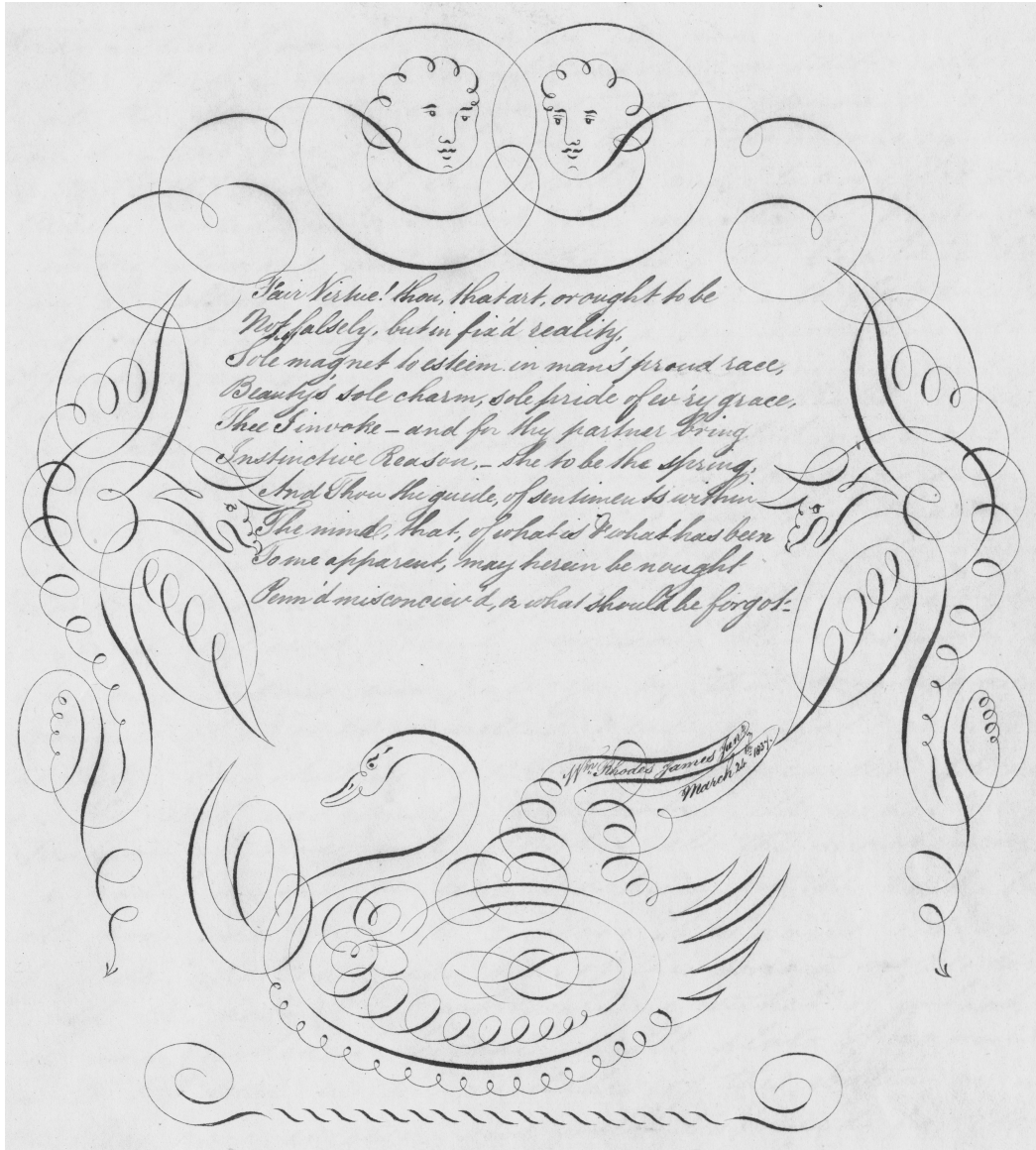


THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM RHODES JAMES
Written between 1836 and 1841

America - Jamaica - Australia



Edited by Sarah Harrison

William Rhodes (known as Rhodes), eldest son of Herbert Jarrett James, was born in Jamaica in 16th August 1817 and was sent to England with his siblings in 1823. For a time he was at Hyde Abbey School in Winchester where his father and uncle had been students. In a letter to Messrs Howland & Aspinwall of New York of 30th January 1836, his father tells of his intention to go to Philadelphia or New York the following April "...and shall direct my eldest son to meet me in the States in which case I must request the favor of your attention to him until I go, by placing him in lodgings where he will be comfortably provided for & taken care of, he is only 18 yrs of age and has not been long removed from School, he must not therefore be allowed to have his own way altogether". Rhodes arrived in New York on the 18th August aboard the 'Ocmulgee'.¹

1²

Saturday, August 20th 1836

On Thursday at 11 O'clock am we dropped anchor in quarantine ground, and at the same moment appeared alongside of us a small boat, bearing a little yellow flag at the stern, to designate the approach of a Custom House Officer. This was the Doctor who immediately mounted the side of the vessel, and taking his seat in the cabin, noted in his book the number of passengers both in the steerage and the state rooms, the Captain³ having to pay a Dollar duty for every head, infants and crew I believe excepted. After making a few more annotations, this officer in company with the Captain, surveyed the vessel, and making a general inspection below decks, to see that all was clean and no sickness prevailed, returned to the cabin and gave us permission to land as soon as we liked with one change of clothes. The steamer we were informed left the wharf on our left hand at 12 O'clock - all of us accordingly, some in the ship's boat and some in the officer's found our way there as soon as we could, and taking our passage by that conveyance, in the course of 30 or 40 minutes were landed on the wharf of the City. One shilling or 12½ cents was exacted for our fare. The boat was small and not built exactly after the fashion of England - all the machinery of the engine might be seen working on the deck, but a small box was built to enclose it having a door on each side, and on each side of this was a rope connected with the helm, by pulling either of which the vessel was guided. Several small plots of ground were to be seen in the middle of the water on which fortresses were erected and well disposed for the protection of the town, the portholes being so arranged in them severally that they might cross one another's fire. On landing I stepped into a Hackney coach with two of my fellow passengers and proceeded to an hotel which

2

one of them, from old acquaintance therewith, recommended. Our vehicle was somewhat in the form of a Phaeton or small Barouche, with a dicky and two seats facing each other at the back of it. Two black men occupied the box seat one of which drove the pair and the other acted as footman to open the door and hoist the luggage. We quickly arrived at the Hotel and my comrade dismounting, went to the Bar to enquire if we could each have a single room - but as it is usual at this season the house was so full that he was informed private accommodation could not be granted, and we could only be two of four occupants in a Chamber - this we accepted, and paying a dollar each for our drive we dismissed the Coach and entered the Reading Room - here I found a Directory and ascertaining the residence of Messrs Howland and Aspinwall⁴, I enquired the Dinner hour, and immediately proceeded to my destination - arrived there I presented my Father's letter and asked anxiously if he were yet arrived, but I received to my bitter disappointment a negative reply, and at the same time two letters were put into my hands, the one an excuse for my Father's non appearance, the other bringing me a kind invitation from Mr King⁵ to come and take my quarters at Hamilton in Upper Canada - feeling the destituteness of my situation I resolved to accept this and

2

take my departure as early as possible, but our Vessel as is customary in this Country with all that enter Port, was obliged to remain in Quarantine Ground for 24 hours, before she might come up to the City and the luggage could be examined by the Officers, this accordingly has occasioned me some delay and obliged me to prolong my stay. Having returned to the Hotel, I took my seat

3

in the Reading Room, and at the hour of three a sonorous bell was rung to indicate Dinner time, at the immediate sound of this a general hurry was seen towards the stairs, and before I had attained the first story on which was situated the Dining Room, not only all the company with the exception of a few stragglers were seated, but many appeared to have nearly gulped down all their dish of hot soup. From 120 to 150 at least in number composed the company and the whole ceremony of Dinner proceeded to my idea in the most gluttonous manner. The course is too well stamped in my memory to need recordance. It is a habit peculiar to almost all the Americans to chew tobacco and boxes are provided for their convenience in the Public Rooms, but notwithstanding this the whole floors may be seen bespattered with their coloured saliva, and to think of the process of evaporation constantly in action is by no means a pleasant idea in a Reading Room, as it reminds you of the delicate and pure atmosphere that you are momentarily inhaling. It seems by no means an act ungentle, for a Gentleman to make use of his fingers before applying the Pkt handkerchief, as I have observed several do this with equal adroitness to any of our well practised Labourers - and likewise give the subsequent smack of their digits with equal significance, to reject the mucous adhesion. I was particularly struck with the confidence apparently reposed by the Shopmen on any Gentleman who may enter into their shop - for going myself yesterday into a Chemist's for a glass of soda water, I placed \$¼ on the counter to pay for myself and a friend, and the boy having no small change requested me to leave it till I came again, that being the first time that he ever saw my face - this is an instance of undemanded trust that I never heard of in England, and there are Rogues and Sharpers here as well as there. The Omnibus's appear as numerous in this City as they may

4

be seen in London, and though better horsed, some of them even with four, yet in respect of decent appearance they are far inferior - but the Hackney Coaches may perhaps be reckoned as equally superior to ours. The cattle driven in all the public vehicles much surpasses what we have in the same capacity.

August 22nd/ Yesterday being Sunday, I proceeded after Breakfast, not knowing one Church from another, to seek me out one in the neighbourhood to which my walk would be in the shade. Having satisfied myself with the external appearance of one in William Street⁶, and learning that Service commenced generally throughout the City at half past 10, the hour arrived, I bent my steps to the Church which I had selected. Being shewn into a Pew, I engaged myself till the ceasing of the toll in observing the interior of the building. It was arranged much after the manner of our own Houses of Worship, with the exception that the Reading Desk, there being no Pulpit, was erected quite at the end of the middle aisle against the wall. The pillars which supported the Galleries were ornamentally carved at the top in very handsome workmanship, the sculpture also about the desk was in the same beautiful style. All the inside was painted white and Venetian Blinds were suspended to the windows, which together gave a very cool and summer-like appearance, but must in the winter be rather forbidding. The Clergyman rising read the 10 Commandments then gave out a hymn to be sung, I believe, by the community in general, one man being appointed to raise the tune.

5

3

The Minister next read a Chapter from the Bible of his own selection, and afterwards made a long extempore prayer in which he manifested true brotherly love, praying for the whole congregation as one private family - another hymn was then sung, when the Minister giving out a text of two or three verses proceeded to comment upon them, making a discourse in a wholly familiar and conversational manner for about one hour or more. His exhortation was certainly the most spiritual and faithful that I ever heard in a Church. After concluding this, he gave out another psalm, and then five or six persons who seemed generally appointed for the purpose went round the Church making a collection, as is customary after each service in the day - the hymn was then sung and the congregation rose while the Minister implored a blessing over them. Thus the Service was completed the people keeping their seats all the time. (In the afternoon I went to Trinity Church⁷ which as I afterwards learnt was a Reformed Dutch Church) This was conducted with little variance after the English fashion. The Minister was apparently a very young man to be in Orders - his discourse was rather an attempt at eloquence to describe the last great day, than a faithful exhortation for the edifying of his Congregation. In the evening again I strolled into a Church the sound of whose bell led me in that direction, and found it to my surprise to be one of the same profession [*above: denomination*] as that which I had attended in the morning. The Minister here was if any thing more faithful, or, to use his own words, more plain and blunt in his language than the Brother whom I heard before. / Monday 22nd
This day I busied myself completing the labour of packing

6

that I might if possible be able to quit the City without further delay. Finding this practicable I took leave of Mr Lennox⁸ and Mr Aspinwall⁹, and at 8 O'clock boarded the "Ohio" Steamer designing to stop according to Mr Aspinwall's recommendation, at West Point, in order to see the Military Academy there established, and the only one I understood from him that belongs to their Country. The beauty of the country on both sides as we proceeded up the Hudson was strikingly picturesque. Nature seemed yet hardly bereft of her primitive splendour and majesty. Extensive woods of Fir in all their variety of tints grew in thick confusion up the slopings of the lofty rocks, which here and there the stone protruded itself as if in bold rejection of the woody covert. Man's artificial work sometimes intervened in paltry insignificance, detracting from the wildness of the scenery and having little comeliness in itself. The River itself formed by no means a small object of attraction, its width was sufficiently extensive to allow of a pleasant and easy passage from one bank to the other, yet grand enough to be an object of admiration for an Englishman. Its many creeks and indentures with the various beautiful windings frequently bounded on both sides by majestic rocks partly umbraged by the black woods, (and) presenting at each turn new scenes of untried beauty, with sometimes an island of rock covered with foliage, or of fields of fresh verdant grass surrounded by marshes and adorned with ash trees in the vivid verdure of youth, these all combined were a prospect of admiration which served to lead the soul back to the contemplation of Nature in its earliest dawn. After the expiration of four hours and 20 minutes the boat being an hour after its time from some ac-

7

accident occurring to the wheel, in company with a few I landed at West Point. A man in military undress immediately presented himself with a slate and pencil in his hand, and requested us to write down our names. On our departure also this same demand was made for a strict account of 'comers' and 'goers' was kept on this place, as being a military Station. A Waggon which we followed conveyed our luggage by a circuitous rout to the Hotel situated on the summit of a rocky eminence

4

clothed with wood almost directly impending the place of landing. On attaining the height of the hill we observed by the faint light of the moon, a number of tents ranged in the open field - in these the young Cadets were lodging, for they customarily pass six weeks of the Summer (and I presume the hottest part of the Season) in this kind of encampment. The first thing which most particularly struck me in the morning, was upon taking my seat at the Breakfast Table, to see the pervading number of genteel people assembled, and to observe further the gentlemanly manner in which matters were conducted. I was at once induced to believe that there were American Gentlemen and Ladies as well as English, though rarely to be found at a New York Hotel. The Morning meal concluded to my satisfaction. I walked out, in company with another young man of very respectable deportment round and about the land adjacent to see what might be "mirabile visu". We visited two monuments, which from their plainness and simplicity, were manifestly erected with the more laudable object of being mere memorials of the individuals whom they commemorated, than ornaments of attraction to the place. Time would not allow us to visit a third, which we however understood to be particularly handsome and raised by a general subscription of the Cadets in remembrance of a young fellow-Officer who was accidentally shot by one of the Cannons. The Barracks had not external appearance much, either in extent or stateliness of building to attract a time-limited visitor. The Chapel¹⁰ was a neat little edifice of stone, having its portico however supported by pillars of wood. Two Forts are yet in existence in the place, both in a dilapidated state - the one hangs over the river

8

which is considered impregnable in as much as it is, to human eyes, inaccessible. It is situated at the top of a very lofty perpendicular rock, the base of which is only to be approached through a marsh. The other has its site further back on a second eminence, and commands the bend of the river - it is larger than the first and to all appearances in the same unheeded state of ruin. This one goes by the denomination of "Fort Putnam". West Point itself is the most romantic spot that can be imagined and when viewed from below, the scenery is truly grand and majestic - the rocks appear in all their sublimity involuntarily hiding their nakedness under a dark, thick covering of evergreen, while here and there, a part more bold than all the rest projects, to be a feature of Nature's wildest beauty. It is in its deformity that the scenery at this place viewed in any aspect is incomparably grand.

Tuesday 23rd / Having been a witness of all that might be seen in the short space of time which I had allotted myself, I took my place on board the Steamer "Erie" for Albany paying \$4 for my fare. We travelled up the River at the rate of 13 miles per hour against the stream including stoppages which were not infrequent - at about 2½ miles from our place of destination, we were compelled in consequence of it being low water, to shift our baggage and selves aboard a smaller Steamer provided for the purpose, and pursue our way cautiously to Port. Arrived here, after some little difficulty, I had my luggage conveyed to Congress Hall and proceeded thitherward myself. The town of Albany appeared clean and decent, the streets being wide and well paved, the entrance however is disgraced by a particularly shabby and insecure bridge of wood, many of the beams or rather planks are not fastened down, and so each one bobs up in its turn when any vehicle passes over it, many also from long wear required renewing. At Albany I passed the night, and at ½ past 6 of the next morning put myself in one of the Rail-Road Cars for Utica. Each carriage

9

as it received its complement of Passengers was conveyed out of the Town by two horses to the distance of about a mile, where the road becoming more level, two more cars on their arrival were hooked on and thus drawn by 2 horses only to meet the Engine about half a mile further on. The whole train being at length joined, the Engine was plied and we proceeded by degrees till we

5

attained the rate upon average of 16 miles an hour. The country through which we passed from Albany to Schenectady¹¹ we found a great inconvenience in being obliged to shift ourselves and baggage into another train of cars - the distance of this stage was only 16 miles. In the course of about 5 hours we completed the distance of 82 miles and arrived at Utica. The remainder of this day I passed in reconnoitring the town and employed myself partly in writing previous occurrences in my journal. Thursday Aug 25

Today I purposed, according to Mr Aspinwall's recommendation to visit Trenton Falls which were about 15 miles distant. Accordingly, meeting with a party of Gentlemen who had the same intention, we set out in a stage together at 8 O'clock and in 3 hours, fortunately with sound limbs we were deposited at the Trenton Hotel - the road on which our route lay was the worst by far of any I have yet travelled upon, and I have seen none in England inferior thereto. It was not long before we set out in company through the grove to the Falls, and after descending several flights of steps down the wooded cliff lodged ourselves safely upon a ground of shelfy rocks - gently gliding down by us with numerous little eddies was the stream of West Canada Creek, a branch of the Mohawk River. Bounding this on each side were two banks of tremendous rocky precipices clothed with dark lofty forests of pine under us, the ground we trod was a beach of rock, smooth and level, affording a safe promenade, at a bend of

10

the creek not far distant was to be seen a huge body of water falling, white with rage, over the rugged rocks, enveloping itself with a misty cloud of spray, the refuse of its waters, then, stunned by its fall it rolled in noiseless calm, over the rocky bed, till met by some body to oppose its way it foamed again and mounted over the crest of its opponent, or, deficient in strength south in turbid progress a double route along the sides thereof. The whole combination was certainly a scene most beautiful, nor was it peculiar to one spot only, but as we advanced another fall awful in grandeur presented itself at the turn of the creek, and so again as we further progressed we met scenes of like natural beauty. Many petrifications of muscles and other small animals, together with crystals of lucid transparency designated Trenton diamonds, have been cut out from the rock which forms the bed of the stream. After dining at Trenton we re-seated ourselves in the stage and drove off for Utica. We reached the place in time to allow me a passage in the Packet Canal Boat that evening for Rochester for 6½ dollars. I secured myself a berth, and at about 9 O'clock we left Utica drawn by 3 horses which convey us at the average rate of 5 miles an hour, but in consequence of frequent stoppages and interruptions by the docks, we did not accomplish the distance of 130 miles in less time than 38 hours. The accommodations by these Canal Boats are exceedingly confined, and the method of conveyance is most tedious and unpleasant. Our route lay through Syracuse, Montezuma, Palmyra etc. but time would not permit observation of them. Saturday Augst. 28th

We reached Rochester at 11 O'clock and I booked myself directly by the next Packet Boat, Jolly Traveller, to start at 2 O'clock. Purposing to see Niagara Falls, instead of going direct to Hamilton or Toronto, I paid my fare for a passage to Tonawanta, only 11 miles distant from the place of my intended visit. The charge 3 dol. 3 shillings. Meanwhile I engaged myself in looking about the town of Rochester though rather discomforted by the heat. The

11

streets appeared wide and spacious - those however which were not paved were pretty well preserved from being further cut up by a 4 inch layer of dust, which at the passing of every vehicle rose [sic] up 'en masse' to resent its disturbance even upon the innocent pedestrians. Some of the buildings composed of brick or stone were tolerably decent but great irregularity, as in the other

towns, prevailed in the general outlay. Business seemed quite the order of the day as was indicated by the noise of waggons and the bustle. A little after the stated hour, as usual, we started from Rochester in the Boat. Feeling a headache, that I had increasing, I maintained my seat in the Cabin and ventured not upon the Deck exposed to an ardent sun. In the course of the afternoon I found myself in a burning fever and with a violent headache, which I immediately attributed to the dense fog that rose over the canal in the morning, and which I had been warned was apt to bring on a fever and ague upon those who might be exposed to it. I determined immediately upon requesting the Captain to put me down at the first large town at which we might arrive. He felt my pulse and pronounced me to have the ague, but prevailed me to remain in the boat promising to make me up a berth directly after tea. To this I assented but resolved upon landing at Lockport in the morning instead of proceeding further to Tonawonta, where I should not have the likelihood of such good medical advice. Accordingly at about 6 O'clock, being arrived at the town I rose, feeling myself somewhat better, with little or no fever. I proceeded to the best Hotel and remained there the whole day, in bad spirits and much indisposed yet not sufficiently so to induce me to seek a Doctor. I gradually became better towards the evening and the next day felt myself sufficiently well for the drive to Niagara Falls about 24 miles distant. I placed myself in the stage ac-

12

accordingly and at 12 O'clock arrived at Niagara village. After dinner falling in with some gentlemen whom I had met at Utica, with their consent or rather by previous appointment I made myself one of the party and taking with us a guide as recommended, we bent our steps to view the far-famed falls of Niagara. We first had to cross a wooden bridge over the rapids whose apparently frail structure over the swiftly hurrying river was sufficient to create alarm in the bosom of a stranger. As soon as we attained the opposite bank, a lad stationed there for the purpose demanded of us a toll of 25 cents - this I believe goes to a private fund and becomes the property of the person who constructed the bridge, and from the thousands of visitors I may safely say, every season, such an exorbitant exaction must have made the fortune of more than one individual I should imagine. There are in all 3 falls forming 2 sides of a parallelogram but of course detached. We looked at each in its different view and they were severally and united most majestically grand, and terrible indeed. At first sight however every person from the wonderful accounts he has heard of them, feels rather somewhat of a disappointment, for he expects to see them precipitated from a height much more tremendous, but it is on acquaintance that they appear in grandeur most awful and in the beauty of terribleness. The two Falls that are adjacent roll down a precipice of 164 feet high - these are on the American side. The other and grandest of all, called after its resemblance to a horse-shoe, falls in an overwhelming body over an abrupt rock of 158 feet in height, and belongs to the Canadian territory. Tuesday August 30th - After breakfast I crossed the ferry to view the Falls from the opposite bank when a better conception might be formed of their noble height.

