

Autobiographical Writings of John Barton Hack

Collated by Chris Durrant

Recollections of a Pioneer

Recollections I

The Methodist Journal Vol.IV. No.169: Friday, September 7, 1877

About the year 1836 my health had become very precarious, and it was thought necessary that the next winter should be spent in a warmer climate, and the medical advice was “a few months in Madeira.” I was then a married man, with six children, and established in business in the South of England. Therefore the prospects of breaking up my home, and arranging for an absence of some months, was a formidable undertaking. I was induced in June of that year to try a voyage in a steamer running from Portsmouth to Cork and Liverpool. Returning the same way, at Portsmouth I saw the ship Buffalo lying, and went on board. She was fitting out for the conveyance of the first Governor and his staff to the new colony of South Australia. On board I made the acquaintance of Captain Lipson, who was very full of the new colony and its prospects. The subject was not strange to me, having been much interested in Col. Torrens’ book on the new idea of a self-supporting colony to be founded in South Australia. I began to entertain the belief that it would be better for me to emigrate at once to a warmer climate, rather than to endure the unsettlement of wintering at Madeira.

I returned from my seatrip with my mind made up to break up my English home, and dispose of my business, and try emigration. In August I went to London, and called several times at the South Australian Commissioners’ offices, at Adelphi Terrace, and had an interview there with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and became acquainted with some intending colonists, subsequently well known at our new home. I was recommended to see Capt. Hart, who had purchased the Isabella for Mr. Griffiths, of Launceston, V.D.L., and was much pleased with the captain, and agreed to take the two stern cabins, with a berth for a younger brother of mine who proposed to go out with us, and was nearly of age. We agreed to join the vessel with our luggage and goods at Portsmouth, in the first week of September. My determination to emigrate, especially to a comparatively unknown land, caused some excitement in my native city, and we had to hear many prophecies of evil and disaster. While in London I had provided myself with a couple of Mannings cottages, pannelled and screwed together, as I was fearful of depending on canvas in a country where everything had to be extemporised. I fear our outfit altogether was much more elaborate than was necessary.

The first of September found us at Portsmouth, and on boarding the Isabella I was dismayed to find that she was full, and that the greater part of our belongings would have to be left behind to follow by some other vessel. I however was able to take the cottages, and some other essentials. The night before we sailed a gentleman came on board in a boat at Spithead, who was evidently unexpected, as all the berths were engaged, and who was accommodated on a sofa in the cabin for the night. We were the next morning introduced to the Judge of South Australia, Sir John Jeffcott, who in spite of the strange way in which he took his departure from England, proved to be a pleasant and gentlemanly person. While

at Portsmouth I bought a boat, sails, etc., complete, and arranged for its transit to our new home.

After the inevitable discomforts of a long sea voyage—which the captain endeavoured to make as pleasant as possible—we sighted Van Dieman's Land on the 1st January 1837, and at once sailed up the River Tamar, and grounded in the mud two or three miles from Launceston. We obtained lodgings, and began to make anxious enquiries respecting the new colony. We found that many shipments of sheep had been made to Port Phillip, which was already attracting much attention. The John Pirie arrived from St. Vincent's Gulf, and reported having spoken the Buffalo, beating up the Gulf, so that we had arrived nearly as soon as the Government staff. The settlers were said to have landed at Kingscote and Rapid Bay, but had many of them gone on to a part of the coast opposite Mount Lofty, near to which a river or inlet of the sea had been discovered with $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms on the Bar.

The Isabella was laid on for the new colony, and we proceeded at once to make our purchases of stock, and all that appeared necessary for the occupation of three preliminary Sections of 134 acres each, purchased in England. We put on board 350 ewes, 45 wethers, 6 heifers, 1 Devon bull, 10 working bullocks, 2 mares, a Timor pony, goats, pigs, poultry, dray, waggon, seed wheat, and provisions for twelve months; with the packages we brought with us in the ship. We received much kindness in Launceston, and had many inducements to remain in V.D.L., but our arrangements had been finally made for South Australia. The convict element in the labouring class, of which I saw a good deal, would have precluded any desire to remain. I engaged four bush hands, and a female as a washerwoman. Of course three out of the four were convicts, but there was no choice, and the fencing and other work required men of experience. The woman turned out a confirmed drunkard, and was for years known in the colony as Scotch Bella—though always professing great attachment to me as her master.

We sailed on the 1st February from the Tamar, and were met by contrary winds and rough weather, during which one bullock died, and many sheep. At length, on the 9th we reached Backstairs Passage, and when off Rapid Bay lowered a boat, and the Captain, myself, and one or two more went on shore, and found no settlers, but only a few huts. The Captain said he would run up the Gulf forty miles, when he expected to find the Buffalo, and the body of settlers. We anchored about midnight, but found in the morning we were two or three miles south of the Buffalo, and the Coromandel, which latter vessel had also arrived before us. A strong North hot wind was blowing, and to save the lives of as many sheep as possible, the Captain landed them opposite the ship. No water was near, and as the sheep netting we had provided was not landed as promised, we could not make a yard. In consequence, the sheep broke adrift in the night, and were most of them irrecoverably lost. The other stock were landed in fair order. A heifer calved a day or two after, and I had the pleasure of milking the first cow in the colony. The settlers were camped over the sand hills, at the present site of Glenelg, and were busy rolling their goods over the sand hummocks. My men at once yoked a team of eight bullocks, and brought our goods from the ship's longboat to the camp we formed near a lagoon. It created quite a sensation in the encampment, as most of the people had not seen a colonial team before. On first landing I met Mr. John Hallett on the sandhill, who said there were two bullocks and a few wethers in the colony before we arrived. In a few days a vessel from the Cape brought some fine Fatherland cows for the Government, several of which I subsequently bought at auction at an average price of £27 each, and the last, some time after, at £36.

We found the colony had been proclaimed four or five weeks before we landed; but the survey of the City of Adelaide was not completed. I obtained permission from Mr. J. H. Fisher, the Resident Commissioner, to put up one of my cottages at the Bay, by a lagoon, near a reed hut inhabited by my English acquaintance, Mr. John Morphett, and the other

on the road at North Terrace, nearly on the site of the present Railway Station. One of these cottages was landed in the morning, and the family slept in it the same night. The heat during the first few days was excessive. While the *Isabella* lay in Holdfast Bay, Captain Hart said that he wished to return in the ship if he could procure a freight. Not being able to procure land, except at an exorbitant price, I said that if he would bring such goods as he saw were needed, I would purchase them and pay freight, and 10 per cent. on the invoice; also that I would pay for any stock landed in good condition at specified prices; and we parted, expecting if Mr. Griffiths consented, to meet before long.

In April I finished the erection of the cottage on North Terrace, and removed the family from the bay; and afterwards brought the one from the camp, making a comfortable house of four rooms. I had speedily to build a chimney, as the weather was becoming cold. About this time a meeting of the holders of preliminary sections was called, at which a resolution was carried to ballot for the locality in which the sections should be selected, which caused my three to be placed in District D., Yankalilla, the survey of which was not made for some two or three years after, before which we had sold the land orders as useless to us.

The town acres, after the preliminary acres had been allotted, were offered by public auction on March 28, and realized about £4000, after reserving the 437 preliminary acres belonging to the sections. I became the purchaser of 60 acres, for want of other land. I enclosed 12 acres in lower North Adelaide, and sowed wheat the first season. A sample of the produce was sent home, and excited some notice in Mark Lane. A gardener had been sent out to me, who began to cultivate a part of this enclosure as a garden. Everything planted grew very luxuriantly. Mr. G. Stevenson also commenced a garden, close by, and soon made it one of the showplaces of the colony.

Our bullock-team was fully employed in carting goods from the Port and Bay for the settlers. I have a record of £12 for one day's work, when loaded both ways.

Recollections II

The Methodist Journal Vol.IV. No.171: Friday, September 21, 1877

On the 6th April the *William*, brig, returned again to the Bay, and reported that the *Isabella* as having sailed the day before she left. She had on board 400 sheep, 12 bullocks, and 4 cows for us, besides a variety of goods selected in Launceston by Captain Hart, consigned to me. I dined at Mr. Gouger's, the Colonial Secretary, and met Sir John Jeffcott, who had arrived in the colony. He rode with me to see some fine country about 10 miles south of Adelaide, where we were putting up sheep yards and huts. Also dined at Mr. Fisher's—a large and pleasant party. The Governor, Captain Hindmarsh, was beginning to be very unpopular, from his opposition to Mr. Fisher and Colonel Light. He insisted on Adelaide being removed to the seaside, and during his stay created a feeling of insecurity respecting the expenditure of capital on town property. Some strong things were said at Mr. Fisher's on the apparently random way in which the appointment had been filled up at home. The Colonial Office never seemed to have the least faith in a colony founded on the self-supporting principal.

We now put up a stock yard, and began a dairy, which was much needed in the settlement. We saw a good deal of the Rev. C. Howard, the church clergyman, who placed his dwelling, and what was afterwards Trinity Church, near our locality.

I rode to the Bay on the 13th April, and on arriving at our camp found Captain Hart there. I was sorry to hear from him that he had lost the *Isabella*, which was totally wrecked on Cape Nelson, near Portland Bay, on her voyage hither. The loss was occasioned by the neglect of the mate, who had come out with us from England. She was uninsured, and the

Captain said he had lost everything, and his friends had turned their backs on him. He said Mr. W. Jones, a fellow passenger, had joined him in the shipment. I invited him to remain with us, and thought myself very fortunate in being free from personal liability. After he had remained some time with us I entered into an agreement with the captain to go to Sydney, and purchase on our account a schooner, to trade between that place and Adelaide, and furnished him with funds to carry out the project. Not very long after, Mr. Jones arrived, and made a claim on me for the value of the cargo, stating they had only acted as my agents, and purchased the goods on my account. Of course no authority could be produced in writing, without which no suit could lie. I was induced, however, to refer the matter to arbitration, and had to pay for the goods, but not the stock. Captain Hart, however, said it was an unjust claim, and would not receive his share. I had to pay Mr. Jones about £700.

Not being able to procure land, except at an exorbitant price, I commenced mercantile business, very much against my inclination, and purchased goods out of the William and Regia, and began to receive consignments from Launceston and Sydney.

When the survey of the City was completed, I and some others were summoned to a meeting of the Council to give names to the streets, squares, and terraces. Most of those who had taken part in the formation of the colony were remembered by giving their names to some portion of the city. The Governor delayed from time to time to declare the Port inlet as a port, which obliged the captains to enter under protest, and had a very injurious effect on our trade.

My brother joined Captain Hart in Sydney, and they agreed for the purchase of a herd of cattle, about 800 head, to be delivered at Portland Bay. They made the first use of a track discovered by Major Mitchell, and arrived safely. We chartered the barque Hope, of which Captain Hart took the command, to bring the cattle from Portland Bay to South Australia. About half were so shipped, but arrived in bad condition.

While Captain Hart was engaged in bringing over the cattle, having lost a valuable mare from the Park Lands, I had reason to believe she had been stolen by some men from the eastern side, who were camped not far from Encounter Bay, and were selling kangaroo meat to the whalers. One evening a meeting was held at the South Australian Bank, on North Terrace, to consider the state of the police force in order to memorialize the Government. Inspector Inman was present. Mr. McLaren, the Manager of the South Australian Company was called out to see a man from the fisheries at Encounter Bay, who had brought a letter. I was called out by Inman to see a horse the man rode, thinking it might be mine. While looking at the horse the man came out of the house, and tried to take her out of Inman's hands; a scuffle ensued and a pistol was presented at and seized by Inman, who wrenched the lock off, and secured the man, who was taken to Gaol as an escaped convict. His name was Jack Foley, who had been for some time camped near the fishery.

Captain Hindmarsh, after much contention with the colonists, had returned to England, leaving Milner Stephen, who was engaged to one of his daughters, as Acting-Governor, until the arrival of Colonel Gawler, whom we had heard was appointed Governor, with full power as Resident Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief. His character we heard very highly spoken of in letters from England.

I saw the man in custody, Jack Foley, several times, and thought there was not much harm in him; and as he was a good stock-keeper and bush hand, I applied for his release, no special charge having been preferred against him. This was granted, and as I rode with him on my way to Encounter Bay to meet Captain Hart and the Hope, I saw a vessel coming up the gulf which had the new Governor on board. The remainder of the cattle at Portland Bay were now to be brought overland by an unknown track, and it was thought that Foley would be a valuable hand; and so he proved. He was a good servant to us as long as he remained in the colony, and was taken to England by my brother in 1840.

Colonel Gawler's arrival as Governor was soon followed by a large influx of immigrants. The settlers were not prepared to give them employment, and the Government was compelled to act. Flour rose to famine prices, £10 a bag being demanded. A few of the leading men formed themselves into an association to import flour and sell it at cost price. I acted as secretary and custodian, and the first shipment reduced the price to £6. The Government were also induced to buy a cargo of Lombok rice. Meetings were held on the labour question, and deputations waited on the Governor, who determined to commence at once several public buildings, to give employment to the immigrants. He said he had no authority to draw on the Commissioners, and risked everything by complying with the desire of the colonists; but as he saw no other course, he would take the responsibility. Few men have been more misunderstood and misrepresented than Governor Gawler; but we who were on the spot understood and admired the earnest and upright man who faced the difficulty, and reaped his reward in the ungrateful treatment he received. His drafts were returned dishonoured, with 20 per cent. exchange, and caused a crisis in the monetary affairs of the colony, which at the time brought ruin on many who had not been able to provide for the emergency.

Colonel Gawler was recalled, to make room for Captain Grey, now Sir George Grey, who informed the colonists that his instructions were to stop every possible expense, and to do nothing. The worst was, however, passed, and the timely expenditure authorised by Colonel Gawler had brought the colony into a better position; and there was vitality enough to bear the change. We owe the present Government House, the City Gaol, and the offices in King William-street, to Colonel Gawler's action.

I had the pleasure of having Colonel and Mrs. Gawler's company at Echunga for a short time before their departure; and when the time arrived they were accompanied to the Port by a large cavalcade of the principal settlers, who felt they were losing a friend whose place was not likely to be filled again. Life at Government House, during Colonel and Mrs. Gawler's reign, was a good example to the colonists, for they were both earnest and pious, and encouraged everything that would create a healthy tone in society.

In consequence of the difficulty in procuring land, and the backwardness of the surveys, a plan was originated called the special survey system, by which on £4,000 being lodged with the Colonial Treasurer, a block of 15,000 acres might be selected, and when divided into sections of about 80 acres, the applicant might select 4,000 acres, by taking the sections in any part of the claim. The first was taken by the South Australian Company at Lyndoch Valley; another by Mr. Williams; 2,000 acres by Colonel Gawler; 2,000 acres by myself; 1,000 acres at Little Para, 14 miles from Adelaide. On my own share I commenced a dairy, and began sending butter into the town.

On the arrival of our cattle, 400 in number, from Portland Bay, overland to Mount Barker, we commenced a dairy at the present township, and I made arrangements with the Bank for the purchase of a special survey there, of which we were to take 3,000 acres; and a cattle company, of which I was a director, 1,000 acres. We were, however, forestalled by a few hours by some men from Sydney, who obtained the Treasurer's receipt before my money was tendered. Having made ourselves very certain we should be unopposed, the disappointment was great. We applied for another survey, immediately south of the Mount Barker block, afterwards called Echunga, and commenced to improve and fence. We soon had two dairies at work, with seventy cows milking in each, and established a cattle run at Yankalilla for the dry cattle and breeding. A large speculation under this system was made on behalf of Mr. Angas by Mr. Flaxman, his agent, who took put seven or eight blocks of land. Although it seemed a very considerable outlay at the time, the result has proved a very satisfactory investment of capital. While Milner Stephen was Acting-Governor, he determined to obtain a survey, and as the funds were not easy to get, he applied to some of those he thought likely to assist him with accommodation paper. I received a bill for my acceptance for £1,500, to

aid in the speculation, which I felt obliged to decline. However, the money was raised, and a survey block taken out at Port Gawler. Some time after, a paragraph appeared in the paper, then published by Mr. Stevenson, that the survey was sold to Captain Allen and another for £20,000, which afterwards proved to be an error, the price being £10,000. A question arose about the authority for the insertion of the paragraph, which caused another paragraph to appear, questioning Mr. Stephen's conduct in the matter. In an action he brought for libel against Mr. Stevenson, he was defeated, as the jury were satisfied that Stephen had himself altered the amount after the letter had been sent to the paper!

