wharf Street and Symes Street addresses. There appear to be no links with Bundaberg yet the couple were married there and not in Brisbane.

Perhaps the Adams and MacKinlay families came together when Walter attended Parliament through Walter and Mary shopping at the George Street store, through attending church activities, or through residing near one another. Perhaps both families stayed at Seagrave's. Letters from Walter in Brisbane were all written on Parliamentary Library note paper and no residence is given.

Around the turn of the century James's world appeared to disintegrate. Registered as a "Planter" at the time of his father's death, by 1903 he was working as a labourer for a grazier, Richard Spry, at Noveltie Farm near Miriamvale. In 1910 he became a teamster, in 1917, after the sale of the hotel, a dealer and, in 1921, again a labourer.

Contact with Kate and his children appears to have ceased about 1900 and subsequent records, which include some gaps, indicate that he then sought the company of his eldest sister, Matilda Jane, and her family.

Kate, or (Sissy) as she was known to the MacKinlays, and the children lived with, and probably were supported by, her parents until 1906 or 1907 at which time Kate and her son Ernest Oswin left Queensland for Western Australia. There she joined her younger sisters, Mary Josephine Warmsley and Elizabeth Gertrude Woods. Josephine and Gertrude probably had moved to the West around 1902.

In 1908 Kate married James Richard Forrester at the small seaside town of Greenough near Geraldton. There were no children from the marriage.

Florence married Hugh Webb Higgins in 1916. They had three sons and two daughters, Hugh Joseph MacKinlay, Isabella Mary Josephine, John Francis, Oswald Ernest and Cecilia Catherine.



**James Walter and Catherine Beatrice (Kate) Adams**

Hugh Joseph MacKinlay married Edna May Paxton in 1938. He enlisted in the AMF and, on discharge in 1946, was a Corporal in an Advanced Workshop where he probably developed skills in his subsequent trade of mechanic. The couple had a daughter, Laurel May, and a son, Douglas Hugh William.

Isabella Mary Josephine married Francis Miley in 1939 and they had three sons, Francis John, Michael James and John David.

John Francis and Ellen May Mulcahy, who he married in 1961, have a daughter, Jacqueline, and a son, Geoffrey John. John Francis also served in the AMF, as did Oswald Ernest. Both brothers were plumbers.

Cecilia Catherine married Colin Mervyn Garrigan around 1950 and they had two daughters, Catherine Mary and Maree Ellen.

Descendants of Florrie and Hugh have surnames of Dinwoodie, Graving, Hamilton, Higgins, Kirkman, Pope, Quinn, Roberts and Thuell.

Vivienne lived with Patrick and Eliza Mackinlay and her unmarried uncle and aunt, William Henry and Florence Cecilia (Totty) MacKinlay, until 1925, when she joined her mother and brother at Fremantle. After only six months in the West she died of acute nephritis. A cousin described her as very pretty with 'masses of golden brown hair tumbling in thick curls to her waist'.




**Kate and Ernest Oswin**

Kate died at East Fremantle in 1939 after an extended period of ill-health, a condition which induced Totty to travel from Brisbane in 1930 to care for her.

Ernest Oswin "Ossie" worked for the Shell oil company at Fremantle. He was considered somewhat of a loner and never married. He lived at North Fremantle where he died in 1977.

In his later years, Uncle Jim returned to Bundaberg. He lived at the Yellow Waterholes, on the road to the Freshwater-Elliott River crossing, his only constant companion a mare called Gladys who knew the way home from the local watering hole (normally the Melbourne Hotel at the corner of George and Targo Streets) when Jim did not.

# Chapter 25

# The Challenge of a Cultured Lady




Sarah Margaret, the third daughter of Walter and Mary, married Albert Joseph Buckley in 1885.

Albert and his brother Alfred, both being remittance men, landed at Rockhampton on 30th July 1881 from the *Famenoth* which had sailed from Plymouth on 5th May 1881.

Alfred, a clerk, married Amelia (Milly) Carraway on 7th May 1889. They were living at 28 Caxton Street, Petrie Terrace, in 1908. In 1915 they moved to Ferneydell Estate, Three Mile Scrub Road, Ashgrove. In 1927 their address changed to the less colourfully named 131 Ashgrove Avenue, Ashgrove. Alfred and Milly were resident there until their deaths in 1922 and 1943 respectively. They had two daughters, Kathleen O'Connor and Dorothy, born on 7th August 1896 and 29th July 1898 respectively.

Details of the early life together of Sarah and Albert are sketchy; however, apart from a failed

attempt to gain a hotel licence, Albert worked as a storekeeper or in clerical roles. His last venture was a grocer's shop at Royal Park, Mount Gravatt. He died in 1915.