13

The part of the river where the boat takes a passage is 250 feet in depth and on one side not more than about 12 or 16 yards from the Falls. This makes the business of crossing rather appalling to a stranger, but I believe there is no record of any accident having occurred there. The British is most decidedly the best side for viewing these wonders of nature as the whole breadth and depth of the bodies of water can be seen to much greater advantage and the sight is truly grand. I mounted up the side of the hill or cliff which gives name to the town, Clifton, and on my way to the Grand Fall stopped at the Museum conveniently erected at the side of the road. I was much pleased with the objects that were to be seen and did not grudge the payment of 26 cents. The animals there were with the exception of a few all American, and did much honor to the man who stuffed them. I next

proceeded to the building which was situated at one end of the Fall determining to visit there from the extremity of Termination Rock. This is an excursion along the precipice under the sheet of water. Accordingly having procured my dress and put it on, in order to do which I was obliged to strip myself of every vestment I wore, a Guide in the person of a little boy being provided, I set out under his conduct with another gentleman, and, first, descending a long flight of steps we arrived at the pathway which was formed along the side of the precipice. Our guide, preceding, we followed, but in consequence of not holding my head down low enough, I was compelled to retreat having almost lost the power of respiration by the violent gusts that blew under the rock, and from the dense unpenetrable cloud of spray that they brought with them. The guide however being returned I learnt the cause of my repulse, and resolved upon remedying this to make another essay. This time I suc-

14

succeeded but not without fears of being drowned by the flying foam ere I returned. Having arrived at Termination Rock which is distant 153 feet from the commencement of the falling sheet, the spray became less dense and enabled us to breathe with comparative ease, little however was to be seen except the tremendous body of water falling apparently at about 2 yards from us into the horrid abyss below. We retraced our steps and having been presented with a certificate of assurance from the person who received our payment of 75 cents I quickly dressed myself and made my way across the Ferry once more. At 3 O'clock I left Niagara village in the stage for Lewiston and there took my passage by the steam Boat, William 4th, for Toronto. We reached this town in the course of about 3 and a half hours from the time of starting. I slept here and the next morning at 7 O'clock crossed the Lake to Hamilton which we reached about 1 O'clock.

Tuesday September 13th Hamilton is a tolerably neat little town but having of course the unfinished appearance of one in its infancy. The buildings are scattered and that to no mean extent, so that were the intermediate lots occupied by houses, the place would have the appearance of by no means an insignificant town. (Thursday October 6th)

Equinoctial gales still prevail - the thermometer last night at 31o, but in the course of the night rose, till this morning it stands at 40o - a very rainy day and squally. Had our first fall of snow early in the morning of Wednesday Sept. 28th - two months earlier than usual but frosts were frequent before. It lay in the country two inches deep so that the deer could be tracked. Notwithstanding all the rumours in England about the abundance of game in Canada, I must confess that I have seen but few, though perhaps they could hardly be expected to be numerous in such close vicinity to a town, where every man may carry his gun and shoot what he pleases. Quails I understand are very plentiful and congregate

15

in large flocks in the buck wheat fields after the crop is cut, but they lie so close that it is necessary to have a dog to rouse them, and to the want of that animal perhaps, I may attribute the circumstances of my not having seen any. Hamilton seems to be a fast rising town - houses of every variety in style and dimension are starting up in all quarters, and twenty or thirty may be enumerated at one cursory view. The streets are wide but little attention is paid to their decency. Great rivalry appears to exist between the shop or store-keepers, as they are universally denominated here, of the east and west end of the town, each party wishing of course to bring the custom of the inhabitants in their direction, and by extending the town to their quarter enhance the value of their town lots and landed property - .

November 9th On 1st of this month at 3 in the afternoon I quitted the town of Hamilton on board the steam Boat Traveller, the most renowned conveyance for speed of any on the Lake Ontario.

After suffering considerable detention at Wellington Square we reached the city, the metropolis of Canada, and half past 7 O'clock. At 11 once more we quitted Toronto bound for Cobourg at which latter place we arrived early on the following morning. At about 2 O'clock the boat entered Genesee Port, and at 5 or 6 miles down the river of the same name we hauled alongside the landing place at Carthage. Here we were subjected to a great inconvenience in having our luggage examined by a Custom House Officer ere it could be transferred on shore. The man however was civil and allowed our things to pass without much trouble to ourselves. There was now a very steep mountain to ascend, but this to pedestrians was not altogether inaccessible, though the badness of the road which of course took a very circuitous route would have rendered it almost un-

16

perviable [*above: surmountable*] to a vehicle. Our baggage was very securely conveyed to the summit, placed upon cars which were so elevated behind as to make them stand horizontally upon a rail road track, constructed upon a wooden frame raised about six feet from the ground. There were two cars to each of which the respective ends of a long chain, passing round a wheel at the top of the hill, were attached. The wheel was made to revolve by steam so that while one car was ascending loaded, the other at the same rate was descending empty, each of course upon their several tracks. On arriving at the top the luggage was transferred upon cars which were drawn along a rail road by two horses. There being no vehicle on that day for the passengers, we were compelled to travel on foot to the town of Rochester distant 4 miles. It being a fine day we found this obligation not altogether a disadvantage, as we were thereby enabled to stop at our leisure and take a view of the Genesee Falls. These were certainly very splendid but wholly incomparable to the magnificence of those at Niagara, though, compelled as we were to behold them from a lofty bank of the river impending them, it must be confessed that much of their grandeur and sublimity was necessarily lost. From a lengthened delay at Carthage we did not reach Rochester till quarter past 3. At 4 we understood that the Packet Canal Boat would leave the town for Utica and in that we took our passage. We had previously ordered dinner at Eagle Tavern, which was kept by a very civil Dutchman, but being compelled to wait longer for the meal than we had anticipated,

17

notwithstanding we acted Yanky fashion at the table, the Boat, to whose punctuality we did not give credit, went away without us. We should however have certainly been in time, had it not been that there was a female in our party, and that sufficiently accounts for our awkward situation. As our luggage was all aboard the boat we were compelled to give chase in a Hackney coach, and at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 4 we started accordingly. After a run of 3 miles we succeeded in getting ahead, paying $\$ \frac{1}{2}$ each for our ride. Notwithstanding the lateness of the season we found the boat uncommonly crowded with passengers, an annoyance which I had not anticipated, but as the weather was very cold, the inconvenience was not so much felt. On Friday morning about half past 7 we reached Utica and having breakfasted, Yanky fashion again, took our seats in one of the Rail Road Cars for Albany, paying \$3.75 for our fare. At 1 O'clock we arrived at Schenectady, the distance 78 miles - where we were obliged to get into another range of cars. I do not suppose we entered Albany, 16 miles from the last town, much before half past 2 of the clock - the first and last part of the journey being performed by horses, which was rendered a very tedious business. After a hasty dinner at 4 O'clock we went aboard the Steam Boat, Rochester,¹² the fastest boat upon the Hudson river. She works with only one engine but travels at an astonishing rate. The distance from New York is 144 miles and this upon a trial she has performed in the short space of 8 hours 20 minutes. At 3 O'clock in the morning we hauled alongside the wharf, and

at half past 6 I sallied forth to seek lodgings at an Hotel. Disappointed of several I at length took up my quarters at the Merchants' Exchange Hotel¹³, which from the confused state it was in, was particularly private.

Novr 9th Wednesday). I have this day engaged myself a berth on board a small brig to sail for Kingston on Saturday next. The passage money is at the exorbitant charge of \$75 and the accomodations apparently none of the best, at any rate far inferior to the Liverpool or London line of Packet ships, though the charge exceeds theirs in proportion much. Much excitement is prevailing in town, this being the last 3 days in which the election of presidency will be contested in this city¹⁴ - (December 24th Saturday - / In Spanish Town at length, I sit down to recount the intermediate occurrences from the last date to the present time. After a dull week spent in New York I gladly hailed the arrival of Sunday morning on which day it was decided that the Brig Kentucky¹⁵ should positively leave the wharf to enter on her voyage. At 12 Oclock accordingly we unmoored having been obliged to wait 3 hours for the tide as the wind was not strong enough to enable us to make way against it and unfortunately no Steam Boat could be procured to tow us. At 4 Oclock on Monday morning we lost sight of Sandy Hook having been becalmed all night, and from that hour therefore we dated our departure from New York. The wind now blew fresh, grew strong and on Tuesday night from its increase to violence obliged us to sail under double reefed topsails. The vessel was loaded with freight not only below but upon deck also, leaving but a narrow space on each side designed I should conclude from its meanness

rather as an accomodation to the stewards than the passengers. The sea rolled heavy and dandled our bark like a play thing, not much to our gratification. At length one very serious lurch of the Brig proved the insecure storage of deck cargo. The fastenings gave way and the greater part as far as it could go was precipitated to leeward. For a moment the vessel seemed to hesitate but as the cargo was light, she almost immediately righted again. We were nevertheless unfortunate enough to lose 4 casks of water, for being overturned and having no bungs in them the natural consequence was that they got rid of their contents. Towards morning the wind somewhat subsided insomuch as to be no longer alarming, but it still blew fresh and happily exerted its strength in our favour. We were enabled from its propitiousness to continue our direct course and at no mean rate. On our arriving off Cape Hatteras¹⁶ it again increased to violence and obliged us to use caution in double reefing our topsails. We lost nothing however but made considerable way and so continued to do reaching Turks Island¹⁷ in 7 days. We now contemplated making the entire passage to Kingston in 9 days which at the rate we had hitherto been sailing would have been not only practicable but easy. It was not however thus fated - for on nearing St Domingo¹⁸ we found ourselves almost wholly screened from the wind and thus for about 18 hours suffered a calm, making a little way at intervals only. Thursday¹⁹ however saw us in Kingston, which by nautical calculation made our passage one of 10 days, and that is considered remarkably short, and is but very seldom effected. Not arriving in Port till 4 Oclock no business was to be expected that day from the Gentlemen of the Custom House and thereupon I considered it obligatory on me to remain till the following day. Meanwhile I wrote to my father intimating to him my arrival and announcing my intention to be with him the ensuing afternoon,

Not till 13 Oclock on Friday could we get the examination of our boxes attended to - permission was given us to bring them on shore in order that the business might be transacted there instead of

the confined quarters of our vessel's crowded deck. Much cause of complaint nevertheless ensued in our being obliged to submit to this troublesome annoyance on an open wharf without any sort of roof or protection whatever from the scorching ardour of the sun - at this particular hour of the day most excessive. A dray was next to be procured to transport the luggage to Spanish Town. I clubbed with two other gentlemen in the arrangement of this affair and after much time and trouble expended in the search of a dray we had the gratification of seeing our valuables at length on the move for their destination, learning that they were likely to attain it in the course of 6 hours. \$3½ was the charge for the load. Our next resort was to Berdoe's Tavern²⁰ to get something for my stomach's sake, in the language of this quarter a "second breakfast". A little more loitering brought us to the hour at which we had previously agreed to start for Spanish Town, but the absence of one of the party occasioned a considerable delay by no means agreeable to the rest. At length we were off and in due time at our respective destinations. The happiness of meeting between father and son exiled from one another for nearly 14 years is better to be conceived than described - a most pressing embrace evinced the inward joy and satisfaction of each. For a time many were the glances of mingled curiosity and affection reciprocated between the two, till, this first mutual inquisitiveness satisfied, and affection undiminished held its sway in the heart divested of so unnecessary an accompaniment. Since I have been here little worthy of detail has occurred. What forms the business of one date constitutes the engagement of the

21

next and so in continuance.²¹ The heat had been considered uncommon for the season though the last few days have been more temperate. On Sunday morning the 4th of this month I went with my uncle to his brother's mountain, Highgate, lately the property of the Marquis of Sligo²². It is 10 miles distant hence and an arduous journey up a rocky mountain not accessible to a vehicle beyond a certain distance, and I think therefore a jaunt thither for a short day hardly worth while. The air is pleasantly moderate and cool and the view from such a commanding height, of course beautiful and extensive. A full view of Port Royal Harbour is enjoyed and ships may be descried to some distance at sea. The whole southern part of the Island is also clearly presented to the eye by the aid of a telescope and the general boldness of its character and peculiar diversity makes it no mean object of attraction. The mountains are magnificent though affording a better aspect from the sea those denominated the 'Blue' rise to the enormous height of 8080 [7700] feet above the level of the sea. Clouds are frequently seen below their summits, a sight certainly strange to an Englishman. January 13th 1837. / Without doubt Spanish Town is the dullest place I ever lived in - nevertheless the seat of Government! The auditory of the Parliamentary debates! The chosen spot of the public offices! etc. With the exception of the King's House, there is hardly a building, indeed I know not one in the town that is handsome in its exterior. They are mostly constructed of brick in a plain un-ornamental style with jalousies²³ in the front and sometimes also at the sides. These might perhaps give a comely appearance to the house if the sun did not so quickly extract the varnish from the paint, and give the building an old and shabby

22

exterior. In all quarters of the town may be seen here and there dilapidated houses, unshingled roofs, mouldering walls, streets, exceptionless, without pavements, narrow and uneven and bescattered with loose stones - all things indeed indicative of most careless neglect in the public. The want of society is very sensibly to be felt by an English visitant. The absence of respectable and well conducted schools for the education of youth renders it imperative on parents to export their children to the Mother country and most frequently of necessity their wives also. After their being habituated to English customs and above all English society, it is seldom that the female portion of

the family, unless recommended for their health, are willing to return to the land almost forgotten as the place of their nativity, sacrificing the pleasurable society to which they have been accustomed for the purpose of courting anew old alliances and seeking the friendship of fresh acquaintances. Thus then the Island bereft of that feminine race, begotten in its own precincts and nurtured in childhood by its own soil and climate, so necessary to give attraction to and enliven society, pretends not to lay claim to this particular enjoyment.

February 10th 1837. Though this be a month yet included in the winter season of Jamaica, the weather is nevertheless extremely hot. The thermometer in an interior room is now about 80o (2 Oclock). The nights or rather the early morn are happily cool, when as is generally expected, a land wind prevails - but should it happen

23

extraordinarily that a sea breeze blows at that time we may then anticipate an unusually warm night. I have certainly been surprised at the coldness of the atmosphere in the early hours of the morning. Regularly am I awoken by its inclemency, and in defence compelled to add the additional weight of a counterpane to the lightness of a sheet. This however frequently proves insufficient and I could wish the enjoyment of a blanket. There appears to be no regular season here at which the trees are almost simultaneously deprived of their foliage, as in countries beyond the tropics. But like the cedar tree many seem to dispose of their old vesture and generate a new one at the same period - while others again dispose of the old first and then proceed to create a new one - but my time having been spent almost wholly in a town, and further, in a house, I have not had an opportunity of making that observation which it was my wish to do. Added to this, it does not appear to be a fashionable amusement among West Indians, and to my enquiries therefore for the most part a reply of 'vere nescio'²⁴ is returned, and I therefore forbear to make them.

February 14th 1837) Perhaps no better proof can be adduced of the expense of labour in this Island when it can be asserted as a fact, that refined sugar imported from England can be purchased at a lesser price in Kingston than that which has undergone the process on its native soil. In other words men find it cheaper to export their sugar to England subject to a duty of 24/- p cwt, to the expence of freight there and freight back, and other incidental charges as portorage etc etc and there to have it refined - than to have the process gone through by their own Estates. This expense of manual labour is I conceive, one great barrier to the improvement of the Island and indulgence in speculation. When a new scheme is broached to a man of cultivating any production that might be conjectured would prove more lucrative, from the present crisis of affairs, than the continuance of sugar cultivation. Oh! he immediately answers, labour is too expensive I couldn't think of it. It is not perhaps that the actual charge for negro hire is so high, being on an average for those employed upon estates 1/8 and 2/1 [and 2/6] per day, that difference of charge being made, sometimes according to the nature of the work they are engaged to perform, or as a distinction between the 1st and 2nd gang, but it is that the effects of their labour are so disproportionate to the value of their pay and the time occupied in earning it - so that probably where you would engage a European for one day you would

24

be compelled to hire the Negro for two perhaps, though I know not the proportion between the Negroes' and Europeans' capabilities, but should hope it were not quite so extravagant as that. March 9th 1837 Thursday) On Tuesday again at breakfast time, (having brought forward my subject at sundry times before but without effect), I repeated the enquiry to my father when he would commence preparing for his departure as there would necessarily be a great deal to be done, and the first week in March having now elapsed, I hoped he would consider it no longer a

premature question - but I received for my answer that he would think about it one of these days! This was certainly disheartening and I determined thence forward to say nothing more about it, as I saw it was perfectly useless, and till he chose to make up his own mind about the matter, it was a vain thing for me to endeavour to persuade him. But much to my surprise my words appeared to have roused him and put him in remembrance of the short interval there existed between the present moment and the appointed time of his departure. It was however but a feeble effort and little in consequence was done, nor has the effort been renewed, and when it will be is I think a query of as much uncertainty as was previously the conjecture of this first attempt. I have mentioned this in my journal as something remarkable and worthy of notation.

A yam was yesterday brought to us by an old woman as a present which was extraordinary for its length - the distance direct from end to end was 3 feet 4 inches, making no allowance for its curvature, the circumference was about the size of a man's arm. They vary much in respect of growth which is principally dependent on the nature of the soils some are of uncommon length while others are equally extraordinary in bulk, a rare specimen may be seen equal in circumference to a man's body.

The weather for the last three days has been comparatively mild the sun being obscured by clouds which have occasionally refreshed us with a slight sprinkling. The few days previous to that I had been remarking that the heat was more oppressive and as an indication of it instanced the apparently rapid increase of the flies

March 23rd 1837 Thursday) On Tuesday evening last I left Spanish Town to accept the kind invitation of one of my father's most cordial and constant friends Mr Scott²⁵, residing at his Penn in the close neighbourhood of Kingston City. The express purpose of my visit was to make one of a party to start on Wednesday midday on an excursion to the Blue Mountains, which being the boast of Jamaica, it maybe easily conceived the project was hailed by me with no slight degree of exultation and looked forward to with a delight increasing in exact ratio with the nearing approach of the crisis when it should be carried into execution. Most unfortunately however as it appeared to mortal comprehension, when the morning of anticipated pleasure dawned, I rose sadly indisposed with a headache, giddiness and nausea at my stomach too truly emblematic of a billious attack. Nevertheless so bent was I upon the adventure that I

25

flattered myself, or rather endeavoured to do so, and at times with success, into a comparative feeling of tolerable health, persuaded too in my mind, but falsely, that a few hours lapse would certainly find me no longer with a subject for complaint. One and even 2 Oclock arrived and the company to the number of 7 assembled at this critical juncture, whether from excitement of other internal cause, it happened that I was suffering under a strong and most disagreeable sensation of sickness which could not but be perceived by a gentleman with whom I was in converse. He kindly communicated the answers I gave to his interrogatories to a Doctor who formed one of the party - when this gentleman stepped forward and with an air that quickly convinced me was itself characteristic of the medical man, requested to feel my pulse made enquiry into my symptoms and remarked the flushed appearance of my countenance, then summing up the whole prepared to do his duty in giving me his candid but unpalatable advice. Though I had not been aware before what his profession was, this close confab: and the air of confidence he assumed when interrogating me, no longer left me room to doubt. He recommended that I should by no means attempt the excursion but keep myself quiet in the house, for though I had no fever at the time yet as I should necessarily be much exposed to the sun added to the consideration of my being so recently arrived in the Island, he would not pretend to vouch for the consequences should I act in opposition to what he recommended. I am glad to say I was not so headstrong and imprudent as to turn a deaf ear to professional advice, the reasonableness though unpalatableness of which was too evident to my

senses though youthful to entertain an idea of rejecting, and I therefore resolved to forgo the pleasure that I had spent many moments in anticipating, and remain a quiet inmate of the house. I fear moreover, that circumstanced as I am with so early a prospect of leaving the Island, and such an expedition being rarely undertaken, my first and last opportunity of visiting the Blue Mountain Peak, of altitude 7,700 feet above the level of the sea, has already flitted before me.