In 1839, we built a house at Echunga, on the survey, and laid out a garden of twelve acres, to furnish which I sent for a large invoice of trees, etc., from Hobart Town, and it soon became very flourishing and productive. I removed my family here in 1840, and to attend to the business in Adelaide rode in by 10 a.m., returning on the following evening, remained a day, and again repeated the town work, which continued to be my practice for three years, when the property passed out of my hands. I had in the first year of our residence in Adelaide, built a house and store in Hindley-street, which was our residence until our removal to Echunga.

Recollections III

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Experience has shown me that the difficulties in which I became involved, took their rise from the desire which I was unable to resist, to make landed property. The special survey led the way; but the purchase of the land was only a small matter; a large amount of capital was required to make this property produce anything, and the amount required being more than I could command without the assistance of the Bank, I obtained advances, very readily granted while the colony was flourishing, but as summarily called in when bad times came. I sold my Hindley-street property for £4,000, and raised £1,500 on the Echunga property, to pay off one of these overdrafts. At length in February, 1843, when the worst of the storm seemed past, I had seen the Manager of the Bank, who seemed much gratified with the exertions I had made to reduce my liabilities with them; and I felt secure that I should have the continued support of the Bank. A day or two after, I was awakened about two in the morning by two men riding into the yard at Echunga; and on my asking their business, was informed that they were bailiffs, come to take possession on behalf of the Bank. At the time there was only one director of the Bank; and an English friend of mine (representing a house with whom I had large dealings, and who held as security for advances a mortgage on a portion of the Echunga land), married a sister of the said director, and determined to obtain this property; and I presume the reason of the action of the Bank was intended to carry out my friend's views. This could only be done by my being compelled to an insolvency; and step by step this object was carried out, and the whole of the Echunga estate passed for a small amount over the mortgage to my English friend and school-fellow.

The years 1841 and 1842 were very disastrous to the colony. Almost every merchant in the community had to make arrangements with creditors, or to become insolvent. In 1840 I had an apparent balance to the credit of profit and loss of £30,000; and in 1843 all had to be sacrificed. Time was the thing required, but this luxury was unobtainable. The people who were around me at Echunga could never be convinced that the property was lost to me irrecoverably, but believed that I should some day possess my own again. Judge Cooper was sometimes a guest at Echunga; and little thought when he talked over with me the new Insolvency Law he was meditating for the colony, that I should one of its victims.

During the year 1837 one of my mares had broken away from her tether on the Park Lands, and had been lost for a considerable time. The Timor pony was also absent. A party of men had begun to split timber near Mount Lofty, and one or two loads of fencing had been brought down. I heard that the mare and pony had been seen by the splitters; and one morning I and Tom Davis, a first-rate bushman whom we had brought with us from Launceston, rode up the hills to look after them. We found their tracks, and followed them over the hills beyond Mount Lofty until three p.m., when Tom said his eyes were getting so bad he could not go further. I could scarcely ever see a track, except a bottom was crossed. We returned to Adelaide; and next day I sent Tom and another man to follow up the tracks. Up to this time the country east of Mount Lofty was unexplored. The men brought in the two horses, and said that they had found them in a fine reach of a fresh water river, in splendid feed. This seemed a valuable discovery, so I made up a party to explore it further. Mr. Morphett, C. W. Stuart, and a gentleman from Hobarton, with Tom Davis for a guide, accompanied by me. We struck the river, and crossed it, and entered on a fine grassy country, with kangaroo grass in the bottoms, coming to our knees as we sat on horseback. In ascending a rise two or three miles from the river, afterwards named the Onkaparinga, we came in sight of a very prominent mount, a few miles distant, which mount we declared must be the Mount Barker which Capt. Sturt mentioned in his boat voyage down the Murray. We at once decided on reaching it, and about 5 p.m. arrived at its summit, we being the first white men who had found their way thither. We could trace the course of the Murray into the lake, and made out Encounter Bay distinctly. It soon became nearly dark, and we descended the Mount to a water we had passed on our way up, and camped for the night in pouring rain. We were not provided for camping out, but managed to light a large fire and dry ourselves as well as we could, for sheep [*sic*] was out of the question. We were too much excited by the beautiful country we had seen to grumble much at our soaking.

I was induced during the second year of our residence in the colony, to undertake a small venture in whale-fishing. The South Australian Company had made this a prominent object in their outfit for the new colony, and landed a large quantity of whaling stores at Kingscote, Kangaroo island. They had commenced a fishery at the Bluff, Encounter Bay; and opposite Granite Island, near what is now Victor Harbour township, Mr. Blenkinsop, from Sydney, had planted another fishery. It happened that Sir John Jeffcott, the Judge, went down to Encounter Bay, and Mr. Blenkinsop took him in a whaleboat to see the Murray Mouth. Unfortunately they saw a head of whalebone, which was valuable, lying on the beach before they reached the mouth, and took on board a quantity. The weight was too much for the boat when they reached the breakers at the mouth, and the boat sank. Captain Blenkinsop and Sir John Jeffcott were both drowned; only one man swam ashore. Blenkinsop's fishery, with the plant, was offered for sale; and I became the purchaser, and carried on the concern. Some time after, when Captain Hart had given up the Hope, we made up a Company, in connection with the South Australian Company, to fish, and made four or five stations along the coast. Mr. Morphett, Mr. Hagen, and Captain Devlin, of Sydney, were also shareholders. Captain Hart was appointed manager, at £500 a-year. One unfortunate circumstance was, that the South Australian Company had a superabundance of stores at Kingscote, and it was to secure a market for these that they were willing to join the Company. We had also misfortunes. One good year was spoiled by the Katherine Stuart Forbes breaking a charter we made to load at Encounter Bay on 1st October, at the close of the season. She arrived on 1st January; the oil was therefore exposed during the hot weather. We kept coopers at work, but a large quantity was lost in leakage. The men engaged were necessarily a very rough set. They were not paid wages, but signed for a share in produce. On one occasion I rode to Encounter Bay, and met numbers of the men on their way to Adelaide. There were three or four whales dead in the harbour, but not sufficient men left to cut them up. No redress

could be obtained from the Police Magistrate in Adelaide.

On Granite Island we had made a rough wharf by blasting the granite boulders, and had huts for the men, etc. The chief headsman was a fine whaler, but a hot-tempered man. On one occasion he had, for some insubordination, tied up a lot of the men to a boat cable stretched from one hut to another, and given them a flogging. One of the men got away, and in crossing the reef to the main was drowned. This occurred while Mr. Stephen was Acting-Governor, and having, I imagine, a desire to punish me for being unaccommodating, he sent the Coroner down, who called an inquest, and sent the chief headsman to town in custody, on a charge of manslaughter. Of course the charge could not be substantiated; and after some time he was liberated. In the meantime, the station, which was very successful at the time, was abandoned. During the time I had an interest in this Fishery the price of oil was very low; but afterwards the price rose to £35 per ton. The Company continued for two or three seasons after, but came to a close from the want of fish. The whales gradually forsook the coast.

As before mentioned, in 1843 we had to commence the world again. The sacrifice of property was perhaps much aggravated by the fact that at this time family property, which had then to be divided, only made the estate better, which, had it come to hand two years before would have, in all probability, saved us from the sacrifice of our property. I was able, with the assistance of some friends, to commence a carrying business with two or three bullock teams, which enabled me to live in some degree of comfort; and on the opening of the Burra Mine, in 1845, I was employed to bring down the ore to the Port and convey stores back. While carrying on this work, the section immediately north of the Kapunda Mine was sold. As apparently the Kapunda lodes must continue into this section, there was great competition, and a very large sum was paid for it, by a company formed for that purpose. Preparations were made for testing the value of the property, and I was appointed resident Manager, and was soon on the ground, with a number of men. We sank two shafts to water level in front of the main lodes of the Kapunda Mine, and drove across until the drives met—but no sign of copper was found. The lodes had evidently died out. I afterwards commenced sinking on a very promising lode on Allen's Creek, about two miles from Kapunda, for a London Company; but after dressing up a quantity of surface ore, the lode died away, and has never been found again. I had the assistance of experienced Cornish Captains to inspect the work, but the lode was abandoned.

I had all my previous life been attached to the Society of Friends, but my residence among the Wesleyan Cornish miners caused me to long for a more active and useful religious life. There were one or two local preachers whom I much esteemed, and I became convinced that the plan of mission work pursued by the Wesleyans was calculated to benefit the scattered population by bringing social and public worship within their reach, and I became a member. A great amount of good has been effected by the Society, under my own observation; and of course the other Protestant denominations have laboured very successfully in spreading Christianity in all directions. I have, however, had thirty years experience of the great work carried out by the Wesleyans; and am thankful I was led to cast in my lot with them. At the time I have mentioned the Rev. D. J. Draper had recently arrived, and was energetically employed in establishing societies in every direction. He was often with me at Kapunda. John Harcourt, now in Victoria, commenced his ministerial life at this time, and was much beloved by the people. He had for some time charge of the Northern Circuit, and was often with me.

Nothing can be more interesting to a person desirous of seeing the prosperity of a new country, than to watch the religious life in the community. The unhappy drinking customs of the day have so deleterious an effect on the population, that every effort is needed to provide religious instruction to counteract the evil. It is to be hoped that the Legislature will one day

awake to the destructive policy of the present unlimited licensing system, which is scattering misery and profligacy broadcast through our adopted country.

The gold discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria, in 1850 and 1851, caused great excitement in our colony, and parties were formed to proceed overland and by sea to Victoria, until the main part of the male population seemed to be absorbed by the gold fields. Business of all kinds was neglected, and determining to follow the exodus, I made up a party, consisting of myself and four of my sons. We loaded a dray with necessaries, and travelled overland to Bendigo. We worked on Long Gully and Iron Bark Gully principally. Arriving the first week in April, 1852, the party worked until October, when I returned overland again, on horseback, with one of my sons. We raised during that time about 40 lbs. weight of gold; but generally the gold obtained was dearly earned, as the steady employment of four or five men would have been of more value if engaged in ordinary employments. While I was at Bendigo the Sunday services were generally conducted in the open air by the South Australian local preachers, and it took a good while to organise a regular supply of preachers and erect places of worship.

Version appearing in Bull (1878)

John Wrathall Bull, Early experiences of colonial life in South Australia

After the inevitable discomforts of a long sea voyage in the ship *Isabella*, which Captain Hart, the commander, endeavoured to make as pleasant as possible, we sighted Van Dieman's Land on the 1st January 1837, and at once sailed up the River Tamar, and grounded in the mud two or three miles from Launceston. We obtained lodgings, and began to make anxious enquiries respecting the new colony. We found that many shipments of sheep had been made to Port Phillip (then a new colony, an offshoot of New South Wales)]. The *John Pirie* arrived from St. Vincent's Gulf, South Australia, and reported having spoken the *Buffalo*, beating up the Gulf, so that we had arrived in Tasmania nearly as soon as Governor Hindmarsh and his staff arrived at his seat of government. The *Isabella* was laid on for the new colony, our destination, and we proceeded at once to make our purchases of stock (for which purpose we have come round), and all that appeared necessary for the occupation of three preliminary Sections of 134 acres each, purchased in England. We put on board three hundred and fifty ewes, forty-five wethers, six heifers, one Devon bull, ten working bullocks, two mares, one Timor pony, goats, pigs, poultry, dray, waggon, seed wheat, and provisions for twelve months, with the packages we brought with us in the ship. I engaged four bush hands, and a female as a washerwoman. Three out of the four were convicts, but there was no choice, and the fencing and other work required men of experience in colonial operations. The woman turned out to be a confirmed drunkard, and was for years known in the colony as *Scotch Bella*—though always professing great attachment to me as her master (who had more interviews in her time than any other man or woman, with the resident magistrate).

We sailed on the 1st of February from the Tamar, and were met by contrary winds and rough weather, during which one bullock died, and many sheep. At length, on the 9th, we reached Backstairs Passage, and when off Rapid Bay lowered a boat, and the captain, myself, and one or two more went on shore, found no settlers, but only a few huts. The captain said he would run up the Gulf forty miles, when he expected to find the *Buffalo* at anchor, and the *Coromandel* also, which latter vessel had also arrived before us. A strong, hot north hot wind was blowing, and to save the lives of as many sheep as possible, the Captain landed them opposite the ship. No water was near, and as the sheep-netting was not landed according to promise, we could not make a yard. In consequence the sheep broke adrift in the night, and were most of them irrecoverably lost. The other stock were landed in fair order. A heifer calved a day or two after, and I had the pleasure of milking the first cow in the colony. The

settlers were camped on sandhills, at the present site of Glenelg, and were busy rolling their goods over the sand hummocks. My men at once yoked a team of eight bullocks, and brought our goods from the ship's longboat to the camp we formed near a lagoon. It created quite a sensation in the encampment, as most of the people had not seen a colonial team before. Mr. John Hallett had, however, landed two bullocks and a few wethers before we arrived. In a few days, a vessel from the Cape brought some fine Fatherland cows for the Government, several of which I subsequently bought at auction at an average price of £27 each, and subsequently one at £36. We found the colony had been proclaimed over five weeks before we landed, but the survey of Adelaide was not completed. I had brought out two of Mannings' cottages. One I first put up at the Bay, and the other I placed at Adelaide, opposite North Terrace. In April I finished the cottage there, and brought up the other from the Bay, and with the two formed a four-roomed habitation. While the Isabella lay in Holdfast Bay, Captain Hart said that he wished to return in the ship to procure a freight if he could. Not being able to procure land, except at an exorbitant price, I commenced mercantile business, much against my inclination, and purchased goods out of the Regia, the William, etc. I further agreed to take goods from Captain Hart, and pay freight and ten per cent. on the invoice; also that I would pay for any stock landed in good condition, at specified prices; and we parted, expecting, if Mr. Griffiths, the owner of the Isabella, consented, to meet again before long. In April a meeting of the holders of preliminary land orders was called, at which a resolution was carried to ballot for the locality in which the sections should be selected, which caused my three to be placed in District D., Yankalilla, the survey of which was not made for some two or three years after, before which we had sold the land orders as useless to us.

The town acres, after the preliminary ones had been allotted, were offered by public auction, and realized about £4000, after reserving the 437 preliminary (gift) acres belonging to the 134 acres preliminary sections. I became the purchaser of sixty acres of town land for want of other land. I enclosed twelve acres in Lower North Adelaide, and sowed wheat the first season. A sample of the produce was sent home, and excited some notice in Mark Lane. Mr. G. Stevenson also commenced a garden close by, and soon made it one of the showplaces of the colony. Our bullock-team was fully employed in carting goods from the Port and Bay for the settlers. I have a record of £12 for one day's work, when loaded both ways.

On the 6th April the brig William arrived from Tasmania, and reported that the Isabella had sailed the day previous to the William, that she had on board 400 sheep, and twelve bullocks, and four cows for us, besides a variety of goods selected in Launceston by Captain Hart, and consigned to me. I this day dined at Mr. Gouger's, the Colonial Secretary, and met Sir John Jeffcott, who had just arrived. He rode with me to see some fine country about ten miles south of Adelaide, where we were putting up yards and huts to receive the stock expected.

On the 13th of April I rode to the Bay, and on arriving at our camp found Captain Hart there. I was sorry to hear from him that he had lost the Isabella, which was totally wrecked on Cape Nelson, near Portland Bay, on her voyage hither. The loss was occasioned by the neglect of the mate, who had come out with us in the ship from England. She was uninsured, and the Captain said he had lost everything, and his friends had turned their backs on him. He described to a friend that he possessed nothing but what he stood up in. He said, Mr. Hy. Jones, who was a passenger with him, had joined him in the shipment. I invited the captain to remain with us, and at the time thought myself very fortunate in being, as I supposed, free from personal liability. But then there was the disappointment and loss of gain in stock and goods not coming to hand, all being much wanted.

In consequence of the difficulty in procuring land and the backwardness of the surveys, a plan was originated called the special survey system by which on £4000 being lodged with the Colonial Treasurer, a block of 15,000 acres might be selected out of which 4000 acres

might be chosen.