Their seven children were Mary Clare Elsie (Elsie), Cecilia Vere, who died in infancy, Irene Clarissa, Walter James Vitalian, Marie Bernadette, Dorothy Josephine and Beryl Veronica who also died in infancy.

The eldest surviving daughters, Elsie and Irene, married brothers, David Easton and Sidney Easton Percy. The history of the Percys is uncertain. When Sidney died in 1939 his parents were given as David Easton Percy and Agnes Easton.

When David enlisted in the AMF in World War II, he gave as his date and place of birth as 1st April 1885 at Glasgow, Scotland. No record of the brothers arriving in Australia has been found. A family that was probably related to the Percy brothers was that of William Percy and Elizabeth Kemp.




**Sidney Easton Percy**

David and Sidney enlisted together in the 1st Royal Australian Bridging Train and saw overseas service in World War I and, as mentioned, David enlisted as a Private in 1st Garrison Battalion in World War II and served until his discharge at the age of 55 years. David worked both before and after World War I as a mechanic and motor driver. He and Elsie had three daughters and a son, Jean Easton, David Walter Albert, Beryl Agnes and Valma Clarissa.

Jean married a telephone linesman, Leslie Carr, who served in the AMF. The couple had three daughters. Following Leslie's death in the 1960s, Jean married an accountant, Lewis Francis Gorr-Jones.

David Walter Albert enlisted in the AIF and in June 1941 he embarked for overseas service

as a Private in the 2/12th Battalion. The 2/12th and the 2/9th, along with the 25th and 61st militia battalions, were the Australian Army units based at Milne Bay in August-September 1942 which inflicted the first defeat of a Japanese amphibious landing during the War. David disembarked at Morotai in June 1945 and his Battalion was involved in the largest (and last) Australian amphibious landing of the War at Balikpapan, on the south-east coast of Borneo.

Beryl Agnes married Joseph Towle. Joseph enlisted in 1941 as a Private in the 8th Pioneers; however, on discharge he was assigned to the 2/15th Battalion. During his time of service the 2/15th was involved in a famous raid at Tel el Eisa, west of El Alamein in western Egypt, in September 1942. He was involved in operations at Finschhafen in 1943 and, probably, the landings at Labuan-Brunei Bay, on the north-west coast of Borneo, in June 1945.

Valma Clarissa married Francis George Hoare. Francis briefly joined the AMF as a Private but soon transferred his enlistment to the RAAF where he served as a Leading Aircraftman

Sidney worked as an artist, carpenter and farmer. He and Irene appear to have separated in 1922 and no record of him can be found from 1926 to 1935. The couple, however, were residing together at Emerald Street, Kedron, from 1936. They had a son, also called Sidney Easton, and a daughter, Althea Margaret.

The younger Sidney enlisted in the AIF and served as a Driver in 3rd Motor Brigade Company. On discharge he worked as a carrier before he, and his wife Daphne, established a plant nursery. This occupation was also followed by their sons.

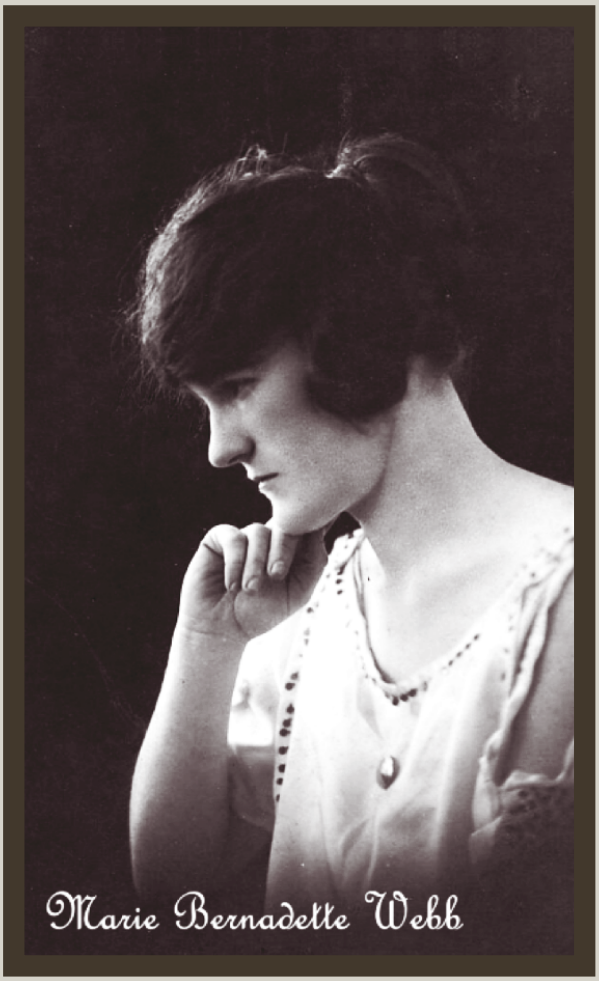
The only son of Albert and Sarah, Walter James Vitalian, worked the land at Mount Gravatt as a young man, possibly in association with his brothers-in-law, David and Sidney Percy. He then joined the public service. He and his wife, Ellen Elizabeth Gertrude, had two sons and two daughters, Walter Joseph, Carmel Margaret, Brian John and Bernadette. The latter died as a child.