It is astonishing, considering the vicinity of this Pen to the City of Kingston, one field only of tolerable dimensions intervening, that so great a difference of temperature should be experienced - so very gradual is the slope hence to the Town and so short is the distance, that it is hardly credible the fact that site of the house is 175 feet above the level of the bottom of Town - that circumstance however and the ex-

26

exposed nature of the situation to both land, wind and sea breeze must be alleged I presume in explanation of the fact.

On Wednesday morning the Kingston Militia consisting of two battalions and one company of Troopers were inspected by his Excellency the Governor, Sir Lionel Smith. They certainly are by no means superior, if equal, to the St Catherine's Regiment in the performance of their manoeuvres including the firing, though it is said, they are a finer body of men. His Excellency the General however passed the same eulogium on them as he bestowed previously on the St Catherine's Militia, which organized force is the only thing he asserts that in his opinion is creditable to the Island, the roads, streets etcetera, being for the most part far otherwise than worthy of commendation.

March 25th 1837. / This morning I went into the city of Kingston the metropolis of the Island, and to put it in its best light I will say that it is unquestionably better than Spanish Town though the seat of government. From its situation as a port more business and activity of course pervades the streets, there are other transactions going forward than what require the privacy of a Solicitor's Office, while in Spanish Town the reverse is more the case. Kingston is also I think cooler than the latter town for two reasons - because, being so near the sea, the breeze from that quarter has of course more immediate and unimpeded access to it - and again, the pavements and pathways for the most part are shaded by piazzas projecting over them from the first story of the houses - so that comparatively speaking you walk in the shade subject only to the glare and heat reflected from the ground. In Spa: Town there is no partial projection of this kind, but if you go out you are exposed to the full ardour of the sun irrespective of course of the occasional umbrage afforded by the houses.

About 2 miles from the Town is the Military Camp, generally occupied by one or more detachments of British Regiments. It is certainly by far the most attractive establishment in appearance that I have seen used for that purpose. Not one huge building as in England constitutes the Soldiers Barracks, unmeaning in its exterior and remarkable only for the vastness of its structure, but a range

27

of edifices occupying considerable extent and detached from one another at convenient intervals, certainly without the useless expense of ornament to recommend them, nevertheless, bearing a comfortable appearance, with piazzas upper and lower projecting from their fronts - in fact as far as their outward aspect would indicate, built, with great consideration for the comfort and happiness of those unfortunate beings who, by fair play or foul, follow the profession of Soldier, and in great adaptation for the nature of the climate - this is the style and character of the Military Quarters as Camp, near Kingston. There are private houses, I will not say mansions, but of decent size and neat exterior, for the commanding Officers, and again an extensive detached building for the accomodation of the minor Officers. They are well supplied with water, brought down by means of

pipes from one of the neighbouring mountain rivers. This is necessary the possession of which they have much reason to prize, inasmuch as the adjacent peninsulas suffer much from the want of it, and are obliged for the most part to send elsewhere to procure it.

20th April 1837 - / This day exceedingly hot, and the weather very sultry in fact for some days past. The thermometer just now, 1 O'clock, in an inner room stands at 84° - but this is nothing I understand to what we may expect in June. I can only say then I wish I were not to be here at that time for I know not how I shall endure it. My poor father I am sorry to say much the same, he does not appear to make any progress at all scarcely, except that I think his spirits are in a trifling degree better, and he does not answer so frequently in that abrupt and petulant manner that constant suffering seems to have made habitual to him. It appears strange that on alternate days his eye is for the most part more painful and his pulse more rapid, averaging on those

28

days 104 in the minute.

Wednesday 25th May²⁶ - 37 Yesterday I had the pleasure of driving Mr Coburn²⁷ in his private curricule, a very neat turn-out as far as regards horses and harness, to Thetford Hall Pen²⁸ an extensive property of the kind but unfortunately in Chancery, and Mr C. the appointed Receiver. Not arriving there till late when the sun was nearly at its meridian height and having but little spare time, no opportunity was allowed me for the indulgence of reconnoitring either at an early or late hour, when it would have been a pleasurable occupation - there would however have been nothing further to see than a succession of flourishing grass fields, and herds of fat and lean kine feasting on the luxuriance of the pasture. At about ¼ past 3, we started again for the purpose of meeting an engagement that we had contracted in the morning, to lunch at Cherry Garden Estate²⁹ - a short half-hour brought us within hail of it, too well appetized after the severe jolting to which we had been subjected, to resist the importunity of our stomachs, so necessary a control at an intermediate meal in order to do justice to the grander and more expensive preparation of dinner. Our host considering it to be his dinner we were unwillingly obliged to abide the performance of the whole tedious ceremony peculiar thereto, which occupied so much time that we found none left at our disposal for the purpose of visiting the different parts of the Estate and examining the works and machinery employed in the manufacture of the sugar. This was a great disappointment to me as I have much curiosity to be made acquainted with the process, and I know not when such an opportunity may again fall in my way. We arrived at Spanish Town again after dark, but little wiser

29

though much pleased with the excursion. We have had intermittent showers for some days past, occasionally heavy falls of rain though not of long continuance - by the old stagers the supply is said to be not so abundant as is usually looked for during the seasons, which are this year late. June 29th) The weather that we have experienced since I wrote the above obliges me to contradict the statement I there made, respecting the supply of rain not being sufficient to meet the expectations far less the wishes of the proprietors both far and near. The season though mild this year has been unusually lasting, and the benefit the country has consequently derived is in a measure to be gathered from the luxuriant appearance that it everywhere presents. From the rapidity of vegetation here, the Guinea Grass has grown to that height in the pastures that the cattle are hardly perceptible as they graze.

My mind has of late been very uneasy from an apprehension that I have now for some time entertained, not from mere nervous timidity but unhappily from sufficient reason, that the dreadful malady which is now my poor father's affliction, is at the present moment and has for some time past been, insidiously possessing itself of me. My first alarm, which may be dated about a month

back was excited by a glossy brown patch about the size of a half-penny, which though at that time scarcely discernible on my wrists, I yet knew could not be a mere picture of fancy, though I trusted it would eventually prove to be only the effect of the sun to which I had then recently been more than usually exposed, and in the course of no great length of time totally disappear. But this was a vain hope, I fear not to be realized. This unnatural appearance has been gradually spreading until now it faintly covers the entire back part of my hand, the fingers only excepted upon which it is not yet

30

decidedly perceptible, though there is a strangeness of look about the extremities of them at the bottom of the nails equally unnatural and unintelligible. On my leg (right) a little above the knee were visible some days ago, four or five small purple spots not much more than specks, and also upon the hip-bone the like peculiarity but a little more extensive. By the application of the flesh brush I have succeeded in dispelling the former, though not so fortunate with the latter. Yesterday I perceived a small red patch just over the right eyebrow this is the first time that I have yet detected anything extraordinary about the face - but this has since disappeared. I really trust that the event will show all this alarm which I cannot but feel even to the affecting of my spirits, to have been false and unnecessary. I am sensibly buoyed up some times when thinking on the subject knowing that it is not the infliction of imperfect man, ever prone to err, but must be the ordination of an all-wise God, who doeth all thing for good.

My father is better and stronger than he was some weeks ago. He has been talking very seriously lately and even planning, not with me but with Mr Scott, about going off the country, a short time must determine the issue, but I anticipate the whole affair will turn out a bubble, in show not mean, in substance nothing. He talks about this vessel and that, when does it sail etc., but, satisfied on these points of enquiry, and it being then left to him only to make up his mind and declare his final determination, he lets time travel, says nothing till the question is directly put to him, when the shortness of the time remaining would render it almost impracticable to make arrangements for embarking if he gave an affirmative reply - or

31

as seems most frequently to be the case he finds some objection to this vessel and then to that, one is loaded with sugar, and therefore no chance of anything less than a nine weeks passage, this one is sure to be crowded with passengers, and then this one though free from that probable inconvenience is too confined - and thus time wears away while he is looking for another and a better opportunity, which opportunity in my humble opinion will never arrive.

August 4th 1837. New York

So far contrary to my expectation and indeed those of every body else my father's long premeditated trip to this country has at length been accomplished. It was abruptly enough determined upon and there I certainly was not mistaken in my calculations. The John W. Cater, Mr Scott informed us on the night of 30th June, would meet with despatch from Kingston on Tuesday the 11th proximo, and on the same night while sitting over the wine, my father being urged by our kind friend not to allow the present opportunity to pass as being the last likely to occur that season, suddenly I well remember ejaculated his consent and orders were immediately given for the securing of two separate state rooms and for the making of every necessary inquiry. So much however did I even then mistrust my father that I thought the execution of the long talked of migration to be as far distant as ever. Nothing of the necessary preparations for so immediate a departure was however commenced upon till the following Monday, when I was set to work in right earnest. We soon perceived that to be ready for em-

embarkation on the following Tuesday would, for my Father, if he did not altogether relinquish the final arrangement of his business and hand it over in statu quo to some body else, be a thing utterly impracticable - by the intercession then of our kind friend Mr Scott, one day's further respite was procured, and by dint of unremitting exertion all things were ready by the appointed time - the winding up of the business only excepted - this however was as far advanced as any body could reasonably dare to expect. On the Wednesday³⁰ morning about ¼ to 5 O'clock, my father and myself seated in the hind part of a double bodied Phaeton with the driver before us, Haughton and Joseph³¹ in our own commodious gig, and William, long known as cook and groom of my father's establishment, posted erectly on the back of the old yanky horse, all thus accomodated found ourselves ready to start - in a few short minutes we bid a long farewell to that delectable place, Spanish Town, as we slowly passed over the high bridge at the skirts of it, and last sight of the last building situated at one corner of the 4 cross road. I know not what could have been the reflections of my father as he turned his back upon the town which for six and twenty years had known him as inhabitant, but leaving it as he was with an almost ruined constitution, the effects of so long a residence therein, I can hardly conceive, notwithstanding the attachment that so long an acquaintance therewith is likely to create, that his feelings could have been those of regret, mine were those of unmingled joy and satisfaction. In course of time that is to say about ½ past 7 O'clock, our nags, which we ob-

observe to be most miserable specimens of horseflesh at the first onset, and which subsequent observation has decidedly convinced us of, accomplished the last leg of the journey to our destination. Mr Scott on the steps of his house at the Penn was ready to welcome us, with a remark of course at the lateness of our arrival, and explanation for which was totally unnecessary on our part after directing his attention to the well-conditioned animals in harness before the door. We readily adjourned to the breakfast table, the duties and business of which were soon concluded in consequence of the oppressiveness of the morning which deprived us of any appetite that an early drive might have inspired, together with the little allowance that might be made for the excitement of the occasion. A short time elapsed before we started for Kingston as the dwelling of our kind host occupied a site at the further end of the race course, and took up our quarters protemp: in the lobby adjoining the office of Mr S. Again we quitted and without further stoppage rowed on board. The other passengers were already in the ship, and the breeze springing up, without further delay, the anchor was hoisted, the sails were set and the vessel under weigh moved gently but rapidly through the water to Port Royal. At 4 O'clock the pilot left us and we then considered our voyage begun. The breeze being fair we steered for the leeward passage through the Gulf of Mexico, and with breezes light and variable passed the point of C. Antonio at 10 O'clock am on Monday. On Sunday morning following, July 23rd. we tacked ship and stood direct up the Florida Stream - made 200 miles in 24 hours Latitude 27°51' - Monday - after calm all day between 7 and 8 O'clock pm, sky became very much obscured, thunder and lightning

to a terrific degree succeeded, the latter surpassing any spectacle of the kind I have ever witnessed, with heavy rain followed in about ½ an hour - the Captain (Crane) however was on deck but the night being uncommonly dark with the exception of the occasional gleams of light very vividly emitted, did not perceive the approach of the squall till it was very nigh, but happily in time to

anticipate it, and no damage in consequence was done. We suffered very much on board from the oppressiveness of the heat, the berths being so very confined and the sky lights kept constantly closed over the cabin, that at night we found it hardly tolerable and the perspiration was excessive. Monday 31st July - at 5 O'clock in the morning took Pilot on board - distance from Sandy Hook 40 miles - expecting of course to land that day all of us with one exception decked ourselves out for the occasion - but to our infinite mortification we discovered about mid-day that with so light a breeze as we had, it would be impossible to reach Staten Island the same day in time enough for the Doctor to come on board - finding ourselves becalmed therefore we dropped anchor at the further extremity of the harbour and lay to all night waiting the springing-up of a breeze. Tuesday morning early we again weighed anchor and by dint of constant tacking with a North wind found ourselves in Quarantine Ground about ½ past 9 o'clock. An Officer of the Customs shortly after made his appearance settled his business with the Captain called over the Ship's Roll, and left his vacant seat to be occupied by the Doctor who boarded us a little after 10 o'clock,. No person being allowed to quit the ships till after the Dr.

35

had ascertained the prevailing state of health on board, immediately on his departure the ship's boat was manned with two sailors and the 2nd mate, and closely stowed with half the passengers who were most anxious to put foot on terra firma. The remainder of us waited for its return and after no great trial of our patience joined the rest of our party already on shore. One small Portmanteau, Carpet Bag or other small package was allowed to us to take on shore, and on our landing at the Wharf at Staten Island was generally subjected to inspection at the Warden's Office. Having been opened however to the view of some or other, employed at the Office in an inferior capacity, immediately as we stepped out of the boat, a repetition of the inconvenience was excused us, and we passed the little square Building appropriated for the examinations with no further interruption than that of receiving our permission to proceed. At 12 o'clock the Steam Boat left Staten Island for Whitehall Wharf at the bottom of N.Y. City and in the course of 35 minutes the interval of 6 or 7 miles was accomplished. Most picturesque certainly is the scenery enjoyed about the whole space around while sailing up the harbour to the City. Cast the eye in any direction whatever and a most pleasing prospect meets it – in fact it would be difficult to say to what point of the compass in this beauteous whole the admirer's attention would be most riveted – but I think I know not where the Artist would find a better subject for a panoramic view. By no means the least striking features in the scene are the small Islands floating as it were on the surface of the water with some strong built circular fort of brick, or

36

more massive looking fortifications constructed of large white stones, erected in the centre of them and handsomely set off by the green herbage that surrounds their base – hardly can the approach to any City be more truly picturesque than the one alluded to. The fare by the Boat was 12½ cents, N.Y. money or about 6d Sterling, besides a trifling charge for the luggage. A Hackney Coach soon conveyed us to the Washington Hotel³² kept by a remarkably polite and civil man, James Ward – here we were accommodated with a private sitting room and two bedrooms attached, for which, with four meals a day, if chosen, we paid \$6 per day, for the servant's bed and board a charge of 75 cents, or 3s Stg. was demanded per day – of the exorbitance of which I think no complaint need be made – our table was exceedingly well supplied, with roast and boiled and made-dishes, puddings and tarts and occasionally ices, cheese and desert – besides a bountiful supply of ice to cool the water, or any liquor that we chose to call for. My poor father unhappily derived, but little, or indeed,

no benefit, from the voyage – the accomodations on board the ‘John W Cater’ being in every respect so bad, the heat so oppressive, and the confinement so great, that the constant worry and suffering occasioned by this general discomfort effectually thwarted the beneficial results that an invalid might have anticipated from a sea voyage. Our short stay in New York allowed us little opportunity for reconnoitring the Lions of the place. Building was going forward in all directions, and it appears indeed that,

37

in consequence of the constant and destructive fires that occur there, the City must ever be a new one – taken on the whole, it is certainly, from its extent and stateliness of its buildings, what might be termed a fine City – but to qualify it as a handsome one, would not I think be strictly just. Many parts of it are certainly very pretty and the houses attractive in the exterior, but near or about them are some dirty insignificant little houses constructed of wood, which disgrace the picture that you might otherwise be tempted to admire. I can imagine the reason of this want of uniformity maybe, that as the first emigrants to the country were, it may be presumed, such as wanted capital, each chose his own site and constructed his dwelling chacun a son gout et circonstances³³. After the lapse of time, those probably who had been fortunate in business and realized a good amount of property, were tempted to speculate in building and accordingly by reason of their success found themselves enabled to venture the cost of an entire row of decent houses, which his taste would of course prompt him to make uniform – and that they might be preferable as private dwellings selected his spot in the suburbs, a little removed from the town, amidst, of course, the habitation of mechanics, peasants and the poorer classes. My father I certainly think picked up a little in New York – and taking into consideration the change of living, change of scene, and change of climate, it would be a matter of wonder if such had not been the case – still he was subject to those nightly

38

perspirations which were wont to assail him with unfailing constancy in Jamaica – and what is most singular he was not sensible at the time of oppression from the heat, it must therefore I presume have been the effect of debility. His meals he enjoyed with great relish, the food being in a great measure so new to him, or, to say the least, so much better than what he had for many years been accustomed to in Jamaica.

The first part of the Journal ends at this point. HJJ, and his son left for England on 10th August 1837 on the 'Toronto' and were in London by mid-September. From 9th October HJJ was with his mother at Hotwells, Bristol, while his son probably went home to Dawlish, Devon, as HJJ was copying his own letters. HJJ joined his family in Dawlish a month later and from then onwards, his son was acting as letter copier. The first reference to South Australia was in a letter to Robert Hawthorn 30th April 1838 asking him to forward a letter to Mr Angas Chairman of the South Australia Company as his three sons have decided to go there together. From then on matters moved very fast so that by the middle of May arrangements were being made to purchase 480 acres of land. As none of them knew anything about farming or sheep, a Wiltshire farmer, John Selfe of Knighton, agreed to take them for a few months to instruct them in farm management and sheep rearing. During their absence, HJJ set up a bank account for them in Australia and was taking advice on farming equipment that they would need. He was also looking to hire a shepherd to go with them. In September he commissioned the construction of a prefabricated house to be shipped to Adelaide. His sons returned to Dawlish in mid-March 1839 after spending six months in Wiltshire. By the end of April the whole family was in London to organise the departure. A farmer for Dawlish, John Brealey, was hired by HJJ to work for his sons in South Australia. He sailed on

the 'Prince Regent' on 6th June, arriving at Adelaide on 25th September, with his wife and a son who was born on the voyage. WRJ6 with his brothers John Vidal James and Richard Boucher James embarked at Gravesend on 21st June.