After Captain Hart had remained some time with us I entered into an agreement with him to go to Sydney and purchase on our account a schooner to trade between that place and Adelaide, and furnished him with funds for that purpose. Not very long after Mr. Jones arrived in Adelaide, and made a claim on me for the value of the lost cargo, stating they had purchased the goods as my agent. As no authority could be produced in writing, no action could lie against me; but I agreed to arbitration, and had to pay for the goods, but not the stock. Mr. Jones received about £700 from me, but Captain Hart refused to receive his share, admitting that it was an unjust claim. My brother joined Captain Hart in Sydney, and they agreed for the purchase of about 800 head of cattle to be delivered at Portland Bay. About half after their arrival were shipped from thence to Adelaide, but arrived in very bad condition. On the safe arrival of the remainder of our cattle, 400 in number, overland from Portland Bay, conducted by Captain Hart, who, taking Major Mitchell's track towards the River Murray, and then following the course down the same and the track to Mount Barker, arrived safe at the spot where the township now stands. We here formed a dairy station, and made arrangements with the Bank, by which we were able to purchase a special survey, of which we were to take 3000 acres, and a Cattle Company, of which I was a director, the balance, 1000 acres. We were, however, forestalled by a few hours by some speculators from Sydney, who obtained the Treasurer's receipt before my money was tendered. Having made our selves very certain we should be unopposed, the disappointment was great.

In this emergency we next applied for another survey south of Mount Barker block, which we obtained. It was afterwards called Echunga, and there we commenced to improve and fence. We soon had two dairies at work, with seventy cows milking in each—one at Echunga and one on a thousand acres we had taken up on the Little Para, part of a special survey—and also established a cattle run at Yankalilla, for dry cattle and breeding.

In 1839 we built a house at Echunga on the survey, and laid out a garden of twelve acres, to furnish which I sent for a large invoice of trees, &c., from Hobart Town, and it soon became very flourishing and productive. I removed my family there in 1840, and to attend to the business in Adelaide rode in by 10 a.m., returned on the following evening, and remained out one day, and so continued to carry on with the country work and the town business. Experience has shown me that the difficulties in which I ultimately became involved had their rise in carrying out my desire to acquire a large landed property. Early in 1840 I had an apparent balance to the credit of profit and loss of £30,000, but by 1843 all had to be sacrificed. The special survey led the way, but the purchase of the land was only a small matter. A large sum was sunk in making the land acquired produce anything; but these, in common with other heavy business losses, fell on us. Bank assistance was required—very readily granted while the colony flourished, but as summarily called in when the crisis came. I sold my Hindley-street property for £4000, and raised £1500 on the Echunga property, to pay off claims and in part overdrafts. At length, in 1843, the worst of the storm seemed past; the manager expressed himself much gratified with the exertions I had made to reduce my liabilities with them, and I felt secure I should have the continued support of the Bank. Time was all that was required, but this luxury was not attainable. Almost every merchant and trader in the community had to make arrangements with creditors or to become insolvent. A few days after the satisfactory interview with the manager of my Bank, I was aroused one morning by two men riding into the yard at Echunga, and on asking their business I was informed they were bailiffs come to take possession on behalf of the Bank. At the time there was only one director of the Bank, and an English friend of mine, representing a house in England with whom I had had large dealings and who held a mortgage (as security on advances) on a portion of the Echunga land, was married to a sister of the Director, and it was determined to obtain my improved property. This could only be done by my being

compelled to insolvency, and this was carried out, and the whole of the Echunga estate passed for a small account over the mortgage to my English friend and schoolfellow. Judge Cooper was sometimes a guest at Echunga, and little thought when he talked over with me the new insolvency law he was preparing that I should be one of its first victims.

A CHEQUERED CAREER

Published in the South Australian Register. Cuttings, some with handwritten corrections, of what are presumably proofs are pasted in his diary in the State Library of South Australia.

REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER

A BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

The South Australian Register 22 April 1884

The retirement of Mr. John Barton Hack—a colonist known and respected during almost the whole of the last half-century throughout South Australia—from his position of Comptroller of Railway Accounts, offers an opportunity for the publication of some interesting particulars relative to his career. Mr. Hack has had many ups and downs. He has experienced vicissitudes, which would have utterly subdued the spirit of many a less brave and determined man. But with him buffeting seemed to give increased endurance; and he stands today, after nearly fifty years of very varied colonial life, a thoroughly hale, hearty, and sturdy South Australian veteran, of whom we are all justly proud.

We give below from Mr. Hack's own pen some very interesting outlinings of his autobiography. These, however, should be prefaced by a short skeleton sketch of the history of this—one of the oldest and in the early years most prominent of our colonists. Mr. Hack was born in Chichester, England. He came of a good sturdy Quaker stock, his family being known and held in high esteem all through that section of the country. The date of his birth goes back nearly seventy-nine years ago—to July, 1805. He remained in England until he was over thirty-one years of age, and then—though at that time blessed with six olive branches—broke up his English home because his health was failing and determined to try his fortune in Australia. In February, 1837, he landed at Port Adelaide with his family from the old ship *Isabella*. With him came a younger brother, Mr. Stephen Hack; and the two between them brought to the colony some well-selected stock. With these they started a station not far from Adelaide, but, for reasons detailed below, they were not over successful. Of course they tried again in other capacities. Mr. J.B. Hack was the first public works contractor under the Government, and almost from the first month of his arrival a prominent colonist. The Directory of 1840, for instance, shows his name on the Boards of Management or committees of all the institutions, save one there mentioned. He was on the first Grand Jury list; he was Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; he was on the committee of the Botanical and Horticultural Gardens Board; he was Auditor of the old Literary and Scientific Association and Mechanics' Institute; he was Vice-President of the S.A. Agricultural Society, of which he had been the first Chairman; he was a Director of the Adelaide Auction Company; he was a member of the Association for the Prosecution of Felons, assisting in the arrest of cattle-stealers; and he was on the directorate of the Joint-stock Pastoral Company. He was, too, a liberal benefactor by donation and active work to charitable and educational institutions. In August 1839 he subscribed £100 towards the College funds, and three months later gave £10 to the Infirmary—not to mention his smaller gifts. About this time he established a well-known garden at what us now known as Irish Town, Lower North Adelaide, but which then

and for a long time bore the name (in honour of Mr. Hack's native place) of Chichester. He was one of the purchasers of the first city acres sold, and losing heavily through depreciation of land values, owing to Governor Gawler's mismanagement of the Colony's affairs in 1842, he nevertheless abated not his enterprise. [The phrase 'owing . . . affairs' is not present in the cuttings and may have been added by the newspaper since it does not reflect Hack's opinion of Gawler. The Register retracted this criticism in response to a letter from Gawler's son, Henry, on 23 April 1884.] He started a whale fishery concern, but lost by that too. Then he worked hard and successfully as a surveyor and in many other capacities. He did not amass and keep the wealth which his energy entitled him to; and so in June 1869, at the age of 64 years, he found it necessary to enter the Government service in a subordinate position. A year later—July 9, 1870—he was appointed Assistant Account of Railways, holding that post until February 1, 1873, when he exchanged it for that of Comptroller of Railway Accounts, a position whose duties he performed with great satisfaction until a few weeks ago, when he retired from active business. In the early years his colonial life was full of interesting incident, and the following record, written characteristically by Mr. Hack, will doubtless be read with interest.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

[BY J. B. HACK]

Emigration—Captain Hart of the *Isabella*—E. G. Wakefield—Sir John Jeffcott—Arrival at Van Diemen's Land—News of the New Colony—Shipping Live Stock—Losses—The First Bullock Team in South Australia—Opening up Trade—Balloting for Sections—North Adelaide Wheat in Mark-lane—The Colonial Chaplain—Loss of the *Isabella*—The First Grand Jury.

The circumstances which led to my coming to South Australia were these:—Before the year 1836 my health had become feeble, and it was necessary for me that the next winter should be spent in a warmer climate. "A few months a[t] Madeira," was the medical recommendation. I was then a married man with six children, and established in a considerable business in the South of England, and the prospect of making any change in residence seemed very formidable, even for a few months. In June, 1836, I and my wife, with one of the children, started from Portsmouth on a voyage by steam to Cork and Liverpool, and while at Portsmouth I went on board the *Buffalo*, then fitting out for the transit of the Governor of the new colony of South Australia. I met with Captain Lipson on board. He was full of the prospects of the far-off country to which he was bound. I had met with Colonel Torrens's book on "South Australian Colonization." That had very much interested me, and I began to wish it were possible to try the milder climate of Australia. I returned from the sea voyage still more inclined to make the effort to break up my English home and try emigration. In August I paid a visit to London, and called several times at the South Australian Commissioner's Office, in Adelphi-terrace, where I had an interview with Edward Gibbon Wakefield and became acquainted with some of the intending colonists. At the offices I was recommended to see Captain Hart, who had purchased a vessel, the *Isabella*, for Mr. Griffiths, of Launceston, and was intending to sail in a few weeks for that place. Being very favourably impressed by Captain Hart's appearance and by what I heard of his character, I agreed to take the two stern cabins for my family and a berth for a younger brother, who, being nearly of age, was desirous of going out with us, and to embark at Portsmouth the first week in September. I had in London provided myself with two of Manning's cottages, panelled, of two rooms each, not wishing to depend on tents on first landing in the colony. The outfits [corrected to 'outfit' in cuttings] which we thought it necessary to provide were much more than we needed, but the idea of an unsettled country was an excuse for the purchase of many things called indispensables. The end of August found us at Portsmouth with all our packages, and I saw on

going on board that very little room had been reserved, and the greater part of the luggage had to be forwarded to London to come out on a later vessel. Our ship was lying at Spithead. Later in the evening, before sailing, a boat came off bringing a gentleman who evidently had not been expected, as all the berths were engaged. He was accommodated on the sofa in the saloon for the night, and in the morning we were introduced to Sir John Jeffcott, the Judge appointed to the new colony. He seemed disposed to make the best of inconveniences, and proved to be a pleasant and gentlemanly man. He was afterwards drowned at the Murray mouth.

Passing over the inevitable discomforts of the voyage, which the captain endeavoured to make as pleasant as possible, we sighted Van Diemen's Land on January 1, 1837, and the next day we proceeded up the River Tamar to Launceston. We were of course very anxious to hear tidings of the colony we had come so far to assist in establishing, and the John Pirie arriving reported having spoken to the Buffalo beating up St. Vincent's Gulf, so that we had arrived in Australia almost as soon as the Government vessel bearing the official staff of our adopted country. The settlers who had arrived, it was said, were some located at Kingscote (Kangaroo Island) and at Rapid Bay, but the greater number were landed opposite Mount Lofty, on the beach. It was reported, too, that a river or inlet of the sea had been discovered, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms on the bar, in the immediate locality. The Isabella was at once laid on for South Australia by her owner. We spent a month in Launceston, making our purchases of everything necessary for our projected farming operations. Having secured three preliminary 134-acre sections, with three town acres belonging thereto, we shipped 350 ewes, 45 wethers, six heifers, one bull, and a team of ten red Devon bullocks, large wagon and dray, plough, seed wheat, poultry, goats, provisions, and sundries, besides our English packages, not forgetting the wooden houses. We had also on board three mares and a Timor pony. We were very kindly treated by many residents in Launceston, and had many inducements held out to us to remain. The convict element, however, in the labouring class would have deterred us from settling in Van Diemen's Land, even if our arrangements had not been made absolutely for South Australia.

We were ready for sea on February 1, but we had only time to get out of the Tamar when a westerly gale set in and caused great losses among the stock. Many sheep died, and some of the bullocks. We reached Backstairs Passage, however, on the morning of the 9th, and off Rapid Bay lowered a boat and some of us landed, but only found some rude huts without inhabitants. The captain then said he would run up the Gulf forty miles, when he expected to find the settlers and the Buffalo. About 2 o'clock in the morning he dropped anchor, but when day broke we were some miles south of the Buffalo and Coromandel. A hot north wind prevented the vessel from moving. As the sheep were very weak, and were insured by me with the owner, the captain resolved to land them and the live stock opposite the ship, and promised to send ashore by the last boat a quantity of netting we had provided to make a fold. This was not done, and in consequence the sheep broke away in the night, and we irrecoverably lost most of those landed. The other stock was landed in fair order, and a heifer calving a day or two after I had the pleasure of milking the first cow. The settlers were camped on the sandhills, now Glenelg, and were busy rolling up their packages over the land to the plain beyond. I had brought two or three Van Diemen's Land bush hands, and they at once yoked a team of eight bullocks to bring our goods from the longboat over the land. This created quite a sensation in the encampment, as the people had never seen a regular colonial team before. On first landing I met Mr. John Hallett, and found that a pair of bullocks and a few sheep belonging to the Governor, were the only live stock in the colony. In a few days, however, a vessel arrived from the Cape with some fine fatherland cows and heifers. I became the purchaser of most of them subsequently at £27 each. We found that the colony had been proclaimed five or six weeks before we landed, and that the

survey of the new City of Adelaide was not then completed. I obtained permission from the Resident Commissioner, Mr. J. H. Fisher, to put up one of my houses at Holdfast Bay and the other on North-terrace, on the site of the present railway station. We used the first as a depot until we could collect our possessions in Adelaide. One of the houses was landed in the morning, and by night all the family slept under its roof, though we had only time to lay the rafters flat and cover them with the tarpaulins. The heat during the first few days was excessive. When the *Isabella* lay at Holdfast Bay Captain Hart said he would like to return, if he could obtain a freight, with the *Isabella*. In conversation I offered to take over any invoices he might bring, with 10 per cent. added, and agreed that I would receive, if landed in good condition, sheep, horses, drays, and bullocks at a fixed rate; and we parted, expecting, if Mr. Griffiths consented, to meet again before long.

My house on North-terrace was completed in April, and the family removed thither, leaving my brother with the goods at the Bay. A meeting was called of all holders of the preliminary sections, absentee proprietors being mostly represented by agents, and at that meeting it was determined that the choice of sections should be by ballot. That ended in my three sections being located at Yankalilla, which for all practical purposes might as well have been in Van Diemen's Land. Two years elapsed before Yankalilla was surveyed, but by then our sections were sold, as useless to us.

The town acres, after the preliminary acres had been selected, were offered by public auction on March 28, when we became the purchasers of about sixty acres. One block of twelve acres in Lower North Adelaide I fenced for a garden, and grew some wheat the first season, a sample of which was sent to Mark-lane, London, as a specimen of what the colony could produce. We found ample employment for the bullock team in carrying goods from the Bay and Port for the settlers. I see by my record we made £15 a week, besides doing our own work.

The *William*, brig, belonging to Mr. Griffiths, of Launceston, came in at the Bay on April 6. The *Isabella* had sailed the day before, and was daily expected. She had 400 sheep, 12 bullocks, and 4 cows for us, besides a large quantity of goods, shipped by Captain Hart, we presumed, under offer to us. Sutor, a gardener sent out to me from England, commenced the garden at North Adelaide, and the seed and plants we procured thrived.

On April 14 we were engaged supplying the *Buffalo* with water prior to her voyage to Sydney; and we began to fear for the *Isabella*, which ought to have arrived long since. We dined with Sir J. Jeffcott at Mr. Gouger's, the Secretary. There was also a grand party at the Governor's. Sir John rode with me to see some fine valleys, about ten miles from Adelaide, where we are making a sheepyard. The Rev. C. Howard and his wife called on us, and we were much pleased with him. The Church of England was very fortunate in securing so amiable and useful a clergyman. On April 29 we dined with a large party at Mr. Fisher's. There was a pleasant gathering. I was obliged to appear in slop clothes, our goods not having arrived. There was an allusion to the Governor's appointment as being a most random one by the Home Government, which seemed to be the last to realize the possibility of forming a colony on self supporting principles.

In May we put up a stockyard, and commenced a dairy as the heifers were calving, and as milk was urgently required by our neighbours.

On the 13th I rode to the Bay, and met Captain Hart, with my brother, at our camp there. I was very sorry to find he had lost the *Isabella* on her voyage here. She ran on Cape Nelson on a fine night, owing to the carelessness of the mate, who came with us from England. She was loaded on account of Mr. Jones (a fellow-passenger) and Captain Hart, and was to have been consigned to me under our arrangement. The captain said he had lost everything, and his friends had turned their backs on him. Feeling very sorry for him, I invited him to remain with us a while in South Australia. The first Grand Jury was empanelled in this

month. It was very gratifying to see so large a body of respectable men assembled in the first days of the colony. I was chosen foreman. On the 16th the Judge discharged the Grand Jury; and a presentment was handed in to His Honour respecting the conduct of the Marine corps, who were landed from the Buffalo to protect property, and whose behaviour had been very disgraceful.

REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER NO. II

[BY J.B.HACK]

The South Australian Register 23 April 1884

Port Adelaide in 1837—Merchant and Shipowner—Naming streets, &c., of Adelaide—An Arbitration Case—Little Para Dairy—Overland from Victoria—Cattle Runs at Mount Barker—Residences—Jack Foley, the Convict—Governor Gawler—Hard Times—The Sorrowing Cavalcade—Disaster.

Hearing that the Sohah [corrected to 'Schah' in cuttings] had arrived (in her the remainder of our goods had been shipped) I went to the Port, and was much gratified to see so noble a sheet of water at so moderate a distance from Adelaide. At the landing-place there was a swamp of one or two hundred yards, but a boat canal I saw would enable the long boats to discharge their loads close to firm ground. Subsequently I undertook, at Colonel Light's request, to have a canal dug. This was found a great convenience. A little later I found that the port was not formally proclaimed by the Governor on account of some misunderstanding between him and Mr. Fisher. Captains had to enter under protest, and that had a very injurious effect on our trade.

On May 20 Captain Hart left us for Sydney, I determined to invest £1,500 in the purchase of a schooner (of which Captain Hart would take the command) to trade with Sydney, and an agreement was drawn up by Mr. C. Mann, the Attorney-General, relative to his conduct in the affair. I purchased goods out of the William and Regia for sale in the colony. As I was unable to commence as a settler I entered into business as a merchant, but that was not at all in accordance with my wishes. Captain Hart had a cargo ready for him in Sydney at 40s. per ton.

On the 23rd I was invited, with Messrs. Morphett, Brown, and others, to attend a meeting of the Council to give names to the streets, squares, and terraces of Adelaide. Most of those who had taken any part in the formation of the colony were remembered by name.

Some time after the loss of the Isabella I received notion from Mr. Jones that he held me responsible for the cargo lost in her, and demanded to be recouped for the outlay he alleged had been made on my account by himself and Captain Hart as my agents. I could not see any just claim. I, however, consented to refer the matter to arbitration, the result of which was that I was adjudged to pay for the cargo and not for the stock. Captain Hart, however, refused to receive his moiety, as he considered the claim unjust. My loss amounted to about £700.

Special surveys having been allowed of a block of 15,000 acres, by a deposit with the Treasurer of £4,000, out of which the applicant was allowed to select 4,000 acres, I joined with Mr. Williams and Colonel Gawler in the application for a survey on the Little Para, fourteen miles from Adelaide. Mr. Williams took 2,000 acres, and 1,000 each fell to the Colonel and myself. On the choice allotted to me I put up a dairy, and began sending butter into Adelaide.

Captain Hart and my brother, who had joined him in Sydney, purchased on Manaroo Plains about 800 head of cattle, to be delivered at Portland Bay. They were the first cattle

that had crossed by Major Mitchell's track through Victoria. Captain Hart chartered the barque Hope to bring the cattle round from Portland Bay, no overland passage then being known. After bringing about 400 we determined to try and bring the remainder overland, and sent over one or two stock-keepers with Captain Hart on one of his return voyages. The cattle were brought round by the Murray without difficulty or loss to a station we had prepared on the present site of Mount Barker township, where we commenced a large dairy.

In order to secure the run on which our cattle were placed I determined to take out a special survey, including the fine valleys about the Mount Barker township. I wanted for myself 3,000 acres, and for a Cattle Company, of which I was a Director, 1,000 acres. I was, however, forestalled by some Sydney men, and lost the country by only a few hours. It was a grievous disappointment. We then made an application for a block immediately south of the Mount Barker survey, and obtained it under the arrangement previously made.

The Echunga property soon became valuable by means of the erection of buildings and fencing. Two dairies were formed, milking 150 cows. We had also a garden of twelve acres, to establish which I procured a large number of fruit-trees and vines early in 1840. A house was built of wood, of two stories, and the family removed to it from my house in Hindley-street. A cattle station for fattening and breeding was also formed at Yankalilla. To this were forwarded the dry cattle and calves from the dairies. I had in 1838 finished a house and store in Hindley-street, in which we lived until the removal to Echunga. The Government took possession of a portion of our first erection on North-terrace for a Police Station when we vacated it.

While Captain Hart was engaged in shipping the cattle referred to from Portland Bay I had a valuable mare taken from the Park Lands, and had some reason to believe that some runaway convicts from Sydney had stolen her. One evening a meeting was held at the S.A. Bank on North-terrace to consider the state of the police force. Inspector Inman was present. Mr. McLaren, the Manager of the South Australian Company, was called out to see a man who had brought a letter from the fishery at Encounter Bay. Inman called me out, and said he thought my missing horse was in the yard. In this he proved to be mistaken; but while we were looking at the horses [corrected to 'horse' in the cuttings] the man who had ridden him came out, and some words passed between him and Inman. The man tried to force the horse out of his hold, and presented a pistol, which Inman caught hold of, and in the struggle the lock was wrenched off. The man was taken into custody, and he proved to be a convict from Sydney named Jack Foley, who had been camped for some time in the vicinity of Encounter Bay.

No charge was brought against Jack Foley, and seeing him occasionally in the prison, I became interested in his case, and offered the Government to take him into our service and send him to Portland Bay to assist in bringing the cattle overland. He proved a very useful hand, and continued in our service and accompanied my brother to England in 1840. He was wildly suspicious of strangers, and seemed to live in constant dread of being sent back to Sydney.

One day, when I rode with him over the range—October 1839 [corrected to '1838' in the cuttings]—to join Captain Hart at Encounter Bay, where the Hope was anchored, the ship with Colonel Gawler came up the Gulf. Governor Hindmarsh left fifteen months before, and Mr. M. Stephens has acted meanwhile. The arrival of the Colonel—who was Resident Commissioner as well as Commander-in-Chief—was soon followed by a large influx of immigrants, with very scanty means of finding employment for them. Flour some time after rose to £10 a bag, and other necessaries went up in proportion. A few of the leading men formed themselves into an Association for importing flour, and the first arrival brought down the price to £6 a bag. This was no small relief. The Government also purchased and stored a cargo of rice, which was much used for bread. Meetings were held and representations

were made to Colonel Gawler (who was a truly disinterested and upright man) respecting the absolute need of finding employment for the numerous immigrants who were arriving. He said he had no authority to draw on England, and feared the necessity for the Government employing labour would not be understood by the authorities at home, and that although he had come out with full powers he believed the course he was asked to pursue would damage him exceedingly. However, he determined to run the risk; but his words came true, and he sacrificed himself. His drafts were returned dishonoured, and he was recalled, to make room for Captain Grey, now Sir George Grey, who when he came informed us his instructions were to reduce every department to the lowest limit, and to incur no further expense.

The colony had on the whole become consolidated and settled by the assistance afforded by Colonel Gawler's expenditure, and it was now able to bear the change. On Colonel Gawler's leaving for England he was accompanied to the Port by a large cavalcade of the leading colonists, who felt that we were losing a man more single-minded, honest, and energetic than we could hope to see again. In parting with the Colonel I felt that I had lost a valuable friend. He set an example of Christian life which was of incalculable benefit to the colony in the first struggles for existence.

In 1840 my brother left for England, and remained away for two years. During this interval the cloud came over the colony, and difficulties began to accumulate. Banks refused accommodation and demanded the payment of overdrafts, and in the two years ending February, 1843, we had been compelled to fight with monetary difficulties which terminated in the loss of all our property. In 1840 the balance-sheet showed a credit of nearly £30,000. One of the chief causes of failure was the whale fisheries of Encounter Bay, in which we became interested in consequence of purchasing Blenkinsop's station and plant. He and Sir John Jeffcott had attempted in 1839 to enter the Murray mouth in a whaleboat. Very unfortunately for them a head of whalebone, which was valuable, was discovered on the beach before they arrived at the mouth. They took a considerable quantity on board, and in consequence the boat was unable to rise to the breakers and sunk. Both Sir J. Jeffcott and Mr. Blenkinsop were drowned. The acquisition of this fishery led to my taking a share in the S.A. Company's stations, and we formed a united fishery, with Captain Hart as manager. He was to receive £500 per annum, the business being done by our house in Adelaide. The S.A. Company had large whaling stores at Kingscote. Their account for supplies and the low price of oil caused the Company to be carried on at a great loss. Another loss was a charter of the Katherine Stewart Forbes, which stipulated for her arrival at Encounter Bay on October 1, the end of the season, which was delayed until February 1. The oil had to be buried in the sand, and a large quantity of oil ['of oil' deleted in the cuttings] was wasted by leakage. An attempt to make the ship liable was defeated by a legal error in suing the captain instead of the owner, and law costs were added to the loss.

REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER NO. III

[BY J.B.HACK]

The South Australian Register 28 April 1884

Discovery of Mount Barker Hill.—Starting Afresh.—Burra Mines.—Religious Life.—Wesleyanism.—Mining Speculation.—Timber Merchant and Contractor.—Gold Diggings.—Broker and Accountant.—Dairy on the Coorong.—Sheep-farming.—Return to Adelaide.—Hill & Co.—Agent.—Public Service.—Final Retirement.

Before resuming the thread of the narrative reference will be made to an interesting event in the year 1837. One of the mares had broken away from the tether, and had been lost for

a considerable time. The Timor pony was also adrift. A party of men had begun to split timber near Mount Lofty, and one or two loads of fencing stuff had been brought down. I heard that the mare and pony had been seen by the splitters, and I and Tom Davies—a first-rate bushman, whom we had brought with us from Launceston—rode up the hills to bring them in. We found their tracks near Mount Lofty, leading eastward. Up to this time the country was unexplored beyond the splitters' huts. Tom, who was a first-rate tracker—as good as a native—took up the tracks and followed them until late in the afternoon, when he gave in, and we returned to Adelaide. Next day I sent him with another man to follow up the tracks. They returned with the two horses, and said they had found them in a reach of a river running from the north—since named the Onkaparinga. I made up a party—Mr. Morphett, Stuart, myself and a gentleman from Hobart Town, with Tom Davis as guide. We struck the river and crossed it, and were greatly pleased with the fine grassy country we were riding through. The kangaroo grass in the bottoms reached to our knees on horseback. On ascending a rise, a mile or two from the river, we came in sight of a very prominent hill some miles to the east. Mr. Morphett said it must be the Mount Barker hill described by Captain Hart [corrected to 'Sturt' in the cuttings] on his boat expedition down the Murray. We at once decided on reaching it, and about 5 o'clock in the evening we were all on the summit; we were the first white men who had ascended the hill. We could trace the course of the Murray into the Lake Alexandrina, and had the Encounter Bay coastline full in view. It soon became nearly dark, and promised to be a wet night. We were not equipped for camping out and to me it was an unknown experience. We had noticed some water near the Mount, and made for it. By the time we had lit a fire the rain was very heavy, and we were obliged to dry first one side and then another, as sleep was out of the question. We were too much excited by the discovery of so beautiful a country to grumble at the small inconvenience of a wet camp.

Returning to the period of our losses in 1843, I began the world afresh, with no means available to commence any undertaking requiring capital. I found, however, the means of starting two or three bullock teams as a carrying concern, which enabled me to live in tolerable comfort. In the year 1845 the Burra Mine was discovered, and I agreed with the Directors to bring down to Adelaide the first loads of ore which were raised and I continued for a year or two to work on the Burra roads.

While engaged in the undertaking above mentioned I went to hear the local preacher of the Wesleyans, who preached in one of the miner's houses in Kapunda. Becoming much interested in the work which was accomplished by those good men and in the different religious meetings held by the Society at Kapunda I eventually joined them. At this time the Rev. Mr. Draper was the senior minister of the Wesleyan and was frequently my visitor. The Rev. John Harcourt, now in Victoria, then travelling as a young minister, was often at my residence in Kapunda, and was much beloved by the people.

In the year 1845 the Burra special survey was taken out and divided between two companies, 10,000 [corrected to '2,000' in the cuttings] acres to each, the northern part containing the great boil of copper ore falling by lot to the present Burra Mining Company, and the southern to the Princess Royal Company. Having taken a great interest in the opening of the Burra lodes and having been engaged in bringing down the ore to the port, I was towards the end of that year offered the management of an expedition to prospect on the supposed continuation of the lodes of the Kapunda Mine, which were then very productive and had been worked to a short distance of the northern boundary of the Kapunda section. A Syndicate was formed, and the section on the north of the mine was purchased at a very high rate with every prospect of cutting the Kapunda lodes. The purchased section was called the North Kapunda Mine. I was instructed to sink shafts east and west facing the Kapunda Mine to water-level, and run an adit from both shafts which when completed would settle the question as to the value of the new section. This work was accomplished, but no trace

of copper was found. The lodes which had been so rich were found to be broken off before the new property was reached. The value, however, of the new town of Kapunda, which was built on the North Kapunda property, has to a great extent recouped the Company for the cost of the speculation.

I then undertook the opening of a lode of copper on Allen's Creek, two miles north of Kapunda, a large quantity of blue carbonate being found near the surface. This was the property of the large Copper Company formed in London. Their mine was a disappointment, as the copper deposit settled down on hard stone and disappeared, and no further trace of copper has been since found in the locality—no trace, at any rate, of sufficient importance to warrant any speculative outlay.

Early in 1848 I commenced a timber business in North Adelaide in connection with a builder and contractor—R.S. Breeze. While engaged in building Christ Church, North Adelaide, Mr. Breeze was suddenly taken by an illness and died. I had to finish the contracts on hand, and took several others, and was so engaged until 1851, when the Victorian Diggings took away most of the male population, and I was eventually obliged to wind up at a great loss.

In February 1852, I made up a party for the Victorian goldfields—myself and four of my sons. We took over a dray, three horses, loaded with provisions and the material and tools needful for surface mining. After a toilsome journey we arrived on the Bendigo Diggings on April 1. We worked principally on Ironbark and Long Gully, and were more successful than many. Our permanent camp was on Bendigo Creek, near Golden Point. In September I returned overland with one of my sons on horseback, following the track of the gold escort which had preceded us. In a few hours [corrected to 'days' in the cuttings] we overtook them at Wellington on the Murray. We were able to secure about 40 pounds of gold as the result of our expedition.

Soon after returning to Adelaide, I commenced as a loanbroker and accountant, and undertook the loan branch and accounts of Mr. Atkinson, a rising lawyer. Soon after Messrs. Hart & Hughes opened their new Port Mills, and offered me the place of accountant at a salary of 500. I continued with them until December, 1858, when my eyesight became impaired, and I was obliged to give up office-work. I had now the offer of a run on the Coorong opposite McGrath's Flat, which I purchased for £200, and leaving North Adelaide we removed there and commenced dairy operations. There was no sort of improvements on the run; everything had to be done. I took with me doors and windows for a house, and managed by degrees to make a home. A part of the deck of a vessel was washed ashore near our camp, and we broke it up and found deal battens enough for the framework of a house of five or six rooms, filled in with bush materials, and thatched with long grass. We were successful in making excellent cheese, but found it very difficult to get it to market, our route being via Goolwa. The great trouble was that the run was unsuitable for a dairy, and after some years trial it appeared that the balance of expenditure over receipts was too great to be overcome.

We took up scrub country about forty miles inward from the Coorong, and sank several wells, finding good water 60 to 100 feet deep. I purchased, in partnership with Mr. G. [C?] M. Smith, 3,000 ewes at Mount Gambier from Dr. Brown. These were aged and troubled with footrot, and did not turn out well. As more recent experience has proved, it is necessary to fence-in lands in the scrub. The travelling of the sheep, to and from the water is too harassing for them, especially in our case as respects the Mount Gambier sheep. The sheep speculation was discouraging and the dairy business altogether unsuccessful, so the end came; and at the close of 1862 we determined to return to Adelaide, which I reached with my family in July, 1863. After winding up the Coorong business I made an arrangement with H. Hill & Co. railway contractors, to enter their service as accountant, and commenced in January 1864. Messrs. Hill & Co. were unsuccessful in obtaining the renewal of their contract in 1867,

and Mr. John Rounsevell succeeded them, when I was continued as accountant. In 1868 Mr. Rounsevell and I parted, and I again opened an office as general agent and accountant, which was continued until July, 1869. I then accepted an appointment as accountant to goods department (railways) under Government at £400 per annum. In 1870 I became General Accountant, and in 1879 was appointed as Controller of Railway Accounts, which was held until June 30, 1883, when I applied for permission to retire, which was granted with eight months' leave of absence.

Being now 79 years old, I have only to wait for my final retirement from the scenes of a very chequered life, in which I trust I have made very few enemies and many friends.