Walter Joseph, a public servant, served as a Signalman in the RAN during World War II.

Marie Buckley married an engineer, John Thomas (Tom) Webb. They returned for a time to her mother's home town of Bundaberg where Tom, an engineer, was employed as an inspector of machinery and his work included the inspection of the machinery of the Bundaberg Foundry. They had three daughters and a son, Eileen, who died as an infant, Shirley Margaret, Thomas Walter and Sadie Ann.

Shirley married Matthew Carroll who enlisted and served as a Corporal in the 61st Battalion. At the time of his enlistment, September 1941, the Battalion was engaged in the defence of Milne Bay. In 1944 the 61st, and its companion militia battalion at Milne Bay, the 25th, were committed to the Bougainville campaign. Matthew embarked to return to Australia from Torokina on that island in September 1945.

Dorothy Josephine married William Hilleard who worked as a wicker worker and lift attendant. His origins have not been




**Marie Bernadette Webb**




**Tom Webb**

established. They had three sons and two daughters, Dorothy Margaret, William John, Margaret Katherine, John Joseph and Francis Patrick.

Dorothy Margaret served as a Corporal in the Australian Womens' Army Service. After discharge, she married William Stewart Morrow. William served for nearly two years as a Gunner in the 5th Field Regiment; however, in




**A Buckley Family portrait** – circa 1915

December 1942 he transferred his enlistment to the RAAF and served as a Leading Aircraftman.

William John was a Lance Corporal at 7th Brigade Headquarters. The 7th Brigade saw service in New Guinea, including the Bougainville campaign.

Margaret Katherine married Robert Roger Stewart, a journalist and native of Northern

Ireland, who had served in the RAN during the War.

Surnames of descendants of Sarah and Albert also include Bissell, Congdon, Corrigan, Cumner, Dennes, Ellis, Francis, Gibson, Goopy, Grauf, Haipola, Hales, Harris, Jenkins, Lee, Lumb, Lydement, MacNamara, Marcus, O'Sullivan, Phillips, Turner, Ware, Wild and Wischnevsky.

After what appears to have been an unstable and itinerant life with Albert, Sarah was left, after his loss, with two daughters with young babies and husbands on overseas military service, an unmarried son without an established career, and two young unmarried daughters. Her inheritance from her father appears to have been largely dissipated. She sought income from teaching music until all the children, with the possible exception of Irene, were in stable situations. Seldom was Sarah at the same address for more than a year or two and life for her was clearly difficult. An extensive family was her reward for great fortitude.




**Irene, Elsie and Walter Buckley**

# Chapter 26

# The Homemaker




Maria Emily, the fourth daughter of Walter and Mary, known to her own generation as "Rix" and later generations as "Aunty Sis", never married.

Maria was a pupil and later a dedicated supporter of the Sisters of St. Joseph and no doubt a tower of strength in Walter's efforts to retain the Sisters as educators in the Bundaberg district. An indication of this ongoing connection was the preservation, in the family album, of a card from one of the St. Joseph Sisters to Maria. (Appendix B8) There are also copies of other correspondence between the family and the Sisters.

By 1890, Maria had assumed the domestic and financial management of Walter's residence, Summerville House, at 118 George Street. Her dedication to the household was specifically rewarded in Mary's will by the first mention, "I give my daughter Maria Emily Adams my household furniture including my



**NEWNHAM - at 116 George Street, Bundaberg**

Where family and domestic affairs were managed in her later life by Maria (Rix or Aunty Sis) following the death of Mary Adams

books, pictures, ornaments, piano, utensils and tools – also my buggy with its fittings and my buggy mare Jenny for her sole use and benefit." In addition she received an equal share, with other beneficiaries, of the residual estate.