39

Ship "Dumfries" - 13th August 1839

I think it is to be regarded as too important and memorable an event in my life, that of my leaving England to commence a career of independence, to omit to record the circumstances together with some notice of a voyage of so long duration. On Friday afternoon then 21st June about 3 O'clock, I cannot well forget the time and scene, my Brothers and myself were called upon to bid farewell (ah! it seemed to each one present it must to one, and him the Father, be a final adieu for this life) to assembled Father, Mother and Grandmother, who all from the, I must say, awful, silence that reigned, evidently felt an extreme anguish and pain of heart which they were loth to suffer outward show of feeling to indicate. It was indeed a trial which after reflection makes bitter to recall much less to dwell upon - God grant that we may all meet in a better world where the pain of separation never more shall distress us! We reached the Wharf, detained by little businesses in the City, but just in time for the 4 O'clock steamer for Gravesend, as the bell sounded we hurriedly left the Coach and

40

fortunately managed to put our luggage on board without the loss of an article out of the number of packages. My old friend Hawkey³⁴ I shortly after found on deck - 3 hours, without any delay from stoppages, sufficed to convey us to the Wharf at Gravesend, we did not land there however but pushed off in a boat with abundance of other peoples' property in addition to our own to the 'Dumfries' direct, lying at a little distance from us. The non-appearance of passengers whom we expected to join us obliged us to lay to till 6 pm. of the following day, when with a smart breeze we stood on with light canvas for the Nore³⁵ which we reached by ½ p. 9, distance 23 miles, tide against. The stiffness of the breeze from the Sw which would be directly in our teeth when we got to the Downs, made it advisable to spend the whole of the 23rd at anchor. By the following morning the wind had moderated, accordingly at about 8 O'clock a.m. we again weighed anchor and proceeded as far as the foreland, which reaching by half-past 1 p.m. once more we came to, in consequence of the freshness of the breeze from the S.W. Early, before day-break of the 25th, we hove anchor for another little run, the limit of which was Deal, and at

41

Deal from the prevalence of the same obnoxious wind, it was deemed advisable we should pass the day, rather than forsake our comparatively comfortable situation, for a nauseating kick-up in the Channel to no effect. At half-past 1 a.m. of the 26th the wind being fair but little of it, we stood on with larboard studding sails set, and fortune favoured us till we came in the near neighbourhood of Beachy Head, when it made a complete shift to the S.W., freshening withal - a heavy head-sea making us rise and dip to a most unpleasant extent sent most of us to bed. The wind on the 28th was very violent obliging us, our vessel being very crank, to double-reef the topsails and clue up the mainsail and mizen. On the 29th Saturday we found ourselves off Hastings at 4 a.m. being 10 miles eastward of Beachy Head - a continuance of a strong S.W. wind therefore would in due time have made us revisit the Downs - fortunately however we were enabled by 6 O'clock to stand our course. By the 1st July we found ourselves at the egress of the Channel, as the table of our daily Latitude and Longitude shows on the following page. We passed the Bay of Biscay on the 3rd, having a strong breeze, on the larboard

20

quarter accompanied with a heavy swell. With larboard studding sails set and royals, our elegant ship carried us along, when we may conclude her speed was greatest, at the more than ordinary rate of 12 knots per hour - this the log gave us. On the 8th, nothing of moment occurring intermediately, we passed Porto Santo about 6 a.m. a bold Island and to appearance one of little natural fertility - Madeira as usual was enveloped in a mist, and only became just perceptible by about 11. The "Deserters" were about 6 miles from us on our starboard beam, alike bold rocky Islands, but of a more barren character even than Porto Santo. About 6 p.m. the wind came aft being the commencement of the N.E. trade - we were fortunate in meeting with them in a higher Latitude than ordinary experience gave us reason to expect. On the 10th passed Palma but at too great a distance to get a very enlightening view of it. On the 12th the sun was vertical to us - 13th fell in with the Barque "Florist" having 232 souls on board, emigrant labourers sent out by Government for Hobart Town and Sydney. 15th Exchanged signals with the ship "Tyrrer" from Liverpool. Thermometer in the Cabin, protected

by an awning, 76° . Lost the N.E. Trade two days ago as much earlier than is usually the case, as we had prematurely met with it. We were now considered to have entered the Variables, which vexed us with calms and contrary winds for 15 days by which time we had neared the Gulf of Guinea, being in Lat. $4^{\circ}21'$ Long: $15^{\circ}44'$. Caught a large shark on the 25th whilst becalmed - the supposed weight of it 200 lbs. On the 27th having a light air and the customary swell at such times playing with us, met with the Australasian Packet bound for Sydney - an uncommonly pretty little barque of about 180 tons. The wind very unpropitious for a westward tack, she put about and again stood in for the Gulf of Guinea, but our Captain sick of pursuing that course and apprehensive of calms should he enclose himself in the Gulf, determined in spite of our obligation to head W.N.W, obstinately to stand on. The morrow brought us a smart breeze from the S.S.W., which is regarded as the commencement of the S.E. trade, so strong is the current, apparently from the N.W, near the African Coast that, heading W.N.W. we actually made considerably more southing than when upon the other tack we headed S.E. It appeared however that we soon ceased to be influenced

by this current, to be acted upon with no less power by a current driving to the West. This with the aid of an adverse wind compelled us to cross the Line, which we did early in the morning of the 1st August, as far West as Long: $25^{\circ}2'$ - the known strength of the current about the Equator with the general direction of the wind there also, makes it desirable to cross the Line no farther West than 22° , from the danger of being unavoidably driven upon Cape St. Roque - The current maintains its strength as far South as Pernambuco. Thermom: 78° in the Cabin. The S.E. trade failed us on the 7th, and was succeeded by tedious calms and light winds - on the 12th the S.E. again returned, and continues, alternately with calms, to gently fan us - 14th In anticipation of the strong N.W. winds, which we ought now even to be under the influence of, a new set of sails have been bent, and the older ones which we have hitherto had in use stowed away. Our hottest day throughout was in Lat: $9^{\circ}53'$ on the 21st July when the Thermom: in the Cabin was 83° . According to general experience on long voyages, continual quarrels and outbreaks of endless variety, between passengers individually and passengers

both Cabin and Intermediate, with the Captain have not ceased to occur, and most heartily I believe does each one entertain the wish that he were long since at his destination. Two primary causes have manifestly operated to the engendering of these strifes. Those that have occurred in the Cabin have certainly been brought about, (wherein the Captain has been implicated) by the Captain's too free liberty of speech - he has indulged too generally though certainly with unintentional offensiveness, in the use of strong terms of reproach, such as he has been in the habit of throwing against his crew, and as might be expected these have on more than one occasion been angrily taken up by the persons to whom they were addressed, and feelings of no charitable kind have since, to evident notice, been mutually entertained. Again, quarrels of no mean extent have taken place betwixt Intermediate passengers and the Captain, which have no doubt been caused by the interference and officiousness of a Cabin passenger, who seems to find their company his element - this indeed has been the main cause, I consider, of all the disturbances that have occurred throughout - it is evident we are

46

mostly tired, of one another, and the sooner we accomplish our voyage, the sooner must we naturally conclude will be found a remedy for the result of the relative feelings individually entertained. 17th. Breeze yesterday hauled gradually during the day from E. to the northward and this morning is directly aft, our course being S.E. by E. This is the long since expected N.W. wind, and by driving still to the Southward, instead of making a more easterly course, a stronger breeze is looked for and cessation of the tedious calms that we have so long been teased with. An almost uninterrupted continuance of fine weather has favoured us since we left the line, a few squally days only having broken the chain. Cape pigeons have continued to hover about the vessel for some days, with occasionally a Cape hen, a black bird somewhat larger than the English crow, not quite so dark, and more taper in the form of the body with greater length of wing. The pigeons are about the size of a cuckoo, white under the body, speckled black upon the back, with black striped wings - wanton destruction has been dealt amongst them by the

47

Daily Latitude & Longitude of the Ship "Dumfries" on her passage from London to South Australia.

M.D.	Lat.	Long.	M.D.	Lat.	Long.	M.D.	Lat.	Long.
June 30	49°48'	2°50'	Aug 3	5°36'	26°59'	Sept 10	38°11'	45°38'
July 1	48°54'	5°2'	4	8°24'	27°55'	11	38° 3'	46°59'
2	47°40'	80 3'	5	11° 5'	28°40'	12	38°39'	47°54'
3	45°14'	10°37'	6	13°24'	30°14'	13	39°10'	S0°26'
4	42°10'	13°40'	7	16°11'	30°40'	14	39°16'	S6°11'
5	40°	14056'	8	17°33'	30°52'	15	39°25'	S9°50'
6	38°	15°11'	9	18°	30°35'	16	38°47'	62°21'
7	34°43'	15°25'	10	18°25'	30°	17	38°16'	64034'
8	32°18'	16018'	11	19°11'	29°19'	18	38°14'	65°57'
9	30°52'	17°42'	12	19°58'	29° 6'	19	38°21'	69°53'

22

10	28°43' 19°15'	13	21°40' 30°41'	20	38°28' 74017'
11	26°10' 20°52'	14	23°44' 30°50'	21	38°51' 77°52'
12	23°34' 22°25'	15	24°30' 31°16'	22	39°48' 82°30'
13	21°15' 24°23'	16	26°33' 31°57'	23	39°51' 86°26'
14	19° 8' 25°26'	17	28°41' 29°49'	24	39°30' 90°
15	17°32' 25°33'	18	30°16' 28° 2'	25	39° 9' 95°
16	16° 25°31'	19	29° 9' 26°29'	26	38°26' 99°40'
17	14° 7' 24020'	20	310 10'24051'	27	37°37' 103°34'
18	12°30' 23°15'	21	32°40' 22°53'	28	35°58' 107°46'
19	11°43' 22°47'	22	33°52' 21°59'	29	35°30' 110°28'
20	11°13' 22°25'	23	34°12' 18031'	30	34° 8' 111° 4'
21	9°53' 22° 7'	24	34°11' 15° 2' Oct	1	34°49' 111°44'
22	7°50' 21°17'	25	34° 8' 11°13'	2	35°32' 111°29°
23	7°20' 20°	26	34038' 6047'	3	35°31' 113°34'
24	70 3' 18°40'	27	34049' 1°38'	4	35°32' 118° 91
25	6°31' 17°34'	28	35°36' 3°16'	5	35°54' 121°34'
26	6°29' 16°45'	29	35°50' 6°15'	6	36° 5' 125°34'
27	5°10' 16032'	30	36° 67 9°30'	7	36° 129°22'
28	4°21' 15044'	31	36° 5' 12°38'	8	35°47' 132°37'
29	3°24' 17°53' Sept	1	35°29' 16°42'	9	35°49' 135° 9'
30	2°47' 21°26'	2	35° 8' 18°15'		
31	1°18' 23°48'	3	35°50' 17°46'		
Aug 1	47' 25°20'	4	36°23' 21° 3'		
2	30 2' 26°21'	5	37° 9' 25°41'		
		6	37°14' 28°41'		
		7	37° 9' 33°23'		
		8	36°42' 37°18'		
		9	37 °34'41 °10'		

sportsmen of the main & quarter deck, but unhappily we have not been able to recover one of them. 23rd. Experienced a very strong breeze on the 18th on the larboard quarter, obliging us to reef topsails and trail up the spanker - the wind gradually hauled ahead, veering, as usual in these latitudes, round all points of the compass in turn - tremendous pitching of the vessel to such a degree as we have not before experienced, was the consequence or rather the accompaniment of the strong breeze that impelled us. This state of affairs did not however last much more than 24 hours, since which time head winds and calms have continued to baffle us. Last night the wind again hauled propitious, and studding sails are once more set upon the larboard side, but there is scarcely air enough to fill them - our course now, E. by S. adverse winds have driven us further to the Southward, than the Captain would willingly have ventured, making it unavoidable for us had the Easterly wind lasted, to go by Tristan d'Acunha, where the general prevalence of tempestuous weather offers no inducement to strangers

to visit. The Island is represented to be about 6 or 7 miles in extent, one solitary Scotchman and family comprising its population. Seals, sea-lions and whales frequent its sea, which the Scotchman barter with vessels that call there, for clothing, spirits, and salt meat, being able also to offer potatoes and butter in exchange for such articles as he can obtain. Thermom: in cabin 65°.

Sept. 3rd, Nothing of interest has marked our way since I last used the pen. Yesterday about 4 a.m. we came in sight of Cape Aguillas³⁶, an object which, the course we had the previous two days been pursuing (S.E. by E.) ought to have kept us aloof of, but we unaccountably or rather unexpectedly found ourselves considerably northward of the latitude which our course ought to have brought us into, and this can be accounted for only on the supposition of a current drifting us. The wind yesterday was E. and the strongest blow we have yet experienced sailing, as we were obliged, close hauled, we felt it the more, for the first time we had treble-reefed fore and main topsails, main-sail and mizen clued up, while

ships that met us with the wind right aft were enabled to proceed under starboard and larboard studding sails and even with a main royal set. The sea was not as high as the strength of the wind led us to expect off the Cape - The N.W. wind is that which has the greatest effect upon the sea at this point, it is then said to be terrific. The weather has been cold for some days past but off the land yesterday was much milder.

19th September, Much to the disappointment, I think I may safely say, of every individual in the ship, notwithstanding we fell in with 4 vessels, while rounding the Cape, passing within haling distance of us, misopportune squalls occurring at the very time prevented our speaking them - we had the satisfaction however of seeing that our number was made out by one vessel, so that we stand every chance of being reported on her safe arrival in England - would that circumstances had allowed of our putting letters on board. A thunder and lightning storm of no little violence but happily of not many hours duration which we experienced on the night of the 3rd served to remind us of the

character generally given to Cape weather, We have reached our present longitude without any occurrence of moment, having experienced one or two blows on the road, and lost, I think, two, studding sail booms. We have been generally unfortunate in the weather we have experienced, having been baffled by repeated calms, and occasional head winds. We have not had the continuance of strong breezes usually looked for in these southern latitudes. 23rd. Yesterday or rather the day before we passed the Island of St. Paul's, within about 4 miles of the Southern end - it is said to be about 10 miles long from N.W. to S.E., by 5 broad. It is uninhabited, and by report is clothed generally by a long coarse herbage. A Bason on the S.E. coast is thickly frequented with fish, viz. bream and a sort of tench. These may be caught in great numbers, and boiled with little expence of fuel by being thrown into one or other of the hot springs which are by no means uncommon on the Island, and withal sufficiently hot for the purpose. Occasional strong breezes of very temporary duration, but more frequently light winds continue to characterize

the weather we experience. The cold has been much greater for some days past than we have found

it at any time before. Oct. 1st. We have been favoured with a delightful breeze since we left St. Pauls, varying from North to Eastward of North, and which continued with us till the day before yesterday, it then unfortunately died away and has been succeeded by a light wind from E.S.E. a complete blight to our hopes. It certainly is tantalizing when so near land to be prevented making any nearer approach to it, or almost so, but doubtless all is for the best. We are now dodging about Cape Leeuin [Leeuwin] at the distance of about 200 miles from it. Oct. 4th. After a most tedious and vexatious baffling of contrary winds for four days off the S.W, extremity of Western Australia, we were at length successful in meeting with a favourable breeze, which befriended us yesterday. It is worthy of mention that while we were becalmed on the 2nd, the Captain was prevailed upon to lower the Gig, which was not long waiting for a company of adventurers. Four carried guns, and four more devoted themselves to the management of the boat, and tho' scarcely a bird was to be seen over the whole placid expanse of water, yet strange to say, so quick must be the power of perception in sea fowls, the

53

boat was quickly descryed, the ship being deserted, and bird after bird was to be seen hovering over the lowly object in the distance. They did not however long remain upon the wing, for by the admirable skill of the gunsmen they were quickly lowered helpless to the watery surface, and birds of all the variety we have seen throughout the passage, after a few hours sport, were brought back to the number of 20 brace, the party only allowing a temporary cessation for the purpose of returning to procure as well supplies of powder and shot, as ammunition for the support of the body. Today for the first time we have come in sight of Terra Australis, our longitude making it to be King George's Sound. The feeling of interest excited by such sight can well be conceived, considering as well the length of the voyage, as the romantic pursuits we individually have in view, so soon now, it is to be hoped, to be commenced upon. 9th. We have enjoyed beautiful weather since we came in sight of Australian land, the sun shining brightly for the greater part of the day, with soft, genial showers at intervals, all we have had to complain of is a lack of wind. We have seen more whales and those of the sperm genus along this coast, than we have fallen in with the whole voyage previously.

54

South Australia

On the 14th October 1839 the more anxious of the 'Dumfries' passengers had the satisfaction of putting foot on Australian ground, and having been one of the number myself as well as my brother, John, I cannot but feel some interest in recording more particularly the circumstances of our landing, especially as they were of that novel character which will ever serve to remind us that the colony was but then in its infancy. Within, I should imagine, 3 miles of Holdfast Bay the Pilot joined our ship, and a few of us soon commenced a treaty with his crew consisting of 3 men for our passage back to the shore - after the necessary debate we at length agreed to pay half their demand, forsooth 5/- a head, and forthwith the boat was provided with a company much beyond its complement, but it was impossible to restrain the more forward of the intermediates who like ourselves were eager to get on shore, principally I believe for the purpose of regaling themselves with fresh meat and taking some back, if possible to their wives or other females in their charge - a sudden squall coming on, all but capsized us midway between the ship and shore, the greater number of the company were nearly swamped but I sat high and dry upon the prow of the boat, not a little alarmed however at the perilousness of our situation, considering the boat was but a mere cockle shell loaded like a barge. Within about 20 or 30 yards of dry ground it was intimated to us that we must perform the remainder of the distance picky-back, accordingly

each in turn mounted his nag and in due course was safely deposited upon the sand - according to the present rapidly advancing state of the Colony, this will not long it is to be expected be that method of landing passengers at Holdfast Bay. We found ourselves in the neighbourhood of the flag-staff, and after pursuing the trodden path thence in the direction of the Port reached it after a walk of about a mile I think. Thence we made the best of our way to the Town, stopping only at the Port Hotel where we had the satisfaction of paying 3/- per bottle for Beer. Having our money with us, which John and I had sufficiently experienced the weight of, I thought it best to proceed on foot to Town myself and leave John to follow per 'Defiance' Mail!³⁷ We both arrived at Adelaide about the same time and accordingly with the valise in hand proceeded to make enquiry for the individuals to whom we brought letters of introduction - after a deal of trotting about we found to our vexation that the gentlemen with one exception were absent at Encounter Bay. To this Gent therefore (the one to whom I had resolved to apply for advice last) we accordingly went, and I may say feeling friendless as we did, not knowing a soul in the place, experienced a little relief from the interview. Never certainly in my life before had I felt myself at such a non-plus, never had I felt such a demand for energy as my first few days in the colony showed me there was an absolute necessity for - knowing nothing of the place and regarding with a safe suspicion every individual I met with, added to this, encumbered as we were with a Thomson's³⁸ house and a whole shipload I might almost say of

goods that we could not think of retaining, a tremendous outlay staring us in the face for the carriage of our goods, the extravagant charge for every necessary in the place, with £1000 only to stand the brunt of all, and furnish us with stock for the basis of our fortunes afterwards, these considerations emitted made me almost feel too little for the undertaking I had entered upon and certainly miscalculated, but conscious that I had then advanced too far to retract, and aware that all must be surmounted and that very practicably by resolution and perseverance, I determined to put the best face upon the matter and in spite of the continued vexations that crowded upon me push on with what I had begun trusting that matters would ere long wear a better aspect and assume a more promising appearance - I soon found, as our land was not selected and no desirable spot was to be had at the time within 30 miles of Adelaide, that it would be out of the question to think of enjoying the comfort and accommodation of the house and furniture we had brought out ourselves, and accordingly by Mr. Newenham's³⁹ advice I resolved upon leasing an appropriate piece of ground, and the house being large erecting it in two divisions. The site was ere long determined upon in Carrington Street - two pieces of ground were selected nearly opposite each other for which I am to pay respectively £30 and £16 per annum altho' the depth of both plots is the same and the difference of frontage only five feet. Suffice it to say that the two houses occupied 10 weeks in the erection and cost about £270, a very reasonable sum when it is considered that the builder calculated the amount of labour at three men for a week; Four days after our arrival

I went down to Encounter Bay having purchased a horse at the moderate price of £80 for the purchase. The fourth day I returned having experienced a little of the Bush, and formed some idea of the bush-method of living - the only difference between breakfast and dinner, being instead of tea, damper⁴⁰ and pork, perhaps a reverse in the arrangement, forsooth pork, damper and tea, and a somewhat similarly characteristic distinction formed the only variance between dinner

and tea or supper. In the course of my journey the preponderance of bad land over the good and the general scarcity of a natural supply of water seemed certainly striking. We however passed through some excellent pasturage, tho' the soil on the whole appeared of an indifferent character - from Willunga⁴¹ to Encounter is scarcely ought else than a continuous desert, there being I think scarcely a blade of grass throughout the whole distance, 18 miles. At Encounter Bay I certainly saw some very excellent land but it was backed by some tremendous hills which could afford pasture only to sheep or goats in consequence of their precipitousness. On my return from Encounter Bay in company with one of our fellow passengers, the eccentric Perry,⁴² I found my brothers as I had requested them had left Henry's Boarding House,⁴³ and were squatting in a tent on one of the pieces of ground we had leased. Here certainly we experienced what true discomfort was. The tent did not exceed 8 feet in diameter, being round, one flock mattress was the extent of our furniture, and boxes etc well nigh occupied the remainder of the spare room. The dust was our carpet, and it covered every thing in the tent pretty thickly. There was one pillow which was generally shared by two, and the other furnished himself with a substitute in the best way he could, by cloaks, spare counterpanes, the valise or what not. We lay at night in a row along the mattress

58

our shoulders having the benefit thereof, while our legs found a place where they could best get their length, with our clothes on we seldom needed more than a blanket or counterpane each, for independently of clothing and other considerations, the host of fleas that continually travelled over us kept us in a constant ferment - of all the annoyances and disagreeables of a tent I think we found the fleas certainly the most aggravating. The tent being made of East Indian canvas was by no means impervious to wet, and in consequence when it rained, which it occasionally did at the time I am speaking of, it descended upon us within, modified by its passage through the threads in the comparatively modest form of a drizzle for some time, our crate of crockery not having arrived from the port, we had but one plate and that a borrowed one in which the boiled pork was kept. But seated on the mattress we cut our several slices into mouthfuls on the biscuit we were eating, having for its accompaniment in the shape of drink sometimes water and sometimes tea, but for want of the proper conveniences, more usually the former - after a time one of the casks of beer was at length sent from the Port and this we drank for breakfast, dinner and tea, and glad enough we were to get it - day after day. I was obliged to walk to the Port to see about our goods, which, although in the hands of an agent we nevertheless could not get attended to. The distance was seven miles and the heat generally intense, with no small supply of dust by the way, and after the fatiguing journey was performed, nothing but the wretched state of things I have been describing awaited me, a sorry welcome indeed! In course of time we obtained sundry minor conveniences, and amongst other things I purchased a marquee, which shortly after became our lodging house in place