Early Settlement

The early settlement of South Australia. Some experiences of a Pioneer

Manuscript draft in State Library of South Australia, 14 pages.

Having determined on the year 1836 to emigrate with my family to the New Colony it was arranged that the Barque "Isabella" Cap Hart should call at Portsmouth and take my party on board with some tons of Luggage being bound for Launceston Tasmania. We embarked on 1st September but unfortunately the captain had reserved no room for our freight, and could only take two Manning houses and our Cabin Luggage. At Spithead we bought a sailing boat expecting of course the settlement would be located on the sea coast. The purchase however proved to be a mistake. I provided myself with a few hundred sovereigns, as our destination seemed so uncertain, we should have brought dollars, which were at a high premium when we arrived on the 1st Jan'y 1837. We arrived off George Town and tacked up the Tamar as far as the tide would permit, two miles from Launceston. No accommodation was available but we found two or three upper rooms in an unfurnished house as a temporary residence, and commenced our purchases for South Australia.

We laid in provisions for our party for twelvemonths and went to several stations to look at stock. A Sussex settler named Wm. Henty and Captain Dixon whose sister was a fellow passenger from England, were very kind in assisting me. We bought 400 *?torth* ewes, 3 riding horses and a Timor pony, 10 working bullocks, 1 Devon bull and six heifers, poultry and 2 or 3 goats, a heavy bullock waggon and a dray, plough, harness, seeds with the tools thought to be necessary, with some difficulty we arranged to take with us four men, one Tom Davies, a native of Sydney, who proved an excellent servant setting aside his propensity for drink when procurable. The other three were ticket of leave men and turned out very indifferently, tho at first they were very valuable from knowledge of bush work. I made an arrangement with Mr Griffiths the owner of the "Isabella" for the passage to SA of my family and effects. I had increased my party by a young lady joining us, who came out on the "Isabella" to be married but from circumstances which occurred after our arrival in Launceston, she preferred to join us rather than to carry out her intentions. We had a German and his wife with us on the vessel from England as servants but they left us at Launceston, being very useless. On 1st Feby we went on board and after some delay we left George Town on the 3rd. The weather changed with a head wind blowing heavily in Bass's Straits, we had to throw overboard one of the finest of the Bullocks and several sheep killed by the rolling of the ship and it was the 10th before we entered Backstairs Passage. Before leaving VDL Cap Martin of the brig "Emma" arrived at Launceston [deleted and replaced by 'Hobarton'] and reported the settlers to have landed at Rapid Bay and Kangaroo Island but some were intending to go on to Holdfast Bay, about 40 miles north of Rapid Bay and that the "Emma" had spoken to the "Buffalo" with the Governor on board in St Vincents Gulf. About 2 in the afternoon we lay off Rapid bay, Cap Hart took some of us on shore but we found no one, tho' several reed huts were

remaining.

Cap Hart had been up the Gulf before, when sealing, and knew Holdfast Bay. the ship stood on up the coast until midnight, and then anchored and fired a gun. A boat came off in an hour or two. When it appeared the Buffalo with one or two other vessels were anchored two or three miles ahead.

The next morning the 10th being Sunday the Captain commenced landing the stock on shore and I landed to receive them. I had provided sheep netting for a yard which was promised to be sent off during the day that the sheep might be protected. this was not done and at nightfall we rounded the sheep up on the sand hills and had men to watch them. They were nearly mad with thirst and the moon going down at about two o'clock, the whole took away. The agent for the SA Co [deleted and replaced by 'Henry Jones, a fellow passenger'], had also 400 sheep on board. We landed 340 out of our 400 and the result of the sheep breaking adrift, proved to us a loss of 300 sheep which never were recovered. The Company [deleted and replaced by 'Mr Jones'] did not fare much better. We found long after that some sailors who had absconded from the "Coromandel" had taken possession of the straying sheep and appropriated them, The Government sent a party of Marines to apprehend these men but they lost themselves and nearly perished for want of water, tho' only two or three miles away it was in plenty.

We lost no time in yoking up a team and drawing up our goods from the Beach to the lagoon—now Morphett Villa. At this time there was only a pair of bullocks drawing a water sled, a horse or two and a mule belonging to Cap Hindmarsh, the Governor in the Colony. All the settlers who had arrived were camped on the sand hills at Glenelg, and our team was much admired and coveted. The "Isabella" lay at anchor for a few days. Cap Hart told me there were very little stores available and he wished to come over again and bring stores and stock but there was no one he could trust. We had a good deal of conversation on the matter and I offered to take stock at specified prices landed and on any invoices to give him 10% freight. Months past and I heard nothing of the "Isabella" and had supposed that Hart had made other arrangements. However, riding down to our camp at Glenelg I met the Captain, who told me he had lost the ship on Cape Northumberland and saved nothing, in fact that he had ruined himself by the speculation. He said Henry Jones who was a fellow passenger, was his partner in the transaction. Hart made no claim on me at that time but Mr Jones constituted himself my agent and declared that as the principal for whom they acted I was the responsible party. They could produce nothing in writing to connect my name with the matter. I unwisely allowed an arbitration and had to pay Mr Jones £700. The award was for about £1400 but Cap Hart said it was not a just claim and withdrew from the suit.

I left England with 3 preliminary sections which included 3 town acres and only intended to settle on the land as an agriculturalist but the surveys were delayed a ballot was taken among the holders of the preliminary land orders and my orders were allotted to the Yankalilla district, which were not surveyed for one or two years so being without land or the prospect of getting it in any reasonable time I was induced to accept consignments and very reluctantly to enter into mercantile business. This was very much decided by my connection with Cap Hart. After he had landed after the loss of the ship I agreed with him to proceed to Sydney and obtain the command of a vessel by purchase of a share if necessary and commence a shipping business between Adelaide and Sydney. My younger brother went with him to procure some cattle for ourselves as well as for the SA C, who commissioned him to buy on their account. No route was then known across the bush to NS Wales Cap Hart at Sydney took a share with Cap Devlin on the brig Adelaide, who brought her round to SA.

In the mean time my brother and Cap Hart agreed with Fred Dutton for the purchase of about 800 head of cattle running on Manaroo Plains at £8.8.0 p head to be delivered at Portland Bay, a track having been discovered by Mr Mitchell to that place the year before.

Hart then chartered the barque "Hope" to ship the cattle round from Portland to SA. Three or four voyages were made but the cattle were landed in very bad condition and many died. Just then some stock were brought down the Murray by Mr Hawdon and we determined having still 400 to bring over that we would bring them by way of the Wimmera to the Murray and follow Hawdon's tracks.

I rode over to Encounter Bay where we had just landed a cargo from Portland Bay, and took with me Jack Foley, a bush ranger from Sydney who proved very reliable on the new project. I arranged our plans with Hart who sailed to Portland Bay taking with him Mr Pullen, afterwards Admiral Pullen, who took the Hope back to Sydney. The stock were all delivered at Mount Barker by the Murray route without any loss.

On the receipt of the information from Sydney of the cattle purchased from Dutton, which obliged me to make immediate provision for a large outlay which I had not contemplated I was placed in real difficulty. I was obliged to hand over to the SA Co thro Mr McLaren their manager a considerable number to enable me to meet the engagement with Mr Dutton at a low price compared with the value in the colony.

On the death of the owner of the whaling station at Port Victor Mr Blenkinsop who was drowned at the Murray Mouth with Judge Jeffcott in connection with Cap Hart and Devlin we bought his station and whaling gear and put Cap Wright, an old whaling hand in command and not long after we entered into a whaling company adding Mr Jno Morphett to the adventurers with the SA Co who had large whaling stores at Kangaroo Island with the understanding that the Whaling C was to take their supplies from the SA Co stock at Kangaroo Island. Cap Hart to be the manager at £500 per an. In the season of 1839 (or 1840) we chartered the "Katherine Stewart Forbes" to take in our oil at Victor Harbor on the 1st October when the season closed but she did not arrive until early in January. The oil had to be protected on the beach as well as we could but a very great loss occurred thro leakage. This breach of contract occasioned law proceedings which were relegated to an English court, and on a formal objection we were nonsuited with heavy law expenses to pay. These losses with the low price of oil and a tremendous account from the SA Co for stores supplied caused the Whaling Co to be dissolved in 1842. Since then the whales have in a great measure forsaken SA shores.

After landing on 12 Feby we were engaged till Mch 14 putting up our cottages and then removed the family to Adelaide, one of these remained at Glenelg until all our stores were brought up. On 23 May the "Schah" arrived with the luggage furniture which was left out of the "Isabella" and we soon began to make our home more comfortable.

Extracts from a journal kept during the first three months after arriving in the Bay on 11 February 1837.

Feb 11. Saturday After rounding Cape Jervis about 2 in the afternoon we came in sight of some rush houses in Rapid Bay, a boat was lowered and we went on shore to find the houses deserted apparently only a few days ago. It was curious to see the manner in which the huts were built, long rushes at the sides, thatched with grass. The little gardens were flourishing and we carried off some greens. It seemed a good omen that the settlers had found a better place. With a better breeze we ran along the coast for Holdfast Bay, which was 30 miles ahead, and ran on till long after dark and having made the distance required we anchored. Fired a gun a and not long after a boat came off and we were told that there were lying in the Bay, the "Coromandel", "Buffalo", "Rapid", "Jno Renwick", & the "Cygnet". The "Tam O'Shanter" had grounded in the river 15 miles north of the Bay. The "Africaine" and "Wm Hutt" were also there. The river makes a very good harbour but is not yet buoyed off. The Township which is not yet surveyed is to be called "Adelaide". We could realize on our stock a very handsome profit, as there are as yet no stock or scarcely any landed. We shall squat for a short time at Glenelg by a lagoon, until the city is allotted. Our gardener, W. Sutor &

his wife are in the John Renwick.

Feb 12 Sunday. The sheep are landed in two lots of 400 each went on board 600 were landed which are worth here £3 each. Stephen has seen Mr. Morphett who will show us tomorrow where we can make our camp. The country is extremely beautiful a plain of great extent bounded by wooded hills. Very hot today.

Feb 13. We have got our 9 bullocks on shore safely. The sheep have scattered in the course of the night and we find there will be many missing, but it is of no use fretting. The Captain in consequence of the weakly state of the sheep landed them where he first cast anchor which was three or four miles from the Lagoons and as the sheep could not walk as far that night they could not owing to thirst be kept together. Ther 104 in the shade. I am much better than before we arrived. Stephen stands it well too. He stays on shore to see after the stock to-night. We think we cannot do wrong in sending for some more, as these are so far in the colony and they must be had. Called on Morphett who is very kind.

Feb 14. The Bull and heifers came on shore today. I went with them and drove them with Stephen's help to the Lagoons. Very busy getting out our cargo.

Feb 17. I have done nothing but receive goods on the beach and stow them away in a tarpaulin tent which we have set up on the land & which Jno Hill has in charge. I go on board to sleep & Stephen in Mr. Morphett's hut. we are removing our goods with the Bullock dray to the camp by the Lagoon. We shall get 60/- p day for the hire of the team, as soon as our own work is got under. We have already agreed to take goods a mile off the beach at 10/- a load. Some of the crew of the "Coromandel" have...

EXPERIENCES OF A PIONEER [BY J. B. HACK.]

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA No I.

The South Australian Register 3 July 1884

We published in April last a brief but very interesting autobiography by Mr. J. B. Hack, one of our oldest colonists. His account of some of the now historic events of the early days of South Australia appears to have been much appreciated by not a few, and he has by request enlarged upon them in the following articles, adding considerably to the fund of information regarding the opening up of the colony. Mr. Hack kept a diary for some time subsequent to his arrival, upon which he has largely drawn in this fuller version of the part he played amongst the honoured band of pioneers.

Emigrating in 1836.—Voyage to Tasmania.—Launceston in 1837.—Buying Farming Stock.—News of South Australia.—Voyage Thither.—Losses en route.—Rush Huts at Rapid Bay.—Arrival at Glenelg.—Pleasant Prospects.

In the year 1836 I had determined, as stated in the previous sketch of my colonial life, to seek health in a warmer climate, and, being much interested in the projected new colony of South Australia, I was induced to become one amongst the first immigrants who were preparing to settle there. I was introduced in London to Captain Hart, who was loading the barque Isabella for Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, and agreed to take the two stern cabins and other berths for my party, and to join the vessel at Portsmouth on September 1, on which date I arrived with my party, consisting of myself and wife, six children, my younger brother Stephen, and a German and his wife as servants, also as passengers Miss Dixon, returning to Launceston, and a young lady, Miss Carter, who was recommended to our good offices by friends at home. We had also Mr. Henry Jones among the passengers, to whose friendship I had been introduced in London. We had a day at Spithead, and received on board late in the evening Sir John Jeffcott, who was going out as Judge in the new colony, and who was

quite an unexpected passenger. We had a great disappointment in finding the ship filled up, and some van-loads of goods we thought indispensable shut out. We could only induce the captain to take the packages containing our two Manning houses and cabin effects. I had to send the remainder to London to await another vessel. While at Spithead, I bought a boat and fittings, supposing we should be landing near some navigable water, which proved to be of no service. I had to pay £5 for its freight. By way of precaution, I took with me a few hundred sovereigns, which should have been dollars, which were at a premium when we arrived at Launceston. Our voyage was a tolerably fine one, having very little really bad weather, and only the usual incidents of a sea voyage. I give here some extracts from a journal kept by me during the early part of our colonial experience, which may show somewhat of the first experience of a colonist in a new country:—

January 1, 1837.—A fine lunar to-night, after several days of hazy weather. We expect to see King's Island by daybreak. 2nd—We were aroused by the captain coming down the companion, crying 'Land ahead; turn out.' Most of the passengers were soon on deck, and we found ourselves about seven miles from King's Island. After the recent cold weather the climate seemed delightful. Ther. 65. 3rd—A showery morning. We made a signal for a pilot off Port Dalrymple, who came on board about 8 a.m. We passed close under the lighthouse, which is a very handsome building. The entrance to the Tamar is very intricate. We seemed to be surrounded by shoal reefs. The views all down the river were very beautiful. Sir John Jeffcott compared the scenery to some in the County Wicklow. The reaches in the river often assumed the appearance of lakes, surrounded by hills wooded to the water's edge. We were able to get up within six miles of Launceston, when we grounded. After dinner the captain and the gentlemen passengers went up to Launceston. We floated off at 5 p.m., and went on to within two miles of the town, when, for want of water, we remained there all night. 4th—Arrived at the anchorage below the bar about 10 a.m., and soon I, my wife, and two boys went on shore to look for lodgings. We found several very kind people who assisted us in our search, but were unsuccessful. At 3 p.m. I called on Mr. Lewis Gilles, Manager of the Tamar Bank, who sent a clerk with us, and we obtained some rooms in an unfurnished house, which we took at a guinea per week. We shall try and hire some furniture. Captain Dixon, brother of our fellow-passenger, Miss Dixon, seems very anxious to give us all the information he can, and his experience must be of great advantage to us. 5th—Some vessels have been here from South Australia, but they bring no account of the Buffalo, with the Governor and his party. A sloop was about sailing for South Australia, and I wrote by her to Mr. John Morphett, who was to act as our agent. Found Captain Dixon lodging at an upholsterer's, with whom I agreed for the required furniture. There is a very large export of sheep going on from this port to Port Phillip on the other side of Bass Straits, where very fine land has been found for grazing; 45,000 have already been sent over, and 60,000 more are being shipped. Two or three schooners a week are running, which take over 500 or 600 each. Owing to this, and an expected demand from South Australia there has been a great advance in sheep; 35s to 60s is now asked for ewes. The increase during the last season in Port Phillip was 100 per cent. 7th—Occupied in landing our goods from the ship. The *Isabella* is laid on for South Australia to sail in this month, so that our captain will go with us to our new home. Our heavy packages will not, therefore, have to be landed. By the paper I see that the *John Pirie* has arrived at Hobarton, and that the *Buffalo* has been met beating up the Gulf. Most of the settlers had landed on the coast opposite Mount Lofty. 8th—Stephen went with Captain Dixon to the farm of Mrs. Lette to enquire about stock. The arrangements under which Miss Carter came to Van Diemen's Land not being satisfactory to her, she will remain with us as one of the family, which will be an inexpressible comfort to my wife. 9th—I went to the Australasian Bank to lodge our gold. Mr. Charles Henty, son of Mr. Thomas Henty, who came from our neighbourhood in Sussex, is Manager and received