After the death of Walter and Mary, Maria was to assume the management of Newnham at 116 George Street. (Walter and Mary's last residence was on the aforementioned, adjoining 118 George Street.) Newnham belonged to her younger sister, Ellen Elizabeth, and her husband, Richard Walter. Their children affirmed that Aunty Sis had a greater maternal influence on their upbringing than had their mother. It has also been claimed that Aunty Sis, though by no means a large lady, ruled the household with an iron rod.

# Chapter 27

# The Passage of the Innocents

The fifth daughter of Walter and Mary, Susanna, was born and died, at the age of 18 months, in Maryborough.

The family record demonstrates a typical picture of the day, a high birth rate and high infant mortality. Of the forty-five children born to George, Matilda, Mary Ann, James, Sarah and Nellie, nine died before the age of three years.

The greatest killer of children in Queensland at the end of the nineteenth century was scarlet fever. Other bacterial diseases, such as diphtheria and typhoid, and viral diseases, such as yellow fever, measles and influenza, also took their toll.

The results of the advances in hygiene (safe water supply and sanitation), medication and vaccination over the last century are eloquently demonstrated by the grim health statistics of our predecessors.

# Chapter 28

# A Family Arrangement

Ellen Elizabeth (Nellie), the youngest child, had a son born out of marriage in 1890. We can only speculate on the choice of the baby's first name, Lancelot. The choice of the second name, Constantine, recognised Walter's great friend and pastor, Father Constantine Rossolini who would have provided much needed support at such a stressful time.



The stigma of an illegitimate birth in the community's most prominent Catholic and civic family appears to have been borne stoically and sympathetically by Nellie's parents. A letter to Nellie from Walter several months after the birth shows deep affection, but no mention of the baby. Mary demonstrated her affection for her 'improper' grandson by recognising Lance, alone of all her grand-children, with a share of her

residual estate equal to the shares left to her surviving son and daughters.

Knowledge of the circumstances of the pregnancy has been buried with the earlier generations. Was fear of the dark which afflicted Nellie throughout her later life related to a traumatic experience in 1889?

A year after her father's death, Nellie travelled to Singleton, probably in the company of Walter's friend and executor, Denis Hogan and of her sister Maria Emily as her mother's representative. There, in the garden of the house of Walter's brother, Henry, she married her first cousin, Richard Walter (Watty) Adams.



**Richard Walter (Watty) Adams**

The couple returned to Bundaberg where they built a residence, Newnham, next door to Summerville House. They were supported in its domestic management by Watty's sister, Mildred Grace Elizabeth (Mil) until her marriage to Bundaberg grocer, Joseph George Williams, in 1900 and by Maria Emily after Mary Adams's death in 1904. On coming to Bundaberg, Watty worked for Wooley, Bergin and Company, wholesale and retail ironmongers. The engineering section of the company was made an independent unit, The Bundaberg Foundry Company Ltd, in 1898. Watty joined the new company as Secretary and Accountant in 1899. In 1910 he became General Manager, a position he held until his retirement due to advancing years and ill-health on 15th April 1941.

Watty was a foundation member and the first Secretary of the Bundaberg Rowing Club and a prominent cricketer, popular for his good nature and humour. Nellie and Watty had three sons and five daughters, Eric Walter Henry, Leila Bernadette, Leslie Joseph, Mary Eileen



**An Adams Family portrait**

Angela (Aileen), Marjorie Hammond (Peggy), Jean Marie, Dudley Manus Clair and Betty Ursula.

Lance worked for the Queensland National Bank at Bundaberg, Wondai, Cairns and in the Gulf Country, probably at Burketown. His health was badly affected by the latter appointment and, on his return to Bundaberg he worked part-time in clerical roles.

Eric suffered from epilepsy. He worked on a casual basis until his tragic death by drowning.

Leila established Adams Beauty Salon in Bourbong Street, Bundaberg in the 1930's and on the death of Aunty Sis she also assumed the main responsibility for administration of "Newnham" and the family estate. She was an accomplished pianist with a broad and strong theatrical interest. During World

War II, Leila, with her sister, Peggy, produced concerts, musical comedies and plays for the entertainment of servicemen training in the district and to raise money for the war effort. After the war the sisters continued to produce shows of a professional standard in support of various charities.

Leslie trained as a fitter and turner at the Bundaberg Foundry. He suffered a severe injury at work, including the near complete loss of the fingers of one hand, and was forced to fall back on a clerical role. Later in life he also was badly injured when struck, as a pedestrian, by a car. Les was a dedicated office holder both in the Saint Vincent de Paul Society and in the Hibernian Society.

Aileen initially worked as a clerk-typist in the office of the Bundaberg Foundry. She then joined Leila in the management of the Salon and as a practising hairdresser.