59

of the small tent which became the store room in part for our increasing baggage - this might be a month after our arrival, and about this time John went to the neighbourhood of the Meadows to inspect a small lot of Cattle, the private stock of a gentleman who brought them overland from Sydney, Mr. McPherson⁴⁴. The number consisted of twelve, three heifers and six cows, in calf, two steers and a bull, which John was instructed to purchase if he could procure them at £14-10 a head, at that time considered cheap. In the evening of the 24th November John returned with the intelligence that the bargain had been concluded, and the cattle would be in Town the following day - A week after this John, with Brealey⁴⁵ and his wife from the Square, came to Mr. Strangways⁴⁶ Station on the Bay road with the cattle, and forthwith commenced milking. Boucher and I remained in the Tents, the former however almost dividing his time at the Station, till the 15th January by

27

which time the houses were both completed and tenanted.⁴⁷ I then removed to Mr. Strangways' Station myself for good, rejoiced at the change of quarters - here accordingly we all now are, February 29th, my brothers and myself living in one of three rooms built of broad-paling, the next one to us being made use of as a Store room in which sleeps our herdsman likewise, a little fat Scotch boy about 12 or 13 years old, his bed consisting of a crate elevated on four posts to which he ascends by a rough ladder made of wattle, the third and end room is occupied by a few sundries in which also the calves are enclosed at night. The abode altogether, though amply ventilated by chinks and apertures in all directions, and the thatch half blown off, is nevertheless quite a palace in comparison

60

with our late Town residence, Brealey, his wife, child and a little tidy nursemaid enjoy a very comfortable berth in a pisé⁴⁸ building, roofed with 2 ft. shingles, and within a few yards of our building. Here then we all are by sufferance, waiting for the selection of our own land on which to settle ourselves. Until we are in possession of what is to be our own property we cannot with our small capital realize much money, the few cattle we are possessed of make no great return, nor is it to be expected on the herbage they alone can find in this neighbourhood. The drey and six bullocks purchased alike from Mr. McPherson have latterly been yielding us some little return, but fortune making would be a tardy process under our circumstances if they were always to remain in statu quo, if indeed we were compelled to vegetate long here under the same unpromising prospects as at present. We have the greater share of a first settlers' hardships yet before us, notwithstanding we have been more than 4 months in the Colony, having yet to establish ourselves upon our own land - this undertaking will I hope come on shortly, ere the wet weather of an Australian winter commences. I should be hardly doing ourselves justice I consider, were I not to record the extreme economy, not to say penuriousness, which we have without variation observed [*co: during*] in our mode of living since our first arrival in the Colony - but thrice, I believe, have we treated ourselves with a joint of fresh meat, on two of which occasions we had visitors, & the other was Xmas day, when I thought Brealey & his wife would look for a treat of the kind. It is now the 9th March, and hitherto we have lived on salt meat only with

61

the few exceptions before stated - tea likewise has been our ordinary beverage since we drank out the 2 hhd^s⁴⁹ of Beer which my Father sent with us. On 3rd March I started in company with Mr. T.B. Strangways⁵⁰ for Encounter Bay - we halted the same night at the Survey Encampment, under the control of Mr. Calder⁵¹, at Willunga & the next morning started for Encounter Bay. Before we mounted our horses I had the satisfaction of seeing a very large Emu brought to the station which had just been killed by one of the men belonging to the department there after a hunt with the dogs - the animal weighed about lbs96 - the plumage of the bird somewhat resembles as far as I remember that of the Ostrich, but is not so rich in its nature. On the breast of the animal is a protuberant lump of hard flesh, occasioned by the animal's always throwing itself upon that spot when about to lie down - there are two little flappers also attached to the body, one on each side of the breast, which appear to be intended for the purpose of assisting the animal as it runs. - the legs are of good length & exceedingly strong, having knotty excrescences all down the back part - with its legs the Emu is said to defend itself, aiming always a kick at those that unlesh it. The country between Willunga & Encounter Bay is I may say one continued line of scrub, having for the greater part of the distance very little of interest to catch the traveller's eyes. At Encounter Bay however I think the dreariness of the past is fully compensated for by the richness and loveliness of the valleys you find before you. The valley of Mootaparinga is a beautiful spot situate at the bottom of some very elevated

hills, available for pasturage only for sheep or goats on account of their

62

precipitousness. The 'Inman' is another most picturesque valley exceeding in loveliness and extent that of Mootaparinga, tho' the quality of the soil is not perhaps quite as good. - a chain of ponds with a very shallow connecting channel scarcely observable in some parts lines the middle of the valley - these ponds appear almost artificial, occurring so frequently with hardly any trace of the stream's course that supplies them. There is nevertheless a stream in the rainy season which our present Governor (Gawler⁵²) has been pleased to call the "Inman" in compliment to the Inspector of Police,⁵³ his general attendant upon all his expeditions - On my way back from Encounter Bay I visited a valley at the foot of the Meadows named by O'Halloran⁵⁴ "Frome's Valley" in honour of the present Surveyor General⁵⁵ but called by the natives Cungarulla. After visiting Encounter Bay, I must confess I was disappointed in the expectations I had been led to form of this spot - there were certainly two or three 80 acre sections very valuable in themselves containing water, but the soil all round that particular portion degenerated into sand, producing too heavy a quantity of the native oak of this country to be considered very productive. I spent my time at Encounter Bay with Mr. Strangways, who yet leads a bush-life in bush-style - of course he could therefore give me no accomodation in the shape of a bed at night, but I lay me down on the ground under his hammock enveloped in a wallaby rug, & covered over besides with a blanket which formed part of my equipage for the journey - I returned to our station on the fifth day after my departure, with the consolatory reflection that we should yet be obliged to wait at least a month before we should stand any chance of

63

getting our land.

24th July, 1841. On board the ship "Dumfries", the same vessel which on the 14th October 1839 deposited my brothers and myself on the shores of Holdfast Bay, once more I find myself bound for old England via Singapore, in company with Col: Gawler, the late esteemed Governor of South Australia, and his family. I cannot however allow such an interval of time, as the period of my last using the pen in this book dates the commencement of & the present moment determines, to pass wholly unnoticed, but as it involves much that is interesting & not altogether unimportant, I shall endeavour to recall the period though I am afraid that occurrences most impressed upon my mind will suggest themselves according to the interest they occasioned & not according to the order in which they took place - but, to it nevertheless - it will be a record entertaining at least to my home circle if it contain no items of information likely to be of use to me hereafter. I see that my journal left off with the prospect of obtaining our land some time in March - our expectation that had then been repeatedly blighted, & was doomed in this instance & many successive ones to be cut down by disappointment. Such however was the extent of the Survey Department & therefore the work accomplished, that as new

64

Sections were being continually thrown into the market, it constantly revived, thus buoying up my spirits, instead of giving place to despair - Finding however that my Brothers & myself would be likely to lose the benefit of the season for agricultural purposes, in consequence of these repeated disappointments, & the culture of potatos having hitherto proved a most remunerating crop to the grower, I thought it would be a profitable speculation for us to engage in, if we could obtain the land for the purpose on easy terms - it would likewise afford employment for our bullock, &

procure us some return thereby for the outlay upon them - I soon found one of our fellow-passengers P 'Dumfries', who was at the time resident at Mount Barker or rather Hahndorff⁵⁶, and who was then completing the enclosure of about 10 acres of arable land willing to enter into an arrangement with us - We were not long in coming to terms. He agreed to clear the patch of ground just mentioned, to find a ploughman & rations for a Bullock driver & to share the expences of planting, hoeing and gathering in the crop, in consideration of half the produce - while we were to supply the plough & harrows, the bullocks & driver, find the seed & bear the proportion of expense in the after cultivation - accordingly we lost no time in setting the plough to work, expecting to finish

65

the whole job in about 6 weeks - in consequence however of the constant straying of the bullocks, which were scarcely ever at work two days successively, the undertaking was not completed till October having occupied about 4 months - the expence was by this means so considerably enhanced and the season had advanced so far, that I found we could not adhere to our original purpose of setting the whole ground with potatos - it was resolved therefore to sow about 5 acres with wheat and 2 with maize - the remaining 3 or upwards were occupied with potatos - the lateness of the season, newness of the soil & infertility of the greater part of it, and above all the consideration that neither of my Brothers or myself were on the spot to pay that attention to the proceedings which was necessary for their proper despatch & the care of our own interests - all combined to work out a total disappointment of our (as we thought) reasonable expectations, and instead of making us a return of at least £1000 left us minus a balance I should think of £150, - The proceeds did not even pay for the seed, nor even the gathering of the crop - the wheat in fact could not be reaped but was obliged to be pulled up by hand - During these 4 months of agricultural operation in the Mount Barker District, my Brothers and myself were still dwelling at Mr Strangways' Station on the plains, having nothing

66

particular to engage us - our little dairy in fact, comprising the produce of about 6 or 8 cows, maybe considered the sum total of our business at that time, though little jobs of course continually presented themselves - Some time in the latter end of April to the best of my recollection or it may have been the month of May, I became the subject of an attack of Influenza which was at the time very prevalent about Adelaide, & this may be considered to have been the first instance of sickness in our establishment, for we had enjoyed general good health, independently of occasional attacks of dysentery amounting however to nothing serious - A fever of moderate strength prevailed upon me for nearly a fortnight accompanied with constant headache - my brain was likewise affected as was evidenced by the delirium I repeatedly evinced - I certainly do not remember when I have felt so ill before, the medicine I was daily taking, which must have been principally mercury from the effects I afterwards experienced, I fancied must relieve me by the next morning - & my first business at the dawn of day was to enquire of myself whether I did not feel better, & to endeavour to persuade myself that I must be, in spite of the existing headache and general feeling of uncomfortableness - Poor Boucher remained with me throughout my illness &

67

regularly mixed up my Arrow Root for me before giving it to the Scotch Highlandwoman to boil - this was all I felt inclined for & that indeed but little - I remember during my sickness, when I was half insensible & scarcely buoyant enough to think of any thing in brain, it struck me that John was

very little with me, tho' it was not till after my recovery when Boucher mentioned the circumstance that I thought of asking him about it & enquiring what became of him during the time - he told me that he had been staying at the Kemmiss's⁵⁷ (our fellow-passengers) as he could not he said bear to be present & hear me talking so strangely in my delirium - I was not before aware that I had been delirious, but assured everybody when they made the enquiry of me as it was peculiar to the complaint, that I had not been affected with it. The progress of recovery was very slow, contrary to my expectation, for I imagined that in such a country as South Austr: was boasted to be, the regaining of strength would be very rapid - I remained weak however for a considerable time which was probably owing to the want of better diet & nursing, with a change of air to some more bracing situation than the Adelaide plains - It was not until after we received from my Father an opportune remittance of £1000, which came to hand on the 18th April, that

68

I ventured to become more indulgent in our house-keeping - We lived upon salt pork & home-made bread from the period of our landing in this Colony till the first week in May, when in consequence of the rise in salt provisions & a trifling abatement in the price of fresh meat with the consideration of increased means, we were induced to patronize an itinerant butcher & commence a regular custom with a man who lived in the village of Hindmarsh about 1½ miles distant. Potatos formed no item of our expences till the month of June was well nigh passed - In the early part of August we increased our herd of Cattle before consisting of about 25 by the purchase of 19 additional cows from Mr. Johnson⁵⁸ & a Bull from Mr. Hardy⁵⁹ - this lot had been well selected by Mr. J. who is an experienced judge from a herd recently imported into the Colony by the Messrs. Howe.⁶⁰ Johnson has never ceased to repent having parted with them, as with one exception they were considered the best lot of the number belonging to one individual that were to be met with in the Colony - just before I came away he had however completed a bargain with my Brothers & become again the master of some seven or eight of them. We soon had some 12 or 13 cows at the pail after this purchase, but so bad was the Stockyard, so inconvenient the bail, & so insufficient the dairy, that, together with the exposed situation of the plains, the produce of the establishment was very trifling, and as we were

69

almost week after week expecting to obtain our land it was not worthwhile to lay out that money upon a friend's property which we were likely so soon to require for the improvement of our own - we were therefore of necessity as it were compelled to pursue the same slovenly method of living, doing little good for ourselves - in fact doing harm - we were spending money without making it and were becoming daily more and more unprepared for the exertion which circumstances would so soon call for - this has since unhappily been too incontestibly proved - We had purchased also a small lot of sheep from Hentig⁶¹ amounting to between 80 and 90, but from our not obtaining our land as we expected this circumstance involved us in a good deal of trouble. Considering them exceedingly cheap & Hentig having offered to take charge of them till we obtained our land, which we made sure of in our minds in a month, & as the ewes were then commencing lambing, I thought we could not possibly lose by them, and they would supply us nicely with mutton at our new establishment which we expected to form in the Valley of the Sturt only about 10 miles from Town - The Government however unexpectedly appropriated 1200 acres of this eligible situation for a Farm, at which the Government Stock was accustomed to be recruited, and this baffled our schemes - We now therefore turned our attention to the Valley of the Inman which contained some beautiful sections but was unfortunately situated

about 60 miles from Town, and the Sections were not likely to be ready for selection for some 2 or 3 months - The wet weather was already well advanced and the sheep having been confined in one yard throughout for want of another, began to fall off miserably and nearly half the lambs died - Hentig, in consequence, got sick of the trouble of looking after them, and insisted that they must be removed - this being the case we were compelled at all risks to have them sent down from Mt. Barker and make the best shift we could with them on the plains - We had no sheep-yard in which to enclose them, nothing indeed of the kind but a stock yard of the worst description, the bottom rail of which stood about two feet off the ground, we therefore drove them into this about dusk & I walked round them several times till they began to lie down - I paid them several visits before I went to bed & saw them all within the rails - I had scarcely been in bed however half an hour when I heard them making a general rush & running away from the front of the house, I guessed of course that what I had been apprehensive of must have taken place & that the cause of this disturbance was the intrusion of a wild dog - I therefore jumped hastily out of bed, leaving my brothers to the quiet enjoyment of theirs, & ran out in my slippers & night gown - the night was perfectly dark so that had it not been for the bleating of some of the sheep it would have been the merest chance if I found them - they

fortunately were not above 50 yards off so that I soon came upon them & rounding them up drove them back to the stock yard where I met the Highlandman just turned out in full equipment - It cost us some time & trouble to get them up into a corner of the yard, for they kept continually running under the rails and getting out first on one side then the other - they did at length become tolerably settled - I then went into the house & putting on my coat & trousers & fetching out the gun took up my station close to the rails in order to keep watch over them during the remainder of the night - It was about $\frac{1}{2}$ p 10 O'clock, and as we had only one man in our service I did not like to force upon him the tedious duty I was about to undertake myself, & so unfit him for the labour of the ensuing day - I sent him to bed therefore with the anticipation of being called at 4 O'clock - I certainly had a most unpleasant night of it, having repeatedly at first to leave my seat for the purpose of driving back one or two sheep that were straying away to graze - I kept a constant look-out in all directions expecting the wild dogs would certainly return but I did not catch a glimpse of one, much to my disappointment - Four O'clock at length came and I roused up McCrea⁶² to my relief & turned in myself, but experienced little enjoyment of repose during the short interval before daylight when the business of the stockyard quite prohibited my thinking of it - I was in fact so hurt in my mind at the inertness of my Brothers

and the little regard they evinced for my comfort in allowing me to watch the whole night without offering to relieve me, not having assisted me either in fetching back the sheep when they were first disturbed but watching my motions with the greatest indifference, that my mind was too much engrossed with sullen thoughts to admit of tranquil sleep - It made me sensible that my situation with regard to them was nothing more than that of a working bailiff, & that, not only without extra remuneration but even without thanks, which would have cost them nothing - We hired a boy to tend the sheep by day & in the evening with the assistance of one or two neighbouring workmen, managed to drive the whole lot into one of the apartments of our dwelling, which had been accustomed to be used as a stable - The wild dogs continued to pay their visits at night, & repeatedly I turned out of my bed on hearing them & kept watch behind a beer-barrel for upwards

of an hour, hoping that I might have an opportunity of making an example of at least one of these troublesome intruders - Never however would they come near enough for me distinctly to see them, I could only hear them sniffing about, but at too great a distance during the darkness of a moonless night for me to be able to distinguish them. They therefore got off Scot free, the amount of their depredation having been only the capture of two lambs which they

73

succeeded in bearing off on the night of their first attack. On solicitation Mr. Kemmis at length offered to allow the sheep to run with his flock at Payneham⁶³ about 3 miles on the other side of Adelaide, we accordingly sent them down to him as early as possible having been troubled with them I think about 10 days. He did not keep them above two or three days when his bailiff, Powell⁶⁴, brought his compliments to us requesting that we would send for them as soon as we could as they had communicated the foot-rot to his flock - we afterwards learnt that they had been infected with it before - This message of course placed us in a new dilemma, it was useless to bring them back to our own quarters where we had no convenience for them, and they were so old and diseased that had we been acquainted with any flock-owner at hand he certainly would not have accomodated us by allowing them to join his flock - there remained therefore but one alternative, they must be sold & that by auction for the circumstances would admit of no delay - They were accordingly put up to auction & with some little trouble we managed to realize such a price by them as left us only minus about £40 - I learnt a lesson by this, never to speculate in stock without I had it in my power to keep them on if the market should deceive me - Nothing of importance occurred from this time till we obtained our land, save the circumstance of no little import to

74

my Brothers & myself the tidings of which reached us in the month of August - I mean the death of our afflicted Father⁶⁵ - I little thought when we left England that this event for which we had been so long prepared would occur so soon or I should certainly have remained in England as a matter of duty - His life had for some years been one of intense suffering & aggravated by mental uneasiness, and as every day that he lived seemed to introduce him to some new pain, working out by slow degrees that complete exhaustion to be recognised as death, I could not certainly consider the event as one to be regretted, I nevertheless could not but feel in a lively sense that I had lost my best earthly friend, one whom I might with more freedom apply to for advice than any other existing relative without the apprehension of receiving self-interested counsel - I must, the idea awoke me, push my way through the world now in and through difficulties without such a prop to fall back upon, dependent only on my own exertions. His expression on his Deathbed "I shd have liked to have heard from my boys before I went" very much affected me, notwithstanding I could not upon reflection but rejoice that he was not allowed that satisfaction, it would indeed have been a melancholy one to him, an additional pang to the many with which his departing spirit was doubtless vexed -

75

I forget now when I started with the first load for the establishment of our new Station on the 'Inman'⁶⁶ but think it was some time in October⁶⁷ - We had succeeded in obtaining the two best out of four sections⁶⁸ for which we had tendered at the head of the 'Inman', just about mid-way between Encounter Bay and Yankalilla Bay - it was a lovely spot possessing excellent soil, abundance of fresh water and leading to a valuable back-run. The Sections lay upon opposite sides of the River, which is skirted by a belt of trees that preclude the sight of one from the other - the eastern section

extends along the river for the breadth of two sections, having a level open meadow of beautiful kangaroo grass between the timber & the foot of the rising slope which back it and leads to unselected hills of good feed for sheep or cattle. The western section which faces it is a beautiful flat of rich alluvial deposit very prettily studded with the large red gum tree & occasional specimens of Blackwood - it is situated immediately at the foot of a beautiful range of high hills which form the northern limit of the 'Inman flat' extending southward from it, and in addition to the channel of the 'Inman' it has a creek winding through it from the W, which with very little trouble might be made to afford a supply of water throughout the Summer - there are also two natural ponds in it & these retain water for a great part of

76

the year - we afterwards purchased from Government the section through which the creek of which I have just spoken winds its course - this also is an excellent section & a valuable addition to the other two, possessing a nice flat and entitling us to the back run of the well-grassed hills along which it skirts. The tout-ensemble is unquestionably exceedingly pretty, & if the four sections selected by Mr. Strangways for his brother in England could be added to those in the possession of my Brothers, it would constitute as pretty a property it is supposed as could be met with in the whole Colony - As far as my recollection serves me it was in the early part of a morning in the latter end of October when John & myself, the former on horseback & I in the spring cart containing our bedding, gun, the necessary utensils for our meals &c. prepared about 10 O'clock to follow the dray which we had posted off some two hours before us with a load of all sorts, such things in fact as seemed to me most likely to be required for the first preparation of a new settlement. The distance we had to travel was about 60 miles & this I calculated on accomplishing easily in 4 days making every allowance for the tardiness of bullocks - On the night of the first day

77

John & I obtained accommodation in the tent of a friend (Castle⁶⁹) living about 15 miles from town, and allowed the dray to proceed to the Onkaparinga River about 3 miles further where there was a public house & conveniently situated though indifferent meadow for the bullocks - We hobbled our horses & turned them out for the night, but the mare which John was riding, being quite young and full of frolic could not forget the large company of young friends which she had lately been sporting with amongst the lagoons near the plains, and therefore retraced her steps in the course of the night, leading off the horse which I had been driving with her - Our vexation was of course great when this discovery was made in the following morning. I had however fortunately awoken at an early hour and did not lose much time in commencing a pursuit of them and guessing the route they had taken I bent my steps homewards & before I had proceeded far on the road had the satisfaction, however, imperfect of discovering the track of two horses answering the description of ours - it being however very early it was not till I had proceeded upwards of two miles on the road, that I chanced to meet with an individual who could give me any account

78

of them - I then learnt that they had been seen not long since close by feeding near the road - I therefore branched off & had the good luck very shortly of finding the horse browsing leisurely along with his face homewards - being hobbled he soon allowed me to catch him, whereupon I released his legs & putting my pocket handkerchief in his mouth by way of a bridle, threw myself upon his back as well as I could some 15 or 16 hands off the ground, & made the best of a rising backbone in place of a soft padded saddle I determined then seeing the track of the mare very

distinct to ride onwards expecting she could not be far from the horse - but I remember now she was not hobbled for we relied upon her keeping company with the horse during the night - a very foolish piece of carelessness too often the cause of vexation to travellers in the Bush - it was of importance that we should recover her if possible for the journey, as the horse had only been tried about 2 or 3 times in harness & that about town, we therefore could not depend on it & had brought the mare purposely to assist it up the hills - & a most formidable specimen we had to contend with upon crossing the Onkaparinga.

79

I rode on accordingly as far as Major O'Halloran's district, then about 4½ miles, being constantly allured by the very distinct tracks of the mare - I could not however obtain any tidings of her; indeed I saw but few to give me the opportunity of enquiring - I took some sort of a breakfast at the Major's and then returned to Castle's as fast as the circumstances of my situation would permit me - we had 15 miles to go from his station over a bad road with a young horse in harness that had never faced a hill with a vehicle behind it, I therefore trotted the best part of the way, & was rejoiced when I once more found myself at the Station, which completed the eleventh mile of a ride on a bare back, which calculated to give you no mean idea of the comfort rather than the luxury of a saddle - We soon buckled the horse to & started at all hazards - on reaching the Onkaparinga we had the satisfaction of finding that the dray had started in good time & that the bullocks had surmounted the hill without much trouble - we crossed the ford therefore & prepared to imitate so good an example - alternately John & I led the horse and pushed the cart, a work of no small labour up a hill which no one ever thinks either of riding up or down - to our no small astonishment the horse stuck to his work

80

with uncommon spirit and did not offer to gibe once - this circumstance quite elated us and inspired us with confidence in the animal for the rest of the journey - we reached Willunga in reasonable time & there found the dray drawn up under a tree & the bullocks in yoke grazing close by on some beautiful young grass, which appeared most luxuriant after the rains - A glass of brown stout put fresh vigour into us, and prepared us for the fatigue of labouring up the long & tedious hill which faced us - the bullock driver was ordered to follow in about half an hour when the bullocks would have sufficiently regaled themselves to be ready for the same arduous undertaking - We had now left the last township that we should meet with on our whole route, distant 8 miles from the Onkaparinga; & comprising at that time a Police Station, a few scattered & shabby survey huts with a tent or two, & a rude public house built of broad paling - The horse with unexpected courage brought us safely to the place which I had designed for our bivouack about four miles from Willunga - It may be considered the commencement of the Mipongo⁷⁰ District, being the beginning of a long valley bounded on each side by scrub, but containing good pasturage and an abundant supply of water through-

81

out - we turned a little off the road, and looking out for a good gum tree with a respectable supply of firewood in the neighbourhood drew the cart up under a bush, and watered our trusty servant & turned him out, then prepared to light a fire & fetch some water for our tea - we had just got every thing as far advanced as we could when the sound of the bullock whip announced to us the near approach of the dray - I went to meet it therefore on the road & guide it to our retreat in the bush - the bullocks were soon released from the dray & cropping the grass, & it was not long before we

with hardly less zest I doubt, were likewise busily employed in committing a merciless execution upon the pork & damper, sipping our tea with all the caution which a tin pannikin makes necessary - nor was it long before this being ended, our feelings prompted us to arrange the tarpaulin about the cart & construct our bedroom under it as snugly as circumstances would admit of - we certainly were compelled from the scantiness of the material to have more doors & windows in our dormitory than we should have been likely to arrange if circumstances had rendered it optional, but with the extra supply of blankets that we were provided with for the settlement we may consider that we had

82

luxurious accomodation for the bush - The bullocks were allowed to feed under the surveillance of their driver till about 10 Oclock, when from their known propensity to stray we deemed it advisable to secure them for the night - this was accordingly done by chaining each pair to a separate tree - they were released again at day light & finally yoked to the dray about 7 Oclock, when having finished our breakfast we lost no time in preparing to get under weigh - the dray was allowed to precede us about half an hour, but we soon overtook them notwithstanding the horse was not allowed to exert himself beyond a walk, indeed had he shewn any particular disposition to do so, the nature of the ground would have rendered it extremely unpleasant, if not unsafe to encourage him, being thickly beset with stumps the remains of trees which not long before had occupied the track we were pursuing - This day's journey was by far the most uninteresting of the whole being a continuous & uninterrupted line of scrub for the distance of 20 miles, where it would then terminate in the beautiful valley of the 'Hindmarsh' river, & at Mr, Strangway's old station which occupied a pretty position in it I proposed we should halt for the night - None of the party had before travelled this road but myself, it was necessary therefore that we should keep company with the

83

dray for about 14 miles to prevent the possibility of their mistaking the road, which would have been too awkward an event to run the risk of - About ½ p 3 John & I safely reached our quarters for the night, & waited impatiently for the arrival of the dray which we calculated could not be far from us - I walked to the foot of a hill about 2 miles back & there stayed till nearly 6 Oclock wondering what could be the cause of the delay, and was just about to trace my steps back, when the welcome sound of the bullock whip greeted my ear, and soon I had the satisfaction of seeing the team, leisurely & cautiously stepping down the hill with their load, having one of the men whom we had engaged as a splitter & whom we expected to have overtaken us before seated on the top of all - In crossing a very nasty swamp it appears not long after we parted company the dray had bogged up to the axle-tree and the bullocks were unable to extricate it without having the greater part of the load removed - fortunately for the driver who was by himself, the splitter came up in the midst of this dilemma & by the assistance he was able to afford, they succeeded in lightening the dray sufficiently & reloading it for the pursuit of their journey - without further accident we all arrived at the Hindmarsh - We were all ready for our meal & had hands enough to prepare it with despatch - we adopted the same

84

plan with the Cattle as we had done the night before, & after a hearty supper of tea, pork & damper, prepared with no less reluctance than usual for a comfortable slumber - The hosts of mosquitos however that welcomed us from the first gave us too correct intimation of the extent of repose to which we might look forward, and the ceaseless hum they maintained all night allowing intervals to regale themselves upon our persons made us hail the day light with increased satisfaction - We

expected this day to complete our journey & arrive at our Sections at the head of the 'Inman' from which spot we were distant about 13 miles - Mr Strangways' Station was about 5 miles from us & this we reached a reasonable hour, and how much did I envy him his settled abode altogether knowing the difficulties which yet lay before me before our establishment could be as far advanced as his! Mr Giles Strangways kindly mounted his horse & accompanied us for about 4 miles - the valley which is narrow all the way up and bounded on either side by scrub to the distance of 6 miles, having but a shallow channel to carry off the flood occasioned by the winter rains presented one continuous swamp for us to wade through - The horse exceeded our best expectations & drew

85

us nobly through all the bogs, but the bullocks travelling at their accustomed leisurely pace of about 3 miles an hour allowed the wheels so much time for sinking that the dray sunk up to the axles twice before we parted company with Mr S. & we had not proceeded a mile further before it bogged again in one of the creeks - this was most laborious work both for man & beast, for on each occasion every hand was called for to take the load off & of course put it on again - this was no joke with a set of awkward harrows, a great heavy iron-plough weighing from 3 to 4 cwt, bags of flour, sugar & such like portable articles - the work was to be done however & I wish it had ended there, but no, we had just repacked the load & thought of the expedition we should have to use to reach our destination with even tolerable luck that night, the bullocks had just started & the wheels made one revolution when the bed of the dray was again touching the ground - this was most vexatious but as the team was getting knocked up & the Sun fast making for the horizon I saw it was impossible to think of proceeding further that night - we accordingly unhitched the bullocks, threw the tarpaulin over the dray & walked up the little rising on the other side of the swamp (which was by far the most treacherous one we had encountered), where we

86

found the remains of a break-wind constructed by the natives in the form of a circle, within this therefore, the night promising to be cold & damp, we resolved to take up our quarters - We had a most unpleasant job in anticipation for the morning, that of taking nearly the whole of the things off the dray & carrying them as we best could across the swamp, we therefore composed ourselves as soon as possible & the next morning at day break after expending some little time in seeking the bullocks which had been turned adrift in the yoke for the first time, commenced our undertaking - we made a vehicle of the plough & loaded it with the heaviest articles & by attaching the bullocks to it, in one or two trips managed easily to transfer from one side of the swamp to the other the weightiest part of the baggage; the less cumbersome articles we waded through the water with ourselves, the dray was once more loaded after some little labour, our homely breakfast taken & all again under weigh expecting to meet with no further difficulties in the remaining 3 miles - We drove on at an easy pace without encountering any bogs of which we thought we need be apprehensive - about 11 O'clock John & I reached the beautiful flat in which our sections were situated,

87

we proceeded up it & beheld two emus not far from us - I tried to circumvent them taking the gun with me in vain - we drew up under a large gumtree close to the section & there waited nearly an hour expecting every minute to see the dray descent into the flat - but disappointed of this I concluded something must have happened & so started back to render them such assistance as might be necessary - I walked two miles & there found the men busy reloading the dray after

another case of bog - fearing another accident of the kind as the bullocks were evidently becoming weak I determined upon leaving the plough at the spot with another article or two of a weighty nature, when we again started & with a little trouble occasioned by the faint-heartedness of the beasts finally reached our destination about 2 O'clock, having nearly completed five days in performing the journey - Our first business was to erect the tent & marquee & the remainder of the day was spent in disposing the baggage within them and looking about us - The spot in which we had pitched the tents was certainly the prettiest site we could find for a house, but did not possess the advantages offered on the opposite side of the section which was itself also a very picturesque spot - John however was so much pleased with our first situation that he said he should not like to move, and I

88

desiring to show a readiness to attend to his wishes & remove the appearance of control in pursuing my own when contrary to his, was weak enough to give way to him - the consequence was that we lost nearly a week's labour spent in grubbing up trees and digging a dairy, when I found that the want of many conveniences at our present site amounted to positive disadvantages which would all be obviated by establishing the homestead where I at first recommended - John was loth to give way but I knew he would not in after time repent the change - It was about four days after we reached the 'Inman' that our Splitters' companion made his appearance, which delay was occasioned by the difficulty he had in finding his way having several times lost himself - This circumstance tended to throw us back as one man could not work by himself - they were directed to construct a log stockyard first & then go up to the Tiers & look out the best spot for a supply of stringy bark, which they were then to commence felling & splitting for the purpose of connecting a milking yard to that formed of logs - It became necessary for me about the end of a week to return to town for some more flour & sundry other things which we were in want of but had not room to bring down in the dray with the first load - While John was requested

89

to assist the bullock driver in building a sod hut, when the bullocks were not required to draw logs - I reached the plains in two days with the horse & cart, and having exchanged a few beasts for a horse that had an extraordinary reputation for a good draught animal, I was desirous with the two horses to bring down the wagon if possible - I was ready to start in a few days with my load amounting I calculated to about 6 cwt - I had succeeded in getting a young man of our acquaintance to go with me thinking it likely that I should have some trouble - We started one afternoon leaving Boucher as before to see after the dairying and take care of the houses - the shaft horse was attired in gig harness, the leader in the cart trappings we brought out with us - I was charioteer having the awkwardness of leather & rope reins in my hand wherewith to guide the horses - being strange to it they made some little fuss at starting, but we managed to get on briskly for the first 6 miles which brought us to the foot of our first hill - the horses pulled about 10 yards up it & then giped - the leader (the trusty animal of the first journey) was willing enough but the old screw we had in the shafts refused to go one step further - in fact the more we urged him the more ground we lost - after ineffectually struggling here for nearly an hour & the day drawing to a close, I deemed it advisable to turn back and remove the load into the

90

light cart ready for another start the next morning - this we did and reached the hill the next day in good time, when the shaft horse commenced the same trickery he had so successfully passed upon

us the day before - after spending some time in using all the persuasives we could, the beast at length took to his work & in course of time mounted the hill with us - I found we were by degrees spoiling the leading horse for draught, for in consequence of the shaft horse being so slow to start & he so alert his first efforts generally brought him almost upon his haunches & this disheartened him - this was too truly proved in the sequel, for before many weeks had passed he would not pull at all - We reached the Onkaparinga that day, but could by no means get the horses to face the hill the next - this I had all along anticipated after I found out the true character of the animal we had lately become possessed of - Fortunately for us a bullock dray was at hand about to make the ascent, & I agreed to give the man 5/- after his asking 20/- to haul the cart up behind it - we took the leading horse off and attaching the cart to the dray by hooking a bullock chain in the lugs had the satisfaction of seeing the cart & unwilling 'Buckley' hauled up without further delay - We got to Willunga without much difficulty having no more hills in the way - there we stopped for the night, and the next morning at 7 O'clock after some little demur on the part of 'Buckley' wound

91

our way up the hill till we reached the cap of it, which although somewhat lessened by the labour of a Survey party, nevertheless presented a short but severe pinch - here we were again at a stand-still for by no manoeuvre whatever could we get the horses either jointly or separately to take the cart to the top of it - We spent I should think nearly 2 hours in useless endeavours, when we saw that our only method of surmounting the pinch was by unloading the cart & taking the baggage up as we best could - After most laborious exertions we accomplished thus much & were working away with the cart trying to push it up the rise, but hardly able to move it in any other direction than that of right across the road, when four men came in sight & by their assistance we soon finished our work & had everything in order for starting again - 'Buckley' was still indisposed to proceed, indeed would only back, when one of the men who had been accustomed to horse teams requested me to leave the animal to his management; I consented & he by perseverance succeeded in getting him on after some time - This little conquest of Mr. Buckley was a most salutary one, for he did not offer to gibe once more during that day till the final bogging of the cart - about sunset - This day's journey would be continued principally through an uninteresting scrub, & the greater part of it over a

92

heavy sand, we had also an extra passenger for about 17 miles one of the men who had kindly lent us his timely assistance at the top of Willunga hill - The horses worked uncommonly well & brought us to the valley of the Hindmarsh, between 3 & 4 O'clock - there we halted for about 40 minutes to give the horses a bite and take some refreshment ourselves, when we again buckled the animals to, and considering the heavy nature of the intervening five miles & the distance we had already travelled reached Mr. Strangways' in as reasonable time as we could have expected - we did not stop there above five or ten minutes for as the day was near the decline we saw that we should have to make short work of the remaining eight miles in order to reach our destination that night - . We drove as fast as circumstances would permit & knocked off 5 miles of the distance in a very short time, this brought us to the odious swamp where we had been obliged to bivouack with the dray on the former journey - it was then quite dusk so that I could not even see whether the leading horse was going right or not, my companion therefore kindly jumped down to lead him, and before I had time to warn him of the hole in which the dray had lay bogged a whole night we managed to

93

deposit our left wheel in it - we did our outmost to urge the horses that they might by a sudden

effort extricate the cart, but every plunge of the animals sunk them up to their knees and hocks, so that their whole exertions were required to extricate themselves - it was impossible therefore it being now almost dark to think of any other plan than that of stopping for the night at the old spot & leaving the cart in statu quo till the next morning, when we hoped the horses would be sufficiently refreshed to renew their exertions with redoubled zeal, & we were willing to flatter ourselves would be successful - We were both very much fatigued & little relished the trips across the swamp which we were compelled to make for the many little necessities we wanted, too numerous & cumbersome to be conveyed at once - the horses were leisurely relieved of their trappings & tethered out when we proceeded to prepare our own meal, the darkness of the night however did not much enhance our spirits to bear with the difficulty & labour we had in procuring firewood, for we had consumed that which was most accessible on our former visit - Fuel being found, the preparation of our frugal repast did not occupy much time nor did the despatch of it - my companion fell asleep immediately after he had

94

satisfied the cravings of his appetite & shortly awoke again when we arranged ourselves for the night - about 5 O'clock the next morning we brought the horses up & harnessed them for the undertaking that awaited them, but they cowardly threw it upon our shoulders - after taking out as much of the baggage as we conveniently could from the cart, we applied the animals to their work but they would not apply themselves - we tried them together, tried them separately, tried them before & behind the cart but all to no purpose, we were then compelled to try ourselves while the horses had the satisfaction of looking on and seeing us do their work - this was literally a case of putting one's shoulders to the wheel - we dug the earth away & put bits of wood under the wheel to prevent its further sinking as we raised it - we then cut down a sapling that chanced to be at hand about 4 or 5 inches in diameter & 10 or 11 feet long, & fixing one end of this under the wheel & the other upon our shoulders laboured with all our might to lift the wheel out - it had sunk nearly 1½ ft. & we had not strength to lift it sufficiently up on the wood to prevent its falling back the ground being so extremely soft too that the wood kept sinking with it - for 3 hours were we toiling in this way when we at length suc-

95

ceeded in lifting the wheel out of the hole - we next conveyed as much of the baggage as we could across the swamp upon the horses backs, & then attached them to the cart & after some trouble managed to attain the other side with the remainder by adopting another route which was not quite so bad as the direct road - We reloaded & again set off & advanced to within ¾ of a mile of the Station, which brought us to a very steep little rise - here again the horses refused us their exertions & we expended nearly another hour in endeavouring to conquer them but to no purpose - We may be thought not to have persevered sufficiently & in consequence allow the horses to become our masters - under the circumstances however it was impossible to obviate it - The horse we had just obtained by barter was very old & had been most infamously broken in, having certain habits & freaks of his own which it had become impossible to break him of - for instance he never would start when first urged but generally backed a little & sometimes spent a minute or more se-sawing as it were in the shafts before he would make up his mind to go forward - the leading horse on the contrary sprung forward immediately he was spoken to but being resisted by 'Buckley' & the load to boot was almost pulled back upon his haunches - just at this critical moment it

96

became 'Buckley's' turn to start, but the leader being close upon him, or, if the pinch was severe, the load too much for his unassisted efforts he immediately giped again, the same consequence occurred with the leading horse at his next spring & again with Buckley till at length it became as much a matter of difficulty to induce the fore horse to start, who was scarcely broken to harness, as Buckley & he was by this means taught to refuse every pinch he came to - The animals continuing obstinate we at last took them out of the cart determining to send the dray to fetch the whole - We arrived at the tents between 10 & 11 O'clock well fagged & hardly in spirits even to eat our breakfast - the bullocks were fortunately at hand so that the cart was not long in making its appearance - I found the sod hut further advanced than I expected & the log yard in progress - three large gum trees however which the splitters had been directed to grub up still lay on the ground, with as far as I remember scarcely a branch lopped off preparatory to their burning - this was a job too that required to be done as soon as possible that the ground might be ploughed for potatoes, the seed for which that no time might be lost on account of the lateness of the season we had brought down with the first

97

load - the dairy was the next thing to be taken in hand & an arduous job the excavation of it would prove. To my surprise John was already tired of his bush life & wanted to go up to Town he said for a particular purpose, to do some little businesses he said which he had omitted before he came down - I was extremely vexed at this display of idleness on his part, & begged him to wait for a short time till we could get the place in readiness for the removal of the Cattle & the receipt of our chattels, particularly as he said his business was certainly of no great consequence but he wished nevertheless to go to Town & execute it - I knew it could not be of any importance, for what business could he have distinct from the farm with no resources? I reminded him that he had only been down in the country a fortnight, that there was a great deal in fact everything yet to be done, & it was of that character which required two hands at work, & the bullock driver would be hauling timber while the other men would be splitting it, so that if he went I should be left to myself - I reminded him also how everything was left to me to be done, that he had been allowed to go and live in the country at Mr. Strangways' station a month after our arrival in the Colony with nothing

98

to do but servants to wait upon him, while I had been compelled to live in a tent in the Town for 3 months & more during the hottest of the seasons, & be my own servant to the fetching of my own water the cooking of my own victuals & washing of my own dishes &c &c, & attend to the tedious business of erecting the houses with a multitude of fresh vexations presenting themselves daily in the course of the operation, of which he knew nothing - it is true that Boucher was supposed to be living with me, but he spent almost half of his time with John, preferring of course the comfort he had there & having no consideration for me & John being at the same time glad of his company - John heard me & said nothing while I pursued my work brooding sullenly over my unfortunate position, he returned to the tent & reposed as before on the bed spending his time merely in conversing with the young man who had been kind enough to accompany me down & with whom he was a great friend - John did little or nothing, notwithstanding the many demands upon his exertions which could not fail to be apparent to him. The next morning he came to me while I was busy as usual, & told me that he should go to Town! I was almost exasperated at this

99

wilful piece of impudence of his & his total disregard of me - & I immediately told him that if he

went he might stay for I should certainly part with him, as I really did not see why I should continue to work for him as I had hitherto been doing when there was so much to be done & he was so loth to give his services - I had everything to do myself - keep the accounts, write letters, look out what required to be done & do it afterwards - & notwithstanding all this, & my being the eldest brother, I could not even obtain common respect from him - he said nothing - The dray was just about to start for the Tiers, & it being necessary to cut down the banks of a creek about a mile off over which the dray had to pass, before a load could be brought over it, I took the pick axe & spade & accompanied it for the purpose of commencing the operation - John saw me go & knew my object, but instead of coming to assist me remained quietly lounging in the Tent - it may easily be conceived how provoking such conduct must have been, & I reproached myself as I had often done before for being so foolish as to allow myself to be associated with two boys, notoriously idle, over whom it was known I had no control, for the working out of one of the most trying and arduous undertakings which

100

can well fall to the lot of a young man first commencing his career of independence, when it is known that a multitude of hardships & vexations natural to the cause are to be endured besides a multitude probably never before dreamt of (as proved to be our case), all which need not be aggravated by the insulting behaviour of two boys of which you cannot divest yourself without undue detriment to your situation & prospects - Having had the assistance of the splitters part of the time in my road-making job which proved to be an easier one than I had anticipated, I was enabled to return to the Tents in about 1½ hours, when to my great surprise & vexation I found that John had with insulting determination put the horse in the cart and decamped with our young friend - There accordingly I was left all alone, obliged to spend my time in doing little jobs of inferior importance, because I had no one to help me in the execution of what was at the same time more laborious & more necessary - I was compelled to use the cross cut saw single handed & could therefore accomplish but little with it - As soon as the bullocks could be spared for a day however I had them attached to the plough, and turned

101

up ground enough for the reception of the potatos & the planting of about ¼ acre of maize - but the seed being that which we had brought out from England unfortunately turned to no account - In a fortnight after John had left Boucher arrived with the spring cart - it was clear therefore Mr. John did not intend to come down again till the last - He was spending money in Town for his exclusive pleasure in a most unprincipled manner - money which he obtained by bartering & selling the stock, & not procured from me - As soon as the Dairy was excavated & the frame work of the roof completed, the walls of the hut also built up, wall plates laid on & ridge plate secured, & the stock yard timber hauled, I returned to Town with the dray for a load of provisions preparatory to our bringing down the Cattle - In two days we arrived at the plains & on the third day after I think I was ready to start again with my load - I had been obliged to discharge my former bullock driver for getting drunk in Town & being impudent - The weather being very hot I determined on travelling at night as being less irksome to the bullocks - at 5 Oclock accordingly I sent the dray off & not long after started myself on horseback, I kept alongside

102

of the dray after overtaking it until we surmounted Tapley's Hill in order to render assistance if necessary there, & then rode on leisurely - I reached Castle's about 9 Oclock and having the option

of a bed there tethered my horse out & availed myself of it - Between 12 & 1 the dray came up & the driver called me to give him some assistance in righting his load when he proceeded to the Onkaparinga distant about 2½ miles - On rising early the next morning & going to look for my horse at the place where I had tethered him, to my great disappointment I found he had slipped the rope & disappeared - I was exceedingly tired the night before when I arrived having been very busy all day, & in consequence of this and the darkness of the night I had made a false knot which in the course of the night permitted the escape of the horse - I lost a good deal of the morning in hunting all round the neighbourhood for him but without success, & fearing the dray might be waiting for me about 10 O'clock I picked up my saddle and carried it to the Onkaparinga - there I found the dray all ready to start, we therefore lost no further time but set out & in due time reached Willunga - we remained there

103

till the next morning & at an early hour once more got under weigh - We reached Mipongo plains in very good time & there unhitched the bullocks & allowed them to graze for about a couple of hours, during which time we also made our frugal repast of damper & pork & a draught of water & availed ourselves of the remainder of the interval to recruit our wearied limbs, both of us having walked the greater part of the way & the day being intensely hot - we dare not sleep however tho' much disposed as the bullocks were not to be trusted out of sight - again we started & toiled on till 8 O'clock, when it being too dark for us to see the track any longer which began to be very indistinct from the little traffick upon it, we were compelled to halt & await the rise of the moon - we had travelled now about 24 or 25 miles & had about 6 or 7 more to go before we reached the Station which I was anxious to accomplish that night - The bullocks were fastened to a log while we enveloped ourselves in our blankets & lay down for a short nap - in two hours the moon was shining brightly; we therefore quitted our dewy couch and were soon again on the move - our proceeding was perhaps rather hazardous

104

for neither the man or myself knew the track from this spot, we had neither of us travelled it - & so few drays passed that way that in some places the track is not even discoverable by daylight - I walked before as pilot - the road was very uneven which made it very harassing for the bullocks, but we managed to dodge about for 3 miles of our road, when, misled by a Cattle track, we found ourselves on a pathless hill side & were there obliged to come to an anchor at 12 O'clock under the she-oak trees where we could get no water - at day-break again soon after 4 O'clock we threw off our blankets which were thoroughly wet with the dew, & while the bullocks were being hitched to the dray I proceeded to reconnoitre our situation & discover a line of road to pursue - we descended into the valley where the grass came almost up to our waists & from the very heavy dew that had fallen made it extremely unpleasant to walk in - with little difficulty we soon joined the track again & not a little pleased was I at seeing such an early prospect of terminating our fatiguing journey - It was a little after 6 when we got to the tents & I was much gratified at finding Boucher at work with the spade, for he had no one to overlook him, &

105

this was therefore an earnest of his willingness - we breakfasted soon after, when I took a look round the place to see what had been done during my absence, & then returned to the tent to endeavour to refresh myself with a little sleep of which I had tasted but little during the last 24 hours -

The bullocks of course needed rest before they could be sent to the Tiers from which it was necessary to haul a few loads of timber for the splitters. They required again 2 days recruital at least before they could bear the journey to Town - We left the Station again however before the lapse of many days & as usual accomplished the journey to Adelaide in 36 hours having always an empty dray. As we could not haul sufficient timber to keep both the splitters employed during the interval that must elapse ere I could expect to arrive with the Cattle, one of them consented to go up to Town & make holiday of the time while I engaged the other to act as hut keeper for Boucher & assist him in doing what was necessary - A fortnight or more perhaps passed away before I could get everything arranged for our final removal from the plains, an undertaking which I really dreaded - It was on a morning towards the latter end of December about 9 O'clock that Mr. Johnson of the Reed Beds (for whom we had agreed

106

to take down about 30 head of Cattle with our own but who had unfortunately lost them in the meantime) mounted on our bay horse (for he had lost his own the night before) and John seated on Buckley started with Cattle amounting to about 50 exclusive of calves, with the view of attaining the Onkaparinga if possible distant 18 miles, it was a matter of considerable doubt whether they would travel so far there being some very young calves amongst them & two of them not exceeding ten days - I prepared to follow after them as soon as practicable with the dray & waggon, the former, loaded to an alarming height and extra weight, drawn by six bullocks under the guidance of a new whip who understood no more about his business than a child, & the latter drawn by one of the pole bullocks, whose place in the team was supplied by a Steer - the load was too much for a single bullock, the waggon of itself being sufficiently heavy but we had no more power to apply to it - It contained the Cheese Press, a tolerable proportion of the bedding a lot of sundries & an Irish woman and her child engaged to act as Dairywoman, while her husband employed as herdsman and man of all work acted as her charioteer, Mr. and Mrs. McCrea being apprehensive of going so far into the country!

107

Not having been able to hear anything of the horse which I had lost on the previous journey, there was no other alternative left for me than to walk or get a lift in the waggon when the nature of the ground would in anyway admit of it, but as far as I remember I did not ride once the first day at any rate, the job in harness being comparatively new to the old bullock who was besides strained in his loins - Having everything to look to myself even to the starting of the Cattle, & from the multiplicity of things to be taken fearing to trust the business of loading to any other hands than my own, I was not prepared to follow the van till about an hour after it had started - Having then bid adieu to the old quarters & wished the neighbours goodbye who felt an interest in coming to see us off, I ordered the dray forward and followed immediately with the waggon, dodging however between the one & the other as I saw necessary for the instruction of the drivers who neither of them understood the business they had in hand - We had proceeded leisurely between 2 & 3 miles, when the fastening of the eames suddenly gave way & so alarmed the old bullock that he set off at full tilt amongst the trees, just missing the wheels of the dray before him, & throwing his heels into the air & head to the ground alternately with a vehemence that

108

did not seem to promise a speedy cessation, but a more probable dissolution of the machine behind him & wholesale ejection of its contents - fortunately however I was enabled to stop his progress

before he had proceeded far enough to do any damage - the eames were again fastened & that more securely than before and soon we were again on the move. On reaching Tapley's hill we were obliged to allow the dray to gain the ascent first & then unhitch the four leading bullocks and send them down again to assist 'old strawberry' in the waggon. There being several successive steepes to be surmounted, our progress was naturally tedious from the manœuvring we were compelled to have recourse to. We nevertheless got on better than I had anticipated and on reaching the Emu Hotel between 4 & 5 miles from the Onkaparinga, I was glad to hear that the cattle had started some time before without meeting with any hindrance to their progress - The only probable cause of delay which we had calculated upon for the journey, was the heat of the weather, which at that time of year we had every reason to expect would be too great to permit the daily driving of the Cattle, considering that the calves were mostly very young - We reached the Onkaparinga in comfortable time, that is while there remained sufficient light to make every necessary arrangement for the night - The drovers had arrived

109

an hour or more before us & and had turned out their horses to graze at liberty amongst the Cattle, which was a want of precaution that the Bushman has no business to be guilty of, as notwithstanding the apparent security of the meadow which was encompassed in the form of a horse-shoe by a river too formidable to cross at any other spot than the general ford so that no beast could escape without passing within a few yards of the Inn, as circumstances afterwards proved, the horses ought unquestionably to have been tethered or hobbled - On the next morning at daybreak I turned out to get the horses up for a bait preparatory to starting, which it was our wish to effect as early as possible on account of the heat of mid-day when we proposed to halt for a while - I went round the horse-shoe however & could see nothing of Buckley or the bay horse, though the cattle were all right - I returned & reported the circumstance & immediately despatched Bond the herdsman with two bridles in quest of them, thinking it likely they would not yet be far off - He walked about 1½ miles on the road back, the elevation of which would give him an extensive view of the country round, but soon returned for his breakfast with the vexatious intelligence that he could see nothing of them - John had his breakfast & was then requested to go as far as Castle's & there borrow a nag of some sort, and carefully survey Buckley's old run which was within

110

3 miles of the Onkaparinga when I expected the animals would assuredly be found. Between 11 & 12 however we had the dissatisfaction of seeing John descending the hill on foot with the bridles as before slung over his shoulders - he was soon at our side to give us the information which we saw he was the bearer of, reporting that he could not even gain any clue to them, no one having seen them - It now became my turn to go in quest of the truants, and we reasoned that, the country for 4 miles & more having now been searched without any success, it was most probable the horses had returned to the plains, & if this were the case it would occasion considerable delay if we waited for their recovery - my best plan would be therefore to go to Castle's again & endeavour to borrow from him two other horses for the prosecution of the journey, he having 3 or 4, & if he could not accommodate me I should proceed with my bridles to Town, where we expected I should at any rate find the animals leisurely grazing about their old quarters - I set off accordingly & was not long in gaining my first halting place, the day however was very hot which rendered my task by no means agreeable - at Castle's I met with disappointment & therefore started

111

again determining to call at O'Halloran's between 6 & 7 miles further off, & if possible obtain a horse from him to expedite my journey thence to Town, which was distant 9 miles - I arrived at his residence just as the party were about to sit down to dinner, he compelled me to stop & promised me a horse to proceed with immediately after, & in the meantime sung out to put the saddle on 'Vinegar' or 'Ploughboy' which gave me a tolerably correct idea of the character of the beast I was to be provided with - 'Vinegar' had been the spare horse for the day & was the animal therefore destined for my accomodation - he was an animal perfectly familiar to me, for I had been accustomed to see him in Town some two or three times a week, attached to a very respectable-sized cart laden with a very respectable bulk of goods, & he was notorious as an able draught horse - an old brass-mounted Dragoon saddle devoid of any padding whatever, was the description of seat with which his back was furnished to alleviate the roughness of his pace. I mounted my genteel nag however as soon as the dinner was over without of course making any remark & promised if possible to return that night - It was then getting late & I saw that I must use despatch if I wished to reach the plains before dark or I should have no chance

112

of discovering the horses - accordingly I pushed on with as much speed as the misery of my situation would allow me fortitude to bear with & reached our late station at dusk - McCrea was still there & of course surprised to see me but he could give me no tidings of the horses, rather an assurance that they had not returned to the plains - I accordingly proceeded to Town and arrived there not till dark - my only plan now therefore was to hire a horse at the Livery Stables & lead him out to O'Halloran's, there leave 'Vinegar' and make the best of my way on to the Onkaparinga - I left 'Vinegar' to be baited & directions for the saddling of another horse promising to call again in an hour & start upon my journey - About ½ p 9 I got under weigh mounted upon 'Vinegar' & towing the hack, which soon gave evidence that he was not altogether agreeable to the move, for upon leaving the Town he commenced his pranks showing he was not disposed to proceed any further, by backing and rearing which he did till he almost unseated me - it was fortunately near a public house, so that though I was obliged to let go of him to prevent my being pulled to the ground he was soon apprehended again & chastised for his obstinacy afterwards, which had the good effect of making him obedient to the rein as long as I had hold of him - As I had now left the town

113

& therefore lost the benefit of the lights, I became sufficiently sensible of the difficulty of the task I was undertaking - the night was pitch dark so that I could not distinguish the grass from the road, I therefore thought it most prudent to trust myself to the guidance of 'Vinegar' who I thought would have the good sense to trace his steps homewards. I dare not of course exceed a walk & the event proved to me that this was rather a subject of congratulation, for I had not proceeded far when I met three pedestrians & by way of discovering my 'ubi gentium'⁷¹ I interrogated them the road to the Onkaparinga - they exclaimed immediately 'you are going quite wrong this is the road to Holdfast Bay' & at the same time said they would strongly recommend me to return to Town for they were sure I should never find my way to the Onkaparinga that night & had better wait till the morning - My error at such an early stage of the journey was quite sufficient to convince me how very doubtful my success was, which together with the influence of their timely advice, determined me on taking the daylight for the prosecution of my purpose - I turned back therefore & the horses betrayed no reluctance either, but without giving me any further trouble led me back to the Stables - there they quartered for the night & the next morning

by a little after 5 I was again wending my way to the Horse-shoe - The hack however was very obstinate so that I could not manage him with another horse to take care of at the same time - in fact he gave me so much trouble that I determined not to be bothered with him, as he might be a source of annoyance to me all the way to O'Halloran's & thus occasion so much delay as to more than counterbalance the advantage of his usefulness afterwards - Again therefore I put back & leaving 'Profit' behind, whose profit was so questionable, determined to use all the expedition I dare subject myself to considering the graceful motions of 'Vinegar' - It was 8 O'clock before I reached the Major's, having heard nothing of the horses by the way - I stopped by his pressing persuasion to take a basin of bread & milk & this despatched set off on foot without further delay - the day promised to be excessively hot & unfortunately did not deceive me - I had now 9 miles to go before I should get to the Horse-shoe, but stopping at Castle's on the way to quench my thirst & sit down for a few moments, I had the satisfaction of meeting a shepherd who informed me that he had fallen in with a party answering the description of ours that morning between

Willunga & the Onkaparinga & there were two men on horseback - this was most agreeable intelligence & acted as a cordial upon me, though I was aware that I should of course have to walk on to Willunga 8 miles beyond the Horse-shoe & probably beyond that again before I should overtake the party - The day was uncommonly sultry, the atmosphere heavy, & the clouds blackening continually gave evidence of an approaching thunder storm - before I reached the Onkaparinga a few peals of thunder greeted my ear & a little rain sprinkled my undress, the wet however kept off better than I had reason to expect - At 12 O'clock I took my seat in the Public house feeling already knocked up from the extreme closeness of the weather - I rested myself there for about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour in which time I learnt that the horses had been found the evening before near the bank of the river and not above $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Horse-shoe, & the whole party had proceeded at day light that morning purposing to breakfast at Willunga - I was glad to hear they had started so early, but saw there was the more reason for my delaying as little as possible & therefore once more rose to try the substance of my limbs, though I would have gladly spared them - I walked fast nevertheless and reached Willunga a little after 2, the rain set in regularly as I was approaching the Township

& with sufficient copiousness to drench me in the last $\frac{1}{2}$ mile - I found on taking my seat in the Public house which I did not lose much time in doing that the party had left about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours before, a pretty prospect this was for me, for by the time I had taken some refreshment I calculated they must at any rate be some 4 or 5 miles in advance of me & probably 8 before I should overtake them. On enquiry however, Mr Atkinson⁷² kindly promised to lend me his horse, & I therefore set to at my fare with more cheerfulness than the anticipation of a further walk of some 7 or 8 miles during a pelting rain & with a pair of well fagged legs would otherwise have allowed me to do - I had not stopped to take a regular meal the whole day having only had a bit of bread & cheese besides the basin of bread & milk in the morning, with the exercise I had had, therefore I felt desperately hungry & did ample justice to some cold mutton the bread loaf & a pot of porter, sower [sic] as it was - The rain continued without any promise of abatement, I could not allow it therefore to be any obstacle to my proceeding but started as soon as the horse was ready; I had spent I suppose about an hour at the Inn, my surprise therefore may well be conceived, when after I had gone little more than 2 miles upon the road, I came up with the dray & waggon - the men assured

me they had had so much trouble in ascending the hill being obliged to make two journeys of it, & the bullock in the waggon appearing hardly equal to his task from the slippery nature of the ground, that though they had lost no time they had gained but little way - My business was now to keep company with them till we came up with the Cattle, the rain descending with unremitting steadiness as we proceeded - We had now passed all the Stations intervening between the Town & our own Sections & had yet nearly 30 miles further to go - a most charming prospect we had therefore - Our progress was exceedingly slow & tedious, being obliged at every little pinch we came to to halt the waggon till the dray had surmounted it, then bring the leading bullocks back to assist the one in harness, while our rate of travelling on level ground did not exceed 2 miles an hour - About 5 O'clock having passed over 10 miles of ground, we came in sight of the advance party who had long since halted for the night - they had hobbled their horses & set the cattle at liberty in a well selected spot, pretty well fenced in by water, & had chosen a little bunch of trees as affording the best shelter for our bivouack, though from their decayed & straggling nature we had not much reason to congratulate ourselves on its security - We injudiciously drove the dray & waggon into the

bush under the best shelter we could find at hand & after unyoking the bullocks proceeded to light our fire & make the kettle boil for supper. While this was being done I took the opportunity before it got dark of riding after the Cattle & rounding them up into a mob that they might settle down for the night, & a most unpleasant job it was for though I was wet through yet the riding amongst the bushes on boggy ground brushing the branches as I went along was anything but agreeable. The continued rain it was useless for us to fret about for we could not stop it & under our circumstances were bound to endure it - all of us of course were drenched to the skin, and the ground as well soaked as 8 or 10 hours constant rain might be expected to make it - nevertheless this was to be our bed for the night as it was our seat for supper - We had a large fire blazing before us but this only made sensible of the discomfort of the rain which kept dropping upon us, & multiplying puddles all round us in such close contiguity that it required no little navigation to steer clear of them - The circumstances were not calculated to render our repast one of much gratification, notwithstanding our appetites had a strong counteracting influence - Having no dry spot at hand where we could lay out our table without its being subject to the wet, every thing was rendered so distasteful

that had not the exertions of the day supplied us with appetites too powerful to be nice we should certainly have been satisfied with a mere sight of the provision - The pork was soon standing in water & water in drops was standing on the pork, the bread became a sop, & the sugar assumed the appearance of treacle, while the tea became tea-water - We nevertheless stuck to it with a steadiness that would have left great doubt of our feelings being at all affected by the circumstances - Mr. Johnson proved himself a most desirable companion & by his humour & the exercise of his vocal talent would not allow our spirits to flag - as he had nothing to do however with the expedition that is had no personal interest in it, I felt extremely sorry at the extreme unpleasantness of his situation not altogether unattended with a risk of his health. The herdsman & his wife & child had taken up their berth under the dray by which they were wholly protected from the rain, whereupon I spread my mackintosh under the waggon thinking to enjoy the same security - but I was not long in discovering my mistake for the floor of the waggon being very open & unprotected with a tarpaulin or sufficient quantity of goods to answer the same purpose, the rain ran down upon me through the

cracks & kept me constantly employed in shifting clear of the puddles which

120

continually beset me - they became so numerous at last that after a few hours soaking in the wet during which did not get a wink of sleep, I again sought the fire - there I found John fast asleep under a load of coats &c, & Mr. Johnson trying to follow his example - I seated myself under the tree & attempted to doze away the few hours that intervened before morning, but without any satisfaction, - At daybreak Mr. J. & myself rose & I saddled the tethered horse & rode after the Cattle - I soon got them together & while the rest of the folks were preparing breakfast & fetching up the bullocks, I went after our own horses which had been hobbled - it was not without some trouble that I managed to drive them towards our encampment where by the assistance of another hand they were caught & saddled - We then turned to our miserable meal which was in a still less inviting state than the evening before, but the rain increasing rather than abating combined with the exceedingly uncomfortable night that we had spent too much depressed our spirits to admit of our making much play with it - The meal dispatched, the drovers mounted their horses & set off with the Cattle while I remained to expedite the departure of the dray as much as possible - The bullocks were hitched to the dray & old Strawberry

121

harnessed to the waggon, the rain however having caused their necks to become sore with the yoke, they showed anything but alacrity at starting - in consequence too of the boggy nature of the ground we found great difficulty in getting the dray through the grass, the team several times stopping when the wheels sunk, as if unequal to the task allotted them - after some exercise of perseverance we succeeded in getting the dray so far out of the bush that one wheel worked upon the road & at this precise moment the other wheel sunk up to the axle-tree - as I fully expected at the time here was an end to our progress for that day - We tried every means we could think of to extricate it, dug away the earth and put logs of wood into it to make a firm bottom, the hole however immediately filled with water & made such a complete quicksand of the soil underneath, that, together with the unwillingness of the bullocks all our efforts proved unavailing - I spent I daresay more than 2 hours about this job, for in case of the event turning out as it did I was quite at a loss to know what arrangements to make - Our stock of provisions for the journey was well nigh exhausted, there was a woman & child in the party drenched like the rest of us whom I should be compelled to leave behind without any other means of shelter than such as a few blankets

122

would afford them, the ground was already thoroughly soaked & there appeared no prospect of any cessation of the rain - There was no help for it however we could neither get back nor could we get forward, there we must stay - a sheep Station fortunately had been lately established some 2 or 3 miles off lying a little off the road, I therefore told them they must one & all make the best shift they could & if their provisions failed them borrow some from the sheep Station & I would repay the parties if required, while I would go & assist in the driving of the Cattle & endeavour to borrow some bullocks & return the next day to then help - Accordingly I went on & before I had ridden above a mile met Mr. Johnson and John returning, bearers of the like intelligence that I was about to announce to them - in consequence of the heavy rain which continued to pour down they found it impossible to get the cattle on, they positively would not travel, they had therefore left them grazing at liberty near a beautiful stream of water & upon a mead of luxuriant grass - Upon this I persuaded Mr. J. to take the horse I had borrowed & return home as fast as he could rather than subject himself

to any further risk with so poor a promise of comfort at our tents at the end of his

123

journey - he did so & John & I made the best of our way to the station which was distant some 20 miles - We arrived there in the afternoon glad enough of the shelter of a tent & a dry shirt out of Boucher's dirty stock in the absence of all clean. The rain continued till the middle of the next day & I thought it useless to go in quest of additional bullocks till it ceased - When it did so Boucher & I rode over to Mr. Hack's ⁷³Station about 6 miles off for the purpose of borrowing a yoke of oxen to assist our own team - The stock keeper was not at home but was expected that night, & as the hut-keeper could not give us the information we sought we thought it best to take his advice & wait the arrival of the head-man - It was not till after dark that he made his appearance, & then he expressed himself sorry at not being able to render us the assistance we required, nor was there any chance left of our procuring it any nearer than Mr. Strangways's which was 12 or 13 miles off - To go there was out of the question, so after passing the night at the Station where we then were, we started the next morning to make the best arrangement we could for the furtherance of the party in the Bush - after we had ridden about 7 or 8 miles what was our surprise to meet the Cattle walking leisurely along the road as though bound in the direction we had come, though nobody was seen

124

behind them - we guessed how it was of course & almost immediately had the satisfaction of seeing the dray with Bond & his wife approaching us - fortunately for them a man out of employ happened to pass their encampment who gladly undertook to drive the team, which enabled them to leave the other man in charge of the waggon, as the ground was still too soft & boggy to admit of its being drawn by a single bullock - The dray was extricated from the hole in which it had sunk by the extra exertions which the bullocks after two days recritual were enabled to apply to it, the ground was still very heavy however so that their progress was but slow, and it was as much as they could do to travel as far as the 'Bungala' ⁷⁴the first eligible spot for a bivouack that we came to & distant about 7 miles from our station. Here the party were of course compelled to halt & I got Boucher to remain with them also in order to show them the road the next morning while I took upon me to drive the Cattle on to their destination, the task was one requiring no little exertion & perseverance much more than I had calculated, for the beasts generally especially the calves were both fagged & hungry & part of our course lay across some excellent pasturage through which there was no track to guide them - they therefore

125

dispersed right & left & I was obliged to ride backwards and forwards behind them inciting almost each individual beast for they would not keep their heads off the ground - it took me till just about dusk to reach the tents when I felt myself completely knocked up & delighted that I had accomplished my job at last of which I had more than once almost despaired - We lost but one calf on the journey notwithstanding the unforeseen difficulties we had encountered - This one Bend had carelessly left behind in Mipongo plains, it was the youngest of the lot - Boucher & party made their appearance between 10 & 11 the next day - the following morning I despatched the new bullock driver with the four leading bullocks to fetch the waggon & the day after he also made his appearance - I discovered that this fellow was a downright scamp, he had been amusing himself throughout this day's journey in perpetrating all the mischief he could, & with considerable effect - the consequence was that I dismissed him with the man I had engaged in town the following morning, supposing them to have been accomplices in the mischief that was done, & it was not till

afterwards that I was informed that the latter, so far from countenancing the villainy of the former had done all he could to check him in his rascally behaviour. Here we all were at length, our final removal

126

of bag & baggage was accomplished after experiencing a complication & extent of difficulties in the undertaking of which I had formed no idea at starting. I could wish that all had gone well from this time & that my Brothers from seeing the energy which I never shrunk from displaying to the best of my ability when called upon, & the diligent industry which without flattery to myself I am sure ever characterized my conduct, had been induced to act in concert with me, and with no more honorable feeling than became them have exerted themselves with the same vigour & alacrity to the furtherance of our common interest - but it was far from being so - I had always hoped that upon our obtaining our land, they would find so much to be done, & the property being in part their own, they would feel a sort of pride in doing their best to improve it, that their hands would at all times be more or less occupied - but I surely could never have been more mistaken - I found that it devolved upon me to discover what was required to be done, & if the job was a difficult one, besides doing the greatest part of it myself I must continually remind them of the necessity of completing it & call them from their lounge on the bed or elsewhere to come & give me a hand at it - this of course became so annoying to me, & their indifference to my exertions being at the same time their elder

127

brother so distressing, that I frequently preferred working in sullenness at the task myself than call upon them so repeatedly for services so unwillingly bestowed - their wanton disrespect to me after being hourly witnesses of my industry & perseverance, two thirds of the benefit of which I was bound to award them without any honorable exertions on their part in compensation, was truly aggravating. if a visitor called or happened to be spending some time with us & anything was wanted at the table or for his accomodation, never would they offer to get it, & their unwillingness when asked generally, debarred me from calling upon them - There being some 14 or 15 & sometimes more cows to be milked every morning, I was desirous in order to expedite the business of the day & get the men to their work as soon as possible, that they should rise early in the morning & with me give their assistance in milking, or otherwise employ themselves to advantage - for this purpose I used to call them when I got up about 6 Oclock, but they seldom made their appearance in the yard till we were just finishing the milking - I chided them repeatedly for their laziness & the little interest they evinced in any part of the business - but they did not mind me nor would they be roused to exertion - I at length gave up calling them in the morning & regularly turned out to milk

128

myself - we had generally finished by about 8 Oclock when I returned to the hut to prepare for breakfast, & found them almost unexceptionally in bed, this now became their hour for rising & I was obliged to call them even then, & fetch water for our washing - in fact they allowed me to wait upon them almost entirely & would do nothing without being asked & then often with the greatest unwillingness - It was a most harassing life to me & depressed my spirits materially, and I was sure must work upon my temper to very perceptible disadvantage - indeed I could hardly be civil to a visitor as it was, for my Brothers so eagerly laid hold of such an excuse for their continued idleness - I was kept in this most unpleasant situation I may say for months, waiting to hear from my Uncle

before I dissolved our partnership, as he himself advised me not to determine on anything till he could make me acquainted with the resources I had to expect from my Father's estate⁷⁵ - accordingly I went labouring on upon the Section and trudging to town continually as business frequently required it, till at length the unvarying indolence of my brothers & their manifest disregard for me completely wearied me out & I resolved at all hazards to break off the connection with them without further delay, for my life was

129

hardly endurable - by this time everything had been put into some degree of order at the Station, all from this time was straightforward work, the most laborious jobs had been accomplished - I had fixed the pump & covered the well over, the hut & dairy were completed, the garden all but fenced & the ground in it turned up, the paddock enclosure laid out & commenced & some two or 3 acres of it ploughed, & such trees as were required out of the way grubbed up, while a sufficiency of paling had been split for the erection of any additional out-houses &c. that might be found necessary - there remained in fact little to be done but what was comparatively easy both in the planning & the execution, & all had been effected without I suppose causing my Brothers one feeling of care & but little manual labour - They were evidently pleased when I told them in a friendly manner that I was going up to town to consult with Mr. Johnson as to the fairest & best way for our dissolving partnership, for I found that we could not pull together, & although I did not know what I could do afterwards I nevertheless thought it best to part - They immediately assented; I accordingly set off the next morning & upon my arrival in town found Mr. J. just ready to start upon an expedition into the country on which he expected to be occupied about 10 days - I apprized him of the purpose

130

for which I had come up, but from the short interview we had there was no time to discuss the question I proposed satisfactorily, he merely advised me, as he thought himself from what he had seen that my Brothers & myself would do no good by maintaining a connection, that, though their conduct was to use his own words 'rascally shameful', I should nevertheless part with them on good terms, & make my arrangements with them in an amicable manner without any display of incensed feeling - I had now to deliberate on the method to be pursued in dividing the property & upon my return to the station I communicated to them the idea I had formed as the result of such deliberation, vizt: that we should put the nearest actual value we could upon the land, stock, goods & chattels &c. according to the then depressed state of the market, and that would give us an idea of the proportions each had to expect - This was accordingly done, whereupon, though very much attached to the property which I had had so much trouble first in selecting & afterwards in establishing ourselves upon, yet as I had not means to carry on the place, I offered as the easiest & to me apparently a judicious way of settling the matter to give them up the three Sections of land with all the Stock, implements,

131

&c, & take the remaining four Land Orders - we were to retain our several proportions of interest in the two houses we had in Adelaide, & the funds in the Bank should be equally divided amongst us - This was as an offer that they had not once contemplated, for they knew me to be so much delighted with the sections we had been fortunate enough to obtain, that they fully expected I should at any rate wish to retain them, & Boucher in consequence had made up his mind under the awkward circumstances in which he would then find himself to obtain a situation as Stock keeper somewhere

- The terms I proposed however were at length finally agreed to between us, & the conveyances of the several properties legally drawn up, the expenses of which were shared between us⁷⁶ - My third of the Bank deposit amounted to about from £120 to £130, & as I could not re-establish myself in the Colony with this & it was advisable to retain the Land Orders for a time, I thought my best step would be to revisit England & consult with my Uncle to see if I could make any arrangements with him likely to further my interests, more especially as the expence of living in Adelaide would very soon consume a sum equal to the cost of a passage home - By leaving the land & Stock to my Brothers I had given them the best inducement to industry, in fact thrown upon them an

132

obligation to do something, while if I had retained the Sections they would as it were have been thrown upon their beam ends, and embarrassment cooperating with their strong natural indolence would have probably been the means of inciting them to a reckless life of profligacy, the termination of which it would not have been difficult to foresee - After the conclusion of the proposed arrangements I went up to Town purposing to sail if possible by the 'Cygnet' advertised to take her departure in about a fortnight from that time - unfortunately for me however, a supposed Silver & Lead Mine⁷⁷ was discovered & my Land Order entitling the holder to the selection of it, I was sought by the Discoverers of the Mine & after some preliminary points were settled was induced to enter into arrangements with them for a sort of partnership - I had the ground surveyed & witnessed repeated experiments made by a professed assayer who had followed that business in Cornwall, the results of which were always extremely satisfactory - Specimens of the ore had at the same time been put into the hands of several Chemists, who tested it gratuitously for the satisfaction of themselves & the Colony generally - their evidence however wholly contradicted that borne by

133

the Assayer, Mr. Harris - Two months elapsed before the question of the positive nature & component parts of the ore were so satisfactorily determined by Mr. Davy as to put the matter beyond a doubt, when it was indisputably proved that Mr. Harris had been imposing upon us from the first - Here then was this speculation, which however I must do myself the justice to say I had never been very sanguine about, entirely quashed, after costing me between forty & fifty pounds of unavoidable expence in living in Town, besides other small items connected with the mining affair itself - A week or two before the matter was finally settled, the 'Dumfries'⁷⁸, the vessel which had brought my Brothers and myself to the Colony arrived at Port Adelaide, & her next destination I was glad to learn from the Captain was London via Singapore - This set my mind at rest regarding the route I should pursue home, for there not being any probability of a vessel being layed on for England from Adelaide for some months, & as I should be obliged from a deficiency of the ready cash to give a Bill on England in payment for my passage, I was glad that I had the opportunity of putting my Credit into the hands of one who from previous acquaintance with me had I was sure every confidence in it - .

134

I was at a loss to know to whom I should confide the agency of my Land Orders, there being so few I am ashamed to say in Adelaide whom I could with satisfaction to myself entrust them to - Mr. Johnson, however, the only individual I could think of, kindly volunteered to relieve me of my perplexity, if, as he said, I could not find anyone better - I jumped at the offer though loth to impose upon him a business which from his honorable sense of the responsibility it would involve him in would I was apprehensive be the occasion of no little trouble to him - It is nevertheless satisfactory

to feel that your property is in the charge of one whose integrity is unquestionable and whose judgment you need ever be proud to have the benefit of - The week before the 'Dumfries' was expected to sail I walked down to my Brothers' Station to bid them goodbye - Mr. Johnson went down at the same time on horseback & overtook me about 40 miles from Adelaide, from which place we kept company travelling upon the 'ride and tie'⁷⁹ principle - I accomplished the journey in 2 days, having reached Willunga on the first - We remained in the South 3 days & then started again for Adelaide, purposing to reach it if possible the same day - We saved some miles of ground by taking the Mount Terrible route

135

but the weather during some hours of the day was very unfavorable, so that the Timor Poney on which I was mounted, completely knocked up, when we were within about 4 miles of our journey's end - indeed the labour of endeavouring to keep up with Mr. J. as we travelled, contributed mainly to have the same effect upon me, & I would often have been glad to be relieved of the poney altogether & trust to the faithful services of 'Shanks' mare' - We reached the Reed Beds about an hour after dark, & I was glad of the shakedown at Mr. J's, which I had often tried the comfort of before - On the Thursday following, this being Monday, I repaired to the port to take my berth on board the 'Dumfries' - Col. Gawler,⁸⁰ the late Governor of the Colony, & his family consisting of his wife, a daughter about 17 years of age & 4 children, were to be my fellow passengers, together with Mr. Hall⁸¹ the late Private Secretary - From the almost universal regard which Col. Gawler had won to himself from the Colonists from the devotedness he had manifested to their best interests, in spite of the onerous responsibility which from the boldness of his measures he was voluntarily taking upon himself & the censure he was likely to incur from the Government at home & the British public generally, the Colonists to show their regret at his departure assembled in great numbers on horseback & in carriages

136

for the purpose of accompanying him to the Port - It was a scene of much animation such as had not been witnessed in Adelaide before, and the rate at which the Governor rode increased the liveliness of the picture, the whole body of horsemen being kept at a hard gallop the whole way from the Town - On our arrival at the Port the display of flags in all the ships, with firing of guns on the wharf afterwards, answered by the 'Dumfries' contributed rather to enhance than diminish the gaiety which had characterized the proceedings of the day - We got under weigh about 3 O'clock receiving the noisy adieux of the different ships as we passed along down the river - & soon after the few friends who accompanied us thus far, & John and Mr. Johnson were amongst the number, gave us the parting shake of hand indicative of a feeling very different from that which the loud huzzar of the multitude can be considered just tokens of

137

Voyage Home from Adelaide. 1841.

We did not leave the bar at Adelaide till Thursday morning the 24th of June, although we had been on board since Tuesday afternoon, the wind on Wednesday being too unpropitious for passage down the Gulf - At daybreak however on the 24th we got under weigh, & had a fair passage of nine days characterized by light winds & calms to within 2 degrees of Cape Leeuwin, & from the very favourable weather we had hitherto experienced so different from what we had been led to expect, we began to congratulate ourselves that at any rate within 2 days more we should round the Cape

allowing even for the wind being scant. Our hopes however were soon blighted by a sudden haul of the wind to the westward, strong but not impetuous - the next day its violence increased to that degree that, as we were hugging the land with the aid of the current, it drifted us back to the distance of 60 miles and again put us abreast of King Georges Sound - It continued with unabated violence for the space of 15 or 16 days, veering from S.W. to N.W., during which time we seldom sailed with more canvas than our close-reefed topsails, two days excepted when we were enabled to carry our top gallantsails - occasionally the reefed foresail & close reefed spanker & sometimes

138

the mainsail were set, but this was an indulgence that seldom lasted above an hour or so - We got to windward of the Cape on the 9th July, when the wind shifted to the northward & we being 3 degrees to the South were occupied six days in attaining the latitude of the Leeuwin so that it was not till the 15th that we could consider ourselves clear of this obnoxious headland - from this time we experienced fine weather all the way to Batavia, which place we anchored off on the 29th July, the very day five weeks from that on which we left the bar at Adelaide - a very fair passage in spite of the adverse gales we had encountered at the S.W. extremity of New Holland - As soon as the anchor was dropped the Captain, Col: Gawler, Mr. Hall & myself repaired on shore, having a pull of 4 or 5 miles I should say before us, for the Captain had brought the ship to outside the roads to avoid harbour dues - Some forty or fifty vessels lay at anchor in the Roads chiefly Dutch, the island of Java was first in the possession of the English but ceded by them to the Dutch after the termination of the contest between them for the empire of the seas in this part of the globe - it is exceedingly fertile & produces largely the sugar cane, coffee, gambier⁸², betel nut & many

139

of the spices - The Dutch derive an immense revenue from it, according to McCulloch⁸³ £3,000,000 P annum. Batavia is a nice town, having a river running through it which supplies numerous canals which the Dutch with their usual fondness for water have cut in different directions - these are lined with a pollard tree very much resembling the English lime rendering the streets an agreeable shade throughout - The houses of the Merchants & respectable residents are all on a magnificent scale more like palaces, with their pillared porticos and spacious rooms contrived to admit of a thorough draft which ever direction the wind may blow from, than the dwelling of an ordinary civilian - they appear to be kept in the most perfect order, their whitewashed exteriors and painted jalousies wearing all the freshness of a newly finished building, & affording presumptive evidence of the luxury indulged in in these climates - The verdure of the grass considering it was the heart of the dry season, & that Batavia is only between 6 & 7 degrees from the Equator was surprising - it had all the freshness of appearance peculiar to nearly spring grass, but in the immediate neighbourhood of the Town, which was all that I had an opportunity of seeing, it was kept close

140

fed by the herds of buffalos assisted in a small degree also by the goats - The Captain finding that nothing was to be done here determined to weigh anchor again as soon as possible, accordingly