me very cordially. Stephen met Mr. Thomas Henty, sen., in the town, who wishes us very much to go to his house down the river. I find we shall have to pay 20s. for our drafts on England. Obtained from Mr. Griffiths, owner of the *Isabella*, the terms on which he will take our stock into South Australia. 10th.—10th—Agreed with Mr. Jones for ten barrels of pork at £6 10s. He is doing very well with his mercantile venture. Went to look at some mares and agreed with Griffiths for freight, keep of stock on board, the freight of sheep not landed to be allowed. Rode over with Stephen to call on Mr. Thomas Henty and his wife, and were very kindly received. Purchased two mares and foal for £92. 11th—Stephen and I rode over to Mrs. Lette's, ten miles, through a beautiful country; in one of her paddocks of 700 acres there were 6,000 sheep. The wool she said last year realized 2s. per lb., the highest price obtained in Van Diemen's Land; she netted £3,000 for her clip. Captain Dixon took his sister home; he lives about thirty miles from Launceston. Arranged with two men who are acquainted with bushwork, at 30 each with board. 13th—Got to Mrs. Lette's, and found Stephen in the midst of the fold. There were 2,200 lambs about eight months old, a very fine lot. We bought 350 at 30s., out of 400 turned out, and we rejected fifty of the number; also bought eight bullocks, well matched, at £35 per pair; six heifers at £10 each. She is to take my draft on England in payment. Ordered a bullock dray and cart, and a colonial plough, &c. 14th—Stephen is of age today. I find the *Isabella* will be quite full with sheep, stock, and passengers. Stephen went over to Mrs. Lette's to mark 350 lambs and forty-five wethers. I am informed to-day that a good harbour, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ fm. on the bar at low water, has been found on east side of St. Vincent's Gulf. This is just what was wanted to ensure success. The natives are reported very peaceable. 16th—We found that a good sheepdog will fetch £10; so we were right in providing ourselves. 18th—Stephen rode with Mr. Jones to see some sheep, which he proposes to ship to South Australia as a speculation. 19th—Called on Mr. L. Gilles respecting sheep for the South Australian Company, which Griffiths will put on the *William*, brig, if 800 are promised. Making up mail for the *Arabian*. Completed our purchase with Mrs. Lette, which amounted to £750. 24th—Getting our goods on board *Isabella*. Stephen went over with Keeper, our sheepdog, to bring down the sheep; bought another pair of bullocks, a Timor pony, and a very handsome Devon bull from Mr. Manly. 25th—Buying poultry, pigs, goats, and packing up. Pfender, our German man, made an application for an advance, which we declined, and told him he was at liberty to quit if he pleased, but he did not seem to be prepared for that step. 27th—Have taken a severe cold, and have applied leeches, &c. Am lying in bed to recruit. Pfender, as I expected, decided not to go on with us, and I engaged a man, Joseph Hill, and his wife in their place. The man is a good bush carpenter and sawyer. We go on board to-morrow. We shall be glad to be away. Stephen has gone about eight miles up the river, as the sheep and cattle can be better put on board there. Weather very wet. Our party went on board ship. 29th—The *Isabella* got away about 7 p.m. yesterday. I am lying in my old cabin with a blister on my chest. Several of the crew have struck work, and although we have a fair wind are compelled to lie at anchor. Settled all my accounts in Launceston yesterday. We ought to be off Georgetown to-night if we had the crew right. 30th—Our noble bull was nearly drowned in hauling off to the ship. We have Mr. Lewis Gilles and Mr. Jones as passengers besides our own party. Willie fell overboard, but was caught on a rope and escaped with a fright. 31st—Lying all day about fifteen miles from Launceston in a beautiful reach of the river; wind strong against us. Stephen went on shore and brought off a black goat in milk. February 2—Under weigh at 8 a.m., and have cast anchor about two miles from Georgetown. While the ship was being towed along we rowed about the river in our boat. Cattle all well. 3rd—At 10 a.m. went out of the river with a fine easterly breeze, but it soon fell calm, so we had to lie quiet till evening. 4th—A westerly wind, raising a heavy sea. Cattle in the hold badly off, three or four bullocks loose, and several sheep dead. All of us are very sick, though not so bad as in the

English Channel. 5th—A foul wind continues this morning. We are beating about Wilson's Promontory and are drifting eastwards each tack. We lost one of the finest bullocks this morning. Twelve of our sheep are dead. As Griffiths insured them the loss is not ours; but to see them go overboard is not cheering. Jones, who has 400 on board, has suffered more than we have, though the loss of the bullock may be against us. It is clear that without a change of wind we shall not soon see Kangaroo Island. 7th—Better spirits this morning, for although the wind is light it is fair for us. Thirty-five sheep have been thrown overboard during the westerly gale. 8th—Outside Cape Otway, but fairly at sea, with plenty of searoom. 9th—Very little wind; but at 1 p.m. the wind came to the south at dark off Cape Northumberland. 10th—Fine wind all night, and in evening sighted Kangaroo Island, but lay off till morning in a heavy sea. 11th—After rounding Cape Jervis about 2 we came in sight of some rush houses at Rapid Bay. A boat was lowered, and the captain took us on shore, but the houses were tenantless, although only recently vacated. It was curious to see the construction of the house—the sides of long reeds and thatched with grass. The little gardens were flourishing, so we took a parcel of greens on board when we returned. It seemed a good omen that the settlers had found a better place. With a good breeze we ran along the coast for about thirty miles, and long after dark we anchored and fired a gun. Not very long after a boat came alongside, and we were told that there were lying in Holdfast Bay the Coromandel, Buffalo, Rapid, John Renwick, and Cygnet. We were lying some distance ahead [corrected to 'astern' in the cuttings]. The Tam O'Shanter had grounded on the creek or harbour ten miles north of the Bay and the Africaine and William Hutt were safely in the harbour. The river is not yet buoyed off. The site for Adelaide is not yet completely surveyed. We could realize on our stock a very handsome advance on cost, as there is yet no stock here—only a few wethers, a pair of bullocks drawing a sled, two horses, and a mule, the property of the Governor. We shall camp for a time at Glenelg near a lagoon until we can get to the city.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—No. 2.

The South Australian Register Supplement 12 July 1884

First Impressions.—Profitable Bullock-teams.—Settling Down.—Buildings.—Waiting for Land.—Transgressing.—The Governor and Mr. S. Stephens.—Sir John Hindmarsh.—An Impeachment before the Council.

The previous article left off at our arrival at Glenelg with pleasant prospects. On February 12, 1837, I wrote—"The sheep are landed. Two lots of 400 were put on board, of which 600 were landed, worth here about £3 a head. Stephen has seen Mr. Morphett who will show us to-morrow a place on which we can locate. The country is very beautiful; a plain of great extent, bounded on the east by wooded hills, which put us very much in mind of our old home in Sussex, near the South Downs. It is very hot to-day. 13th—We have our nine bullocks safely ashore. The sheep were tethered the night they landed, but we fear there will be many missing. As no freight would be paid on any not landed, the captain, in consequence of the weak state of the sheep, landed them where he first cast anchor, which was two or three miles from water. A strong north wind on the morning following our arrival prevented the vessel being moved up to the proper anchorage. The sheep were nearly mad from thirst, so that it was impossible to keep them together after the moon went down. A parcel of sheep-netting, which I had put on board for the yard, was not landed, though promised to do so. Thermometer 104° in the shade. Stephen remained on shore to see after the stock. We think of arranging for more to be sent, as the colony must be supplied. Called on Mr. Morphett at his hut, who was very kind and obliging. 14th—The bull and heifers were placed on shore to-day, and removed to the lagoon near our camp. I am very busy receiving goods

from the boats. 17th—I have put up a tarpaulin tent on the beach, and have been storing provisions and goods landed into it. J. Hill is in charge. I go on board to sleep. We have our team at work, and are removing our goods to our Lagoon Camp. We can have 60s. per diem for hire of team as soon as we can spare it from our own work. Our bullocks, &c., are much admired by the settlers, who have not seen a colonial team before. We are now taking loads from the beach, a mile inwards, at 10s. each. Ten of the crew of the Coromandel have bolted and formed a village in the hills several miles to the southward. Our stray sheep will, I fear, be too convenient for them unless something is done to bring the men back. We hear the Governor is determined to do so. 18th—Our team is invaluable in landing goods, but to receive them on an open beach is very annoying. Much is thrown into the water, and has to be rescued as best we can. I can see no prospect of getting land for a considerable time, and feel much inclined to begin to do something in the storekeeping or mercantile line. There are many articles which are much wanted, and Captain Hart seems willing to bring in on return trips such things as are needed. Some income to carry us along until we can get land and begin farming is of great consequence to us. Came on board early. My feet and ankles much blistered by working in the water in the sun. 26th—On the 21st I had the package which contained the cottages hauled up early, and by evening the family were housed. I had a bullock-cart on the beach to convey them and the bedding to the camp, which really looked very comfortable, the cottage being complete except the roof, on which I threw a tarpaulin. The day had been very hot. I had the misfortune to crack [corrected to ‘crush’ in the cuttings] the end of a finger with the poll of the axe in driving in the joints, and I was obliged to seek out Dr. Cotter, who came out surgeon in the Coromandel. He is to be our medical man. The rest of the week we were getting the goods in order and finishing the cottage. A heifer has calved. And her calf being dead we shall find her milk an acquisition. The goats also have been a great advantage to us. The Surveyor-General (Colonel Light), who is considered thoroughly competent, has fixed the site of Adelaide five or six miles from the Bay and the same also from the Port, which, although acquiesced in as inevitable by the colonists, has disarranged their plans, as every one hoped the city itself would be a port. Goods have been very much injured for want of protection. Our team of oxen is the first attempt to receive goods from ships and convey them to their destination. We have very high offers from the Company and others to carry goods for them.

March 2—All day at Adelaide putting up the second Manning’s cottage with two men. I have, with the permission of Mr. Fisher, Resident Commissioner, placed this cottage in a clump of wattles on the public road just outside the town acres (afterwards North-terrace). It will be in a great state of forwardness to-morrow. We note the autumn is stealing on us; the day is very cool. We find Dr. Cotter a very pleasant man. He has been attending Stephen, who is far from well. 5th—I have to come to Adelaide and return to Glenelg every day, as I am head carpenter. Last night I had to walk home, as my man had hurt his foot and rode my mare. I hope shortly to be able to buy some town acres, as many months must elapse before sufficient country sections can be surveyed to meet requirements. This is very hard on the settlers, as their means are growing low while waiting for land. We brought up a load to Adelaide from Glenelg after having taken one for ourselves in the morning. I have been able to sell a quantity of posts bought from Captain Hart. We have to give stockkeepers £50 per annum, and other hands £40, with board, notwithstanding original agreements. The Scotch washerwoman—Bella Hill—is now working well, and has plenty to do with washing-up our sea stock of linen. We find the work of pioneer settling is very hard, and should be sorry to recommend any of our friends at home to undergo the ordeal. When we can manage a kitchen it will be much easier. 8th—At work building at Adelaide. No timber is allowed to be cut except from the bed of the river, which very much increases the trouble. I sent our sawyer—J. Hill—and another hand, with a cross-cut saw, up the bed of the river, but

they could find nothing to answer the purpose; so we must transgress, and we have a tree at Glenelg in view, which we purpose to convert into quartering, as we cannot afford to stand still. The lagoons at Glenelg begin to be stagnant and dry up. Sutor and his wife seem very handy and willing; they have agreed for £55 per annum and board. 9th—Digging a sawpit to-day. The tree we have felled will turn out sufficient posts and rafters for our new kitchen. We have broad palings we brought from Launceston for the roof and sides. We wish we had another Manning's house to give us more room for our party. We have great trouble in finding the cattle in the mornings; we should be helpless without the horses. The bull and heifers are missing to-day. I am paying a man 18s. a week and board to look after them at night and bring them in to be yoked and milked. If he always brought them in we should be gainers by the expense. The children are very wild, but we hope to mend matters when at Adelaide. 13th—Three bullocks missing for some days, but hearing of them Stephen rode over and found them about eight miles off. One of them, Sharper, a very fine beast, dropped down almost a mile from our camp at Glenelg, being overdriven. We sent a quarter to the Buffalo and sold great part at 1s. per lb., so we shall any way realize its cost, but the loss to our team is very serious. One that had been lame has to take Sharper's place. On Sunday we had Mr. Samuel Stephens, the S.A. Company's Manager, and Mr. John Morphett to dine with us. We were able to produce some fine fish, preserved meatpie, and a rice-pudding, which was good fare for so early an entertainment. The milk and daily rice-puddings keep the children nobly. We are looking forward to a dairy when we get to Adelaide and the heifers calve. 16th—Putting up a kitchen in Adelaide and two men's rooms. A meeting to-day of the holders of preliminary sections to determine the mode of selection, which was agreed to be by lot. I had to be represented by Morphett, as I would not leave my work. I was glad I was not there afterwards, as the Governor and Mr. Stephens came to high words, and the former very unwisely threatened to take Mr. Stephens into custody. It is a misfortune that Sir John Hindmarsh is not a different character. He seems well intentioned, and may have been an excellent naval captain, but he is firm and determined to an excess. The possibility of his doing harm is fortunately very limited, so much power being vested in the Resident Commissioner, Mr. J. H. Fisher, while as to the site of the city Colonel Light, Surveyor-General, has full power to act. The Governor seems quite led by his Private Secretary, Mr. George Stevenson, who has taken on himself, I hope temporarily, several important offices and seems to think himself the only responsible man, and is becoming very unpopular. The Governor declares Encounter Bay to be in his opinion the proper site for the city. 21st—Hard at work as usual, enjoying very much a dip in the Torrens after work is over. There are large pools near, with perfectly clear water, and very deep. Our numbers are drawn to-day for our three preliminary town acres, being 72, 92 and 341—one very near to our present location in the nearest street. Bullocks in better order and working regularly. 24th—I have been laid up for three days; it is very hard for the building to be delayed. Stephen brought in a kangaroo to-day and killed a native dog. They are very numerous and bold. We approve very much of the kangaroo, and thought it the best dish at table we have had here. A party of natives about to-day; set them to work cutting wood. 25th—Quite cold, morning and evening. I am much better in health, and hope to have the family up from Glenelg very soon. The Isabella ought to be in if she is coming as the captain intended, but the westerly winds are against her. Our team earned us £15 last week besides some home work. We hope to purchase at the sale of town acres to be held on the 27th, as we want some land of our own, and may be able to grow something. As they are expected to realize about £5 each they must be a profitable investment. Miss Carter is everything to my wife; she seems to think she cannot do too much for her. If it were not for her good offices we should fare much worse than we do. We cannot see how we could have done without her. Stephen brought in an emu, having been out with C. J. Stuart, the Company's stock overseer. The leg was as large as an average

leg of lamb. 28th—Fine weather, with an easterly wind. Had hot work on the kitchen roof to-day; hope to move up on Friday. The sale of the town acres went off with much spirit, and has realized, besides the 437 preliminary acres, £4,000. We have bought sixty. All the sites of the town are now sold. People are now beginning to erect temporary abodes on their acres. There is quite a township on the flat between ours and the river. We shall build on our acre in Hindley-street. The Rev. Charles Howard is putting up a Manning's cottage about 100 or 200 yards from my place. They are very nice people. He will make a very pretty place of it. The church is to be adjoining. He adopted my plan of using short piles for a foundation. Bathed after work, though the water was very cold, but refreshing. 31st—Completed the roof of the kitchen to-day. Stephen and Tom Davis, one of our hands, went on an excursion through the hills to try and find tracks of our missing sheep. Called on Mr. R. Gouger, the Colonial Secretary, this morning, and found the Governor and Mr. Stevenson with him. Had a long conversation on various matters. Wells are being commenced in Adelaide.

April 1—A week has elapsed; too busy to write. Stephen has returned, but found no trace of our sheep. He brought the hind-quarters of a large kangaroo. They had the Timor pony to carry their loads. We all came up from Glenelg on Monday, the 2nd and are glad of the change. Stephen remained at Glenelg in charge of the other cottage and stores. The William arrived from Launceston with 700 sheep and 12 bullocks for the S.A. Co. The Isabella sailed a day before her, so she may be daily looked for. We bespoke 400 sheep, 12 bullocks, and 4 cows at a stated rate when delivered, and expected to take over Captain Hart's invoices of goods at 10 per cent. advance, which will keep us employed for some time. We continue to earn £15 per week by employment of teams. We have got the new bull into the yoke, and he works well. Sutor is preparing a piece of ground for seeds. I was not sorry to hear that Mr. Stevenson has been in manner brought before the Council for sundry matters, public and private, and has been obliged to resign all his appointments but Private Secretary to the Governor.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—No. III.

The South Australian Register Supplement 19 July 1884

Losses by Native Dogs—Profits on English Goods—Aboriginals—The Legal Tutor—Ophthalmia—The Isabella—A Dinner Party—Arrival of the Schah and Loss of Captain Hart's Vessel—The First Grand Jury—Railroad Projected—Captain Hart's New Start in Life—Dear Potatoes.

1837. April 11—The William sailed for Launceston, and as she left before the arrival of the Isabella we do not know what to think of it. I have brought the second cottage from Glenelg, and have to-day made great progress in putting it up, which will give us a house of four rooms, each 12 feet square. We shall feel much more comfortable when this is finished. Sold a lot of butter ex Isabella when here, and cleared £25 by it. Native dogs reached the fold of sheep and killed two. We have bought the remnant of Mr. Jones's sheep. The Company had a similar misfortune lately; 800 sheep scattered and several killed. John Renwick sails shortly. Her captain and Captain Chesser of the Coromandel intend returning to settle. They talk of bringing out vessels of light draught suited to the colonial trade. We rather regret not having brought more goods from England, as the profit on English prices is so large on any articles of consumption. The Company are sending a fine map of Adelaide for exhibition at home. 14th—Sent letters to England to-day; we dined in our parlour to-day; and I completed the roof of the four rooms. It was squally and rainy. The tarpaulin roof was nearly blown away several times. Engaged with the Government to send down water for the Buffalo from the Torrens, as she is soon to leave for Sydney. At the rate we are charging, as we return with

loads, it will be clear profit. The seeds sown are doing well. We are longing for vegetables. We are very uneasy about the Isabella, but hope Captain Hart has put in for shelter in another port, and is waiting for a change of wind. The natives are working about among the tents quite at home. They are all more or less clothed. One named Jack has just gone by with his children. Mrs. Brown, the Protectors' wife, has made him a round frock, of which he is very proud. The corroborees after dark are tremendously noisy when everything else is quiet. 20th—Riding with Stephen to-day to see a very fine country which he found among the hills about ten miles south of this. The valleys are very beautiful, with rich black soil at the bottom. There are natural springs of water in all directions. Shall send two men to put up a sheep-yard and hut that we may have a place for our sheep when they come. Those we have, about 120 must be removed from Glenelg before the winter. Willie is commencing lessons with Mr. Jickling, who is by profession a barrister. As he has no fixed house he comes to join us in our meals. He has a corner for his bed in Mr. C. Mann's tent. Several ladies have called on my wife and Caroline, whom they think they will like, especially the Howards. Mr. Howard is indefatigable in his house and garden. It is a great advantage to the colony to have such a man as a leading minister. 21st—Have sent two men with the cart to the sheep-yard. The yard is to be six feet high to keep out the dogs, which are very numerous there. Joe Hill having been sent away, his wife Ellen has availed herself of his absence to get terribly tipsy. We do not know what to do with her. 24th—Writing per Victor, via Sydney. Dined with Sir John Jeffcott at Mr. Gouger's, the Secretary. Caroline went to a grand party at the Governor's residence in the evening. 25th—Took Sir John Jeffcott to see the country and about our new yards. He was delighted with it, and says he saw nothing in Van Dieman's Land to equal it. 29th—We are suffering from an attack of ophthalmia. My wife and two or three of the children are suffering from it. Dr. Cotter's remedy of a weak solution of nitrate of silver is very efficacious. The men returned from the run to-night, having finished the sheepyard. As the Isabella has not arrived we must wait before doing anything more. The Rapid has orders to leave for England on the 11th of next month. Have been writing up my correspondence for her. Our team has been doing very well; as much as £12 was made in one day. Dined with a large party at Mr. Fisher's yesterday and enjoyed it, though my costume was not altogether presentable. The dinner was very well appointed, quite like an English entertainment. The Governor's appointment was spoken of as being a random one of the part of the Government; fitness and capability seemed to have been thought of no consequence.

May 6—I have been very unwell, as also the children. Stephen and Mr. Stuart brought in two kangaroos, so we have a good stock of fresh meat. My eyes almost prevent writing at present, being very painful, and the Rapid will soon sail. Fine showers for the garden. Building a stone chimney with loam for mortar for the parlour. A stockyard near the house is being built, as the bullocks are yoked here. One of the heifers is away. We have never got possession of her since landing, but hear of her now and then. 13th—Eyes much better. The Schah has arrived, with all our goods left behind at Portsmouth, and a quantity of very welcome letters from our friends. The Regia, from Porter & Co, of Sydney, has come in. We have bought some goods out of her, which are much needed here. Yesterday I rode to Glenelg, and was astonished to find Captain Hart with Stephen at our camp, and still more to hear from him that the Isabella had been totally wrecked on Cape Northumberland on her voyage here through the negligence of the mate, who had come out with us from England. He had taken a glass or two of grog, and fell asleep on his watch. It was a beautiful night. She was in pieces on the rocks in twenty minutes, and nothing saved. They were fortunately able to swing the longboat clear of the wreck. Captain Hart said the cargo was shipped to his and Henry Jones's account, which I had promised to take from them on arrival. They had insured nothing. There is no doubt we could have realized 50 per cent. on the goods in the present state of the colony. Hart said that the speculation had totally

ruined him. I was very sorry for him and asked him to remain with us at Adelaide. He came in the William, brig, from Launceston. The first Grand Jury was called together to-day and received the Judge's charge. I was much gratified to see the respectable body of men from which the Jury had to be empanelled. 10th—The Judge discharged the Grand Jury, and we were very glad to be at liberty again. A presentment was made to the Judge representing the conduct of the marines landed from the Buffalo, who have much disgraced themselves. They have been the foremost in drunkenness and thieving. They will, I hear, probably leave in the Buffalo when she sails. A memorial has been sent in to the Resident Commissioner respecting the difficulty for landing goods at the Port on the mud-bank, which is about 100 yards broad, before the sandhills are reached. A cut through this flat to bring the ship's boats to firm ground was urged as necessary. There is no difficulty in a canal or a railroad being constructed across the plain to Adelaide, about five miles. The memorial was well received, and it is hoped will be successful. 20th—Captain Hart left us for Sydney yesterday. After much anxious consultations we determined to invest in the part purchase of a vessel, to be employed between Adelaide and Sydney, of which Hart was to be captain, to give him another start in life. I also presented him with two town acres, that he might have a hold on South Australian soil, situated between North-terrace and Rundle-street. I believe a good trade will spring up. I had an agreement drawn up by Mr. Charles Mann relative to his conduct in the matter. The Company and Mr. Osmond Gilles will have a cargo ready for him at Sydney. Stephen also goes with commission from the Company to purchase stock in Sydney and ship them for Adelaide. Mr. Charles Mann and Mr. Morphett assisted me very much in the arrangement with Hart. Bought sugar, timber, potatoes, ex William, about £300. Had to give £12 per ton for potatoes, which are much in demand. 23rd—Have been to-day attending a meeting of the Council with Morphett and two or three more to give names to the streets, squares, &c, of the city, which was accomplished, and I filled in a map for my brother-in-law in England. I had to demand a survey on some barrels of pork bought from Porter & Co., ex Regia, and had one opened on board the William. It was pronounced inferior in quality, and I therefore declined the lot. A junior partner of Porter & Co., named Arnold, and Captain Tomkins, of the Regia, behaved very badly. Invoices said to be English were proved to be anything but genuine.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—No 4.

The South Australian Register 29 July 1884

Site of City Disputed—Rival Dairies—The Oystershell Story Again—Ferrying the Torrens—A Big Loss—A Large Speculation—The Wimmera Route—Whale-fishing Venture and Difficulties—Wholesale Flogging—Manslaughter—The Katherine Stewart Forbes—S.A. School Society—A Cattle Company—Rough Journey for a Lady—Full Occupation.

On April 24 we brought up the goods from the Schah, which were in good order, excepting the library, whereof the pine case was spoiled through the ship leaking. But the schooner is a beautiful craft, exciting one's envy to possess her.

It is understood that Governor Hindmarsh and his clique disapprove of Adelaide as the site of the capital, while Mr. Fisher, Colonel Light, and Mr. Gouger, with the bulk of the colonists, are fully satisfied with Colonel Light's decision. Captain Hindmarsh has set his mind on Encounter Bay as the preferable situation. This division of the parties composing the Government makes everything very uncertain, and stops improvements in Adelaide. As no one else can be found to undertake the work, I have contracted with the Surveyor-General, Mr. Fisher, to dig the cut across the mud flat at the Port for £700. The Government imported from the Cape about May, 1837, some very fine Fatherland heifers, blue-and-white in colour.

The Commissioner, Mr. Fisher, bought two when they were sold, and I the remainder—about six in number—with one exception, in poor condition—for an average of £27. The rejected one was sold some months after, and after a warm competition with Mr. Gilles I was the purchaser at £37. This addition to my stock enabled me to begin a dairy and establish a milkwalk in Adelaide, having the South Australian Company as our rivals. H. Alford, who afterwards left me to join the Police Force, was my first milkman. My further business affairs with Mr. H. Jones ended very unprofitably. He chartered the Adelaide, Captain Devlin, to load sheep at Georgetown, Van Diemen's Land, for South Australia. The sheep were shipped in good order, but unfortunately in leaving the Tamar the brig grounded on a shoal. She was soon got off, but the delay of course occasioned some mortality among the sheep beyond the customary risk of a sea voyage. Captain Devlin was obliged to remain in Van Diemen's Land regarding insurance matters, and sent the Adelaide on to me with a new captain. She arrived on a Sunday, and before I knew of her arrival the sheep were discharged and in Jones's possession. The freight was, I think, about £200, and in reply to the demand for payment I received a counter claim for a similar amount for damages sustained through the grounding of the brig. After a considerable time the case was tried in Court, and we obtained a verdict for the freight, and Mr. Jones the same for damages. The lawyer therefore had the oyster, and a shell each for myself and Jones.

While engaged in the contract at the Port the very wet weather in June raised the Torrens bank-high, cutting off all communication with the Port and the settlers, who were all on the south bank of the river. I was much wanted by my overseer at the Port, who was short of provisions for the men working on the canal, and was obliged to send for my boat from Glenelg by the dray. I launched it opposite the site of Government House, rigged a rope across as a ferry, and then walked across to the Port and back. We had much difficulty during the winter in crossing the river with the dray. Tom Davis, the driver, used to walk in along with the bullocks instead of sitting on the dray, and always brought them safely over without damage to the load. I was obliged to put up a rough bridge over the worst place in the crossing opposite my stockyard.

Mr. Jones made a claim on me for the cargo lost in the Isabella, but I declined to entertain it, though I afterwards very unwisely allowed the dispute to be settled by arbitration. The result was that I was freed as respects the stock on board, but was made the principal in the purchase of the goods, on which finding I paid Mr. Jones a large amount. Captain Hart withdrew from the suit, saying the claim was unjust.

I received a letter from Captain Hart at Sydney informing me he had, in connection with Captain Devlin, taken a share for me in the brig Adelaide [*sic*], which was then loading for Adelaide. He had also been with Stephen to look at a lot of cattle—the DTN herd—running at Manoora Plains, belonging to Fred. Dutton. There were 800, which were purchased at £8.8s., to be delivered at Portland Bay, as no overland route was then known to South Australia. The terms were short-dated bills on myself at Adelaide. Hart had chartered the barque Hope, to be commanded by himself. The cattle were to be shipped from Portland to South Australia. This transaction being so much more serious in amount than I had at all anticipated, or should have thought it right to undertake, was a very anxious one for me. Three or four voyages were made, but the cattle were landed in very bad condition and many lost. Just then a lot of cattle were brought down the Murray by Mr. Hawdon from New South Wales, and we determined to bring the remaining 400 head by way of the Wimmera, and following Hawdon's tracks down the Murray we succeeded.

At the time of the accident at the Murray-mouth, when Sir John Jeffcott and Mr. Blenkinsop were drowned, Captain Devlin in the Adelaide, and Captain Hart in the Hope, were both in the colony. They advised the purchase of Blenkinsop's plant and his whaling station at Port Victor, Captain Devlin taking a share. This would be about July, 1837. The whales

were this season plentiful. A French whaler anchored in Victor Harbour, and in self-defence we had to make arrangements with her. I bought the cutter *Hero*, of 60 tons, and employed her cutting in at a new station at Freeman's Knob, now Port Elliott. We found the Port Victor station on the beach to be inconvenient, and with great labour made a wharf on Granite Island. Blasting the high granite boulders was no easy task, having no forge nearer than Adelaide. When worn by use the boring tools were carried to Mount Terrible, overlooking Willunga Plains, and met by a cart from Adelaide. An incident occurred showing the risk of conducting whale-fishing without adequate protection from the law. A very capable and clever headsman had charge of the party on Granite Island, but once during this season he drank too much grog, and the men became insubordinate (I presume from the same cause) he stretched a boat-chain from one hut to the other, and tied the men's wrists one by one to the chain, and then flogged them. One man got his hands free and ran for the reef which connects the island with the mainland, which was not very dangerous to cross when the tide was low. He, however, slipped into a hole and was drowned. When the news of the accident was reported to the Government, Mr. Milner Stephen, who was Acting Governor after Captain Hindmarsh left for England, dispatched Mr. Nichols, as Coroner, to hold an inquest on the body at Encounter Bay. Nichols lost himself on his way to the Bay, and was in some danger of perishing. However, he at length arrived, and got a Jury together, who, there is no doubt, had often cause for annoyance from the conduct of the whalers; they are generally a bad lot. The verdict was manslaughter against the chief headsman, who was sent up to Adelaide in custody. I rode over to endeavour to keep the men together, and give the best of the headsmen in charge. When within a few miles of the Bay I met numbers of men, who were on their way to Adelaide, and who would listen to no reason. When I arrived at the Bay there were three whales towed in, worth if cut-in £150 each, but a great deal of them was lost for want of hands to do the cutting-in work. I attempted to punish two or three of the ringleaders in the mutiny by a summons before the Police Magistrate (Mr. Wigley) at Adelaide, but he discharged the men because he had no jurisdiction. The chief headsman was eventually liberated, there being no case against him, but the fishery at Granite Island was broken up for the season.

The Katherine Stewart Forbes arrived in 1838 with the new Judge (Hon. Charles Cooper), who was warmly welcomed, and with some of my wife's relations.

The S.A. Company was very desirous of promoting the welfare of the colony they had been instrumental in founding, and a Society was formed entitled the S.A. School Society, who sent out as prospective master Mr. J. B. Shepherdson. In the first year of the colony the Company undertook to erect a school and master's residence. A contract was made between the Company and a builder, Mr. Herbert, and a house with a school-room on each side was erected on North-terrace and roofed in. Unfortunately the builder was allowed to overdraw on the work, and, being unable to finish the building without a further advance, the work was stopped and the property resumed by the Company, who afterwards made their offices in one of the schoolrooms, while the house was occupied for some time by their Manager, Mr. Giles. The school project was in consequence abandoned.

Not long after the arrival in South Australia of the first mob of cattle from New South Wales by the Murray route, the high price of dairy produce in Adelaide caused the formation in shares of a Cattle Company for dairy purposes, of which I was one of the promoters. Mr. Shepherdson was appointed Secretary and Mr. and Mrs. Rankine Station Managers; a location was made on the Onkaparinga, near Balhannah, and afterwards to the extent of 1,000 acres on a portion of the new Echunga survey. Mr. T. N. Mitchell was later on the Manager, but the Company was wound up in 1844.

Mrs. Hack was desirous of seeing the new country we had taken out; and after we had removed our Adelaide dairy to the Little Para survey, I drove her in a phaeton I had purchased,

up the Teatree Gully and over the survey, coming out on the Adelaide plains near the Little Para. I had a man on horseback with tandem traces to help up the hills. Soon after we projected a similar excursion to see our new garden at Echunga. The only way from Adelaide was up the face of Gleeson's Hill. Two of our men from Echunga met us at Crafers, and assisted us by removing the timber from the track. In crossing the bed of the Onkaparinga (near Warland's) one of the shafts broke off, but we arrived at our station in about six hours from Adelaide. The carriage was so far damaged that it was for the time useless. However, the attractions of a baby in Adelaide could not be overcome, and my wife had a side-saddle put on one of the stockhorses and we rode in to town, though long after dark. It was a serious matter for Mrs. Hack to descend Gleeson's Hill in the dark.

While resident at Echunga I was fully occupied. I left the station at 6 a.m. on Mondays, arrived in town before 10 a.m., attended to business all day and bookkeeping till late at night. On Tuesdays left town at any time between 4 and 9 p.m. Station business employed Wednesdays. On Thursday mornings, as on Mondays, I went to town, returning on Friday evenings. Saturdays I spent on the farm. When driving to Adelaide I carried an ax and chain, and, cutting down a small sheoak, attached it to the axle of the phaeton. The present system of drags was first used by my brother was not then in general use.

EARLY SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—No. 5.

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Special Surveys—Euchred—Echunga—Port Vincent—Angaston Estate—Horticulture—Dividing Our Business—Wheat 10s. a Bushel—The Bill System—Station Expenses—Financial Straits in 1840–3—Insolvency—Collector Torrens—The Weakest to the Wall—Masterly Inactivity Policy—Old Colonists—The Glen Osmond Turnpike Road—Final Review.

Some time before Colonel Gawler's arrival as Resident Commissioner as well as Governor, it was announced, in consequence of the backwardness of the survey, that a special survey system would be allowed. By this system any person who lodged £4,000 in the Treasury would be at liberty to point out to the Surveyor-General a parallelogram containing 15,000 acres in any locality north-east of the Adelaide Plains, which would be pegged out on the ground into 80-acre sections. These he might select until the 4,000 acres were completed, for which he would receive land grants. This was intended to reduce the pressure on the Survey Office, which could not keep a sufficiency of surveyed land to satisfy the demand. The S.A. Company took the first survey at Lyndoch Valley; Mr. Thomas Williams, Colonel Gawler, and I took the second—Williams 2,000, Gawler and I each 1,000 acres. Our selection was on the Sources of the Little Para, near Houghton. We employed a private surveyor to lay out the sections. I afterwards sold my portion—400 acres to Mr. John Richardson, and 600 to Jacob Hagen (who had arrived in the colony in 1838)—at £3 per acre.

Our herd of cattle had arrived at Mount Barker, and we camped down on the spot where the township is now located. About this time the Australasian Bank started in Adelaide, with Mr. Newland as Manager, who was native of my own birthplace (Chichester), and whose family I knew well. With him came over from Sydney Duncan McFarlane and Captain Finnis. I had endeavoured to make arrangements with Mr. Edward Stephens, of the S.A. Bank, where I had kept my account, for discounts to cover £3,000. I was able to obtain another £1,000 in respect to a special survey from the Cattle Company previously referred to, of which I was a Director. Mr. Stephens, however, peremptorily declined to move in the matter. Mr. Newland, however, was willing to meet my views, and I transferred my account to the Australasian Bank, and was thus prepared to take up the Mount Barker Survey. But I very imprudently asked Mr. Newland and his Sydney friends to see our station at Mount

Barker, the consequence of which was that a day or two before I had, by arrangement with the Government, to pay my £4,000 I was informed by the Treasurer, Mr. Osmond Gilles, jubilantly, that I had lost my chance, for the survey had been taken out by Mr. McFarlane and his friends. The money was not fully paid in until some time after, although the Treasurer had given his receipt for the full amount. He had himself taken an interest in the survey. I was very indignant, and applied to Colonel Gawler for redress. He, however, said the Treasurer's receipt was his authority, and he could not go behind it. We had felt so certain of our station that paddocks were marked out and a large number of posts and rails laid along the projected lines. In consequence of this I applied for a survey south of that taken out by McFarlane, now known as the Echunga property, for myself and the Cattle Company, and transferred our cattle and establishment to it from Adelaide and the Little Para.

Other special surveys were taken out in which we had no interest, except in one proposed to be located at Port Vincent, on Yorke's Peninsula, by a Company of which I was one of the trustees. We considered, however, after a time, and before any survey was made, that years must elapse before any population could be expected to settle in a place so distant, and applied to the Government to be allowed to transfer the survey to the Sources of the Torrens, then unoccupied. This was permitted, and the survey was arranged. Soon after we had settled on Echunga, Mr. Flaxman (of Messrs. Flaxman & Rowlands), who was agent for Mr. George Fife Angas, applied for the six or seven surveys at Mount Remarkable and on the Rhine. The present Angaston estate is a part of these surveys. It seemed very questionable whether Mr. Angas would confirm his agent's action by accepting the drafts for the deposits, but eventually the purchase was confirmed, and the result is well known in the splendid property now held by Mr. J.H. Angas.

Horticulture in the colony was first initiated by Messrs. George Stevenson, Bailey, and myself. Mr. Stevenson's garden, in Mackinson-parade, North Adelaide, was soon one of the show-places of the colony. I enclosed several acres in Lower North Adelaide, and set my gardener (Lator [*sic*]) to work to plant and cultivate. After we commenced at Echunga I commenced a permanent garden of ten acres, and removed Lator and all his trees and plants there. These garden acres at North Adelaide, I divided into allotments, and the result was Chichester Gardens, afterwards Irishtown. The Katherine Stewart Forbes, on her return from Hobart Town brought an invoice amounting to £60, with a general assortment of trees and shrubs, which soon made the Echunga garden a great success. I felt very proud when I sent my first basket of grapes to Colonel Gawler. Some of the bunches were very large.

We established two dairies on the Echunga property with about seventy cows on each, and sent butter, and cheese into Adelaide, getting at first 2s. 6d. per lb. for butter. As a breeding station and run for dry cattle, we made a station on the Bald Hills, Yankalilla, transferring the cows when near calving to our paddock at Echunga to be ready for the dairies. Echunga proved a very expensive country to improve, and caused much capital to be sunk in anticipation of returns. In 1839 we divided the business, which has become too unwieldy, J.B. & T. [*sic*] Hack taking the Echunga estate, cattle and horses, and myself and brother-in-law (Mr. Watson) retaining the mercantile business as Hack, Watson & Co. The town firm undertook the monetary affairs of J.B. & T. Hack. I consented to my brother's visit to England chiefly on account of the increasing expenditure at Echunga, which I could not control while he was resident partner there. We had let three or four farms at 10s. an acre, and had been successful in wheat-growing. The crops in one paddock were 50 bushels to the acre. In 1839 wheat was sold at 20s. per bushel; the price soon fell to 10s., and in 1843 to 2s. 6d. per bushel.

Importers commenced by allowing very short credit to the storekeepers. We were in the habit of calling fortnightly for payments on account from customers who had running accounts, and rendering and settling the same quarterly. When new houses started—especially

Gorton & Andrews—the bill system was introduced, and discounts were readily granted by the Bank; but when the collapse occurred (after Gawler's departure) acceptances were dishonoured, and so the Banks became very cautious businesses became very precarious, until many of the mercantile houses were obliged to suspend payment.

Before leaving for England my brother sold the three horses ridden by himself to the Government for £300—one of them was Bucksfoot, the horse so highly eulogized in "Tolmer's Reminiscences". He had agreed with James Chambers for another for £120 which proved to be unsound. The establishment at Echunga at this time when I removed there on Stephen's departure consisted of:— In the workshop—a foreman, carpenter, blacksmith, and miller; farming hands—three ploughmen, two boys, two labourers, one gardener and assistant; stock department—one overseer, one groom, four stockmen for Echunga and Yankalilla; also a storeman and two pairs of fencers. With the dairy hands this staff meant an outlay for wages of about £3,000 per annum. The carriage of flour from Adelaide was found to be heavy item. The foreman of the workshop was a good practical engineer, and constructed a flourmill worked by horse-power, by which we kept the station supplied; another race supplied power for a threshing machine and a circular saw connected with the large barns. In the year 1840 I built a school about a mile from the Echunga Gardens for the education of my boys. Mr. McGowan rented the house, and soon had a full school. The school consisted of a large square divided into two or three rooms.

Everything seemed very prosperous in 1840, when my brother Stephen returned to England on a visit. I did not see him again for two years. Meanwhile Colonel Gawler's drafts on the Colonization Commissioners, which had been taken in all good faith by the Adelaide merchants, were returned through the Banks with 20 per cent. re-exchange. They were at once charged to customers' accounts. My overdraft arising from this cause and the Company's account for whaling stores was upwards of £6,000 with the South Australian Bank, whom I had offended by transferring my account to the Australasian. I was peremptorily called on for liquidation. I sold my Hindley-street property for £4,000, and raised £1,500 by a mortgage on my portion of the Echunga estate. In order to protect my brother in his absence, as the Echunga property stood in my name alone, I had executed a conveyance of the undivided moiety of the land to him. Mr. John Baker had arrived in Adelaide in 1840. He had been, when I first knew him, land-clerk in Mr. Griffiths's office at Launceston, where he opposed my arrangements with Griffiths. He became the Manager of an Auction Company I originated, and which included me as one of the Directors. Soon after he became the sole Director of the Australasian Bank, and Mr. Bentham Neales was engaged as auctioneer. Through Jacob Hagen (an old schoolfellow), whose firm in England had undertaken the business of Hack, Watson, & Company, we were to remit to them our produce, oil, and wool as far as possible, and they forwarded shipments to us in Adelaide as their agents. In 1841 I consigned largely to this house, and in 1842 received most unfavourable account sales. In fact, our consignments had been realized for cash at very low rates. The firm not long after became insolvent. Oil this year was exceptionally low-priced. The result of the year's operations with Hagen & Co. was a heavy balance against us. Jacob Hagen, who remained in the colony, demanded security, which we obtained by a mortgage on my interest in the Echunga survey. After I had given the security to him I began to find the Banks very stringent in their requirements. I was informed by the Manager that I had better, if accommodation was required, apply to the Auction Company, or, as matter of fact, to Mr. Baker, the Manager. I had made great exertions by the early part of 1843 to place myself in a good position with the bank, and was congratulated by the Manager on my successful efforts; but at the same time he said the Bank should have some security on outstanding liabilities, and proposed that a warrant of attorney should be lodged with the Bank as a sort of collateral security. This was, unfortunately, agreed to by me, and I was now in the power of the Bank. The day after a further

expression of confidence from the Manager when in town I was awakened at 2 a.m. by men coming into the yard; they were two Sheriff's officers under the warrant of attorney. They took possession of all the personals at Echunga. The result soon became certain. I was forced into the Insolvency Court, and Hagen as mortgagee, purchased the equity of redemption of the Echunga estate, which had cost some £17,000, for a very small amount. It then finally passed out of our possession.

I found myself at length without any resources and had to begin the world afresh. Several thousands of family property which fell in just at this time and would have saved me had it come sooner were swept away by the Insolvency Court. I transferred the consignments of Hack, Watson, & Co. to Jacob Hagen, as our successor in business, who, with Captain Hart, continued the whale fishery with better success for a year or two, while I as a business man passed out of view. Hart made it appear that he had lost very considerably by me, as he claimed then a share in the cattle bought from Dutton. I offered to transfer my right to one of the South Australian Company's water frontages at the Port, adjoining Mr. Henry Mildred's, which lately realized such a large amount. There was some £1,700 to pay eventually on it, but he was unwise enough to refuse.

My misfortune occurred while Captain Grey was Governor, in 1843; and I wrote to him asking if a situation in the Civil Service could be bestowed on my former partner, Mr. Watson. I received a very kind note, saying that the only place vacant was Chief Clerk, H.M. Customs. Mr. Torrens was the Collector, and offered the appointment, which was carried out. After Grey's removal to the Cape Sir Henry Young became Governor. Mr. Torrens did not give himself much trouble about his duties as Collector, especially as respects any personal care of the funds requiring daily payments into the Treasury, leaving the Chief Clerk to his own devices in the matter. Mr. Watson did not like the responsibility, and very unwisely wrote a letter to the Government, in which he stated the case, and asked for authority in case of need to pay the revenue into the Treasury. As might be expected, there was some enquiry, and Mr. Watson was directed to send in his resignation. This seemed hard usage, in the face of good service on the part of the Chief Clerk, and I saw Sir Henry Young on the matter, when he said that the fact of any officer complaining of the conduct of his superior in a direct way was against Civil Service rules, and whether or not the complaint was justifiable the result must be that the junior officer would have to retire, and that, therefore, he could hold out no hope of redress.

Captain Grey informed me when he arrived that his instructions were to venture nothing and avoid expense in every way. The case of Borrow and Goodear will not be forgotten by many of the old colonists as one of great hardship, arising from Grey's attempts to please the Home authorities. Having a large account with the firm for timber and other supplies, I was consulted by them on their difficulties with the Government. They had completed the contracts for Government House and the Gaol, and could obtain no settlement of their claim for a large balance due. One day Mr. Borrow called at my office and it was agreed I should go with him and state the case to the Governor personally, who might be induced to accede to an arbitration, if no other means could be devised to obtain a settlement. We accordingly went across to Government House, and were received by Captain Grey in a very friendly way. He declared he was not aware of any unnecessary obstacles having been placed in the way of payments to the contractors, and promised that he would do all he could to forward a settlement; but at all events if an arbitration [*sic*] was necessary the Government would not oppose it. We left the presence quite encouraged, and believed the Governor had been misinformed as to the rights of the case. We went from Government House to the Public Offices in King William-street to see Jackson, the Colonial Secretary, hoping that he would be able to propose some course of action. We found a very different state of feeling apparently between the Governor and Secretary. The latter very curtly informed us we must

have misunderstood the expression used by Captain Grey, for he could see no way open for adjusting the differences as the Architect (Mr. Kingston) was not prepared to give any certificate, and had no prospect of a decision. The interview was cut short by an intimation from a clerk that His Excellency was waiting to see the Secretary, which looked to me ominous of postponement and difficulty. The settlement was postponed until Borrow & Goodear were forced by pressure from creditors to assign their estate, and a very promising business was destroyed.

While resident at Echunga we were now and then visited by the late George Hamilton, who was at that time Master of the Hounds. He brought up the pack, and we had some good runs, which were very much appreciated by the neighbourhood. Mr. Hamilton was a very good draftsman, and he gave me an excellent portrait of my favourite entire Black Jack, and also a very good likeness of one of my sons in his nurse's arms. Mr. G. F. Davenport was also my guest in 1840, and I took him over the Macclesfield country, which he liked so much that he took out a special survey there. Some time after I had a note from him enclosing a cheque for £100, as an acknowledgment of the value of the information. Judge Cooper was also often at Echunga; he was fond of riding and of seeing the country, I remember in our rides up and down he was discussing some of the details of the new Insolvency Bill in preparation, but he little thought I should be one of its victims. We were always glad to welcome the Rev. C. Howard at Echunga. We managed when he came to make up the large threshing-floor of our barn as a temporary Church, which would hold a fair number of people, and the settlers for miles were glad of the opportunity of attending a religious service. Captain Davidson [corrected to 'Davison' in the cuttings], of Blackiston, also made arrangements for Church services, which led to the erection of the Church there. Before they left for England we had the great gratification of a few days' visit from Colonel and Mrs. Gawler. The Colonel took a view of the house and garden, which was much admired. I drove Mrs. Gawler nearly to the summit of Mount Barker (the Colonel and party were on horseback), as they wished to see the view from the Mount.

In 1840 a survey was made of a road from Glen Osmond to the Eagle's Nest, and which was afterwards completed to Echunga. A Road Trust was appointed and a turnpike established at Glen Osmond. That became in time very unpopular, and was not productive enough to make it worth while to continue. The road has now been free for many years. A similar attempt was made at Hindmarsh and a tollgate opened, but it was soon given up.

In looking back on the want of success in carrying out my plans, which were all founded on a desire on my part to settle down on a property of my own, I consider that in the first instance the employment of Captain Hart, which led to the fishery speculation, was the great error. Then, without my having the power of objecting, I found myself pledged to pay F. Dutton upwards of £6,000 for the purchase of his cattle, while in a very short time it was found necessary to do a large business that I might obtain the assistance of the Bank when required. I was obliged to hand over a large number of the cattle at a minimal profit, to the South Australian Company to obtain the means of meeting the early acceptance. The colonists who are now wealthy as stockholders did not buy and improve estates, but as squatters waited until they became independent, and then acquired land. This was the cause of much of the difficulties which arose. I was spending £1,200 per annum at Echunga of which I could not realize in such returns more than half. The balance was represented by property, but unavailable when needed to avert the ruin which followed. At that time there were no funds in the colony for the purchase of property, and, as usual, a few individuals were able to obtain valuable bargains at nominal prices.