**Peggy – (M. H.) Connor**

Peggy (Marjorie Hammond), following the precedent set by her elder sisters, attended the Ursuline Convent at Armidale. Here she studied music and later, after establishing a reputation in Queensland as an artist of great promise, she continued her education under the tuition of Dame Nelly Melba at the Conservatorium of Music, Melbourne in 1928. During the course of this tuition Peggy began to suffer from infrequent, but severe, asthma attacks. Dame Nelly advised her that, "you need the constitution of a cart horse" to have a successful singing career. While not abandoning singing and elocution recitals altogether, Peggy was to accept this advice and to concentrate on the violin as her main musical instrument and source of income.

A hectic time followed in which she performed roles in J. C. Williamson Ltd musical comedies, including "Rio Rita" and "Rosemarie", played for the Sydney and



**Ellen and Richard Walter's wedding reception – at Henry Adams premises in Singleton N.S.W.**

Melbourne Symphony Orchestras, and gave recitals and concerts in Victoria and Queensland. She supplemented her income by playing for silent movies and in vaudeville, for which she had a great affection. From 1934 to 1936, Peggy was engaged as a violinist on the Australasian United Steam Navigation Company Ltd liner, *s.s. Ormiston*, which had a regular three weeks run from Melbourne to Cairns and return. In 1936 she joined the *s.s. Nellore* which plied the Orient run to Japan and Hong Kong for the Eastern and Australian Steamship Company Ltd.

Peggy married Laurence Kingsley Connor, the radio operator on the *s.s. Nellore*. Laurie

later joined the Department of Civil Aviation as a communications officer, and they resided in Sydney, first at Cremorne and then at Mosman. During World War II, Peggy returned to Bundaberg with her two sons, Richard and John where she maintained her involvement with music and the theatre by playing the violin, producing concerts, musicals and plays, and teaching the violin, recitation and singing to local students. Descendants of Peggy Connor (nee Adams) carry the surnames of Connor, Musgrave, Power and Deane.

Jean worked as a nurse and receptionist for a Bundaberg dentist, Ivan Jones. During World War II she moved to Brisbane when Ivan transferred there to service practices left vacant by dentists enlisted in the services. On Ivan's death, she joined Eagers Holdings Limited in a receptionist/clerical position and she worked for that firm until her retirement. Jean was an excellent tennis player and was active in the sport through the Queensland Catholic Tennis Association for many years.

Dudley worked as a fitter and turner for the Bundaberg Foundry for over 30 years. After being retrenched in a down-turn in the Company's fortunes, he joined Jean in Brisbane and worked for the Brisbane City Council Transport Department. He was greatly respected by his peers as a tradesman and mentor of apprentices.

Betty learned the hairdressing and beautician trade in her sisters' salon in Bundaberg where she became engaged to a Royal Australian Air Force member who had received his training in Bundaberg and who was killed on duty overseas. She moved to Brisbane after the war and there she met and married Colin (Col) Hall who worked in a clerical and accounting role for Peters Slip on the colourful Brisbane waterfront. They had two children, Carolyn and John.

# Closing Notes

Up to the time of my brother's death work had been undertaken both by John, and to a lesser extent by myself, to accumulate and compile the names and basic details of the descendants of Walter and Mary Adams. These details have been obtained from sources such as other descendants, Commonwealth and State Government archives, State Libraries, the various government electoral offices and heritage societies. Such a scan frequently does not allow for cross referencing and/or other means of data validation and there will undoubtedly be errors and omissions, although every attempt has been made to keep these to a minimum. The detailed findings of this survey do not form part of this book as it is assumed that such data would only be of interest to other members of the family and to academic researchers.

Also, whilst considerable time was spent studying heritage society records and some investigation was made in England during visits to that country, very little additional detail was acquired of the Adams family prior to its departure from England; or in the remaining brother Albert's case subsequent to this date. Hence there is still a fertile field of exploration available for any person interested in future research.

In closing - Walter's story, and descriptions of the entrepreneurial ventures that he undertook during his life in Australia, must have many parallels in the lives of other pioneers during the development of the Australian Colonies. Whilst John and I have concentrated upon the life of Walter for obvious reasons – family, availability of material etc. – it is hoped that the documentation of his story will provide an insight into the lives of the pioneers in general and will therefore be of interest beyond the confines of the family itself. The work has been a rewarding experience for John and myself and I know that it is in order to speak for us both when I say that we hope there will be those who find the time spent in its reading a worthwhile endeavour.

**Richard Laurance Connor**

MIEAust CPEng (Ret)

October 2011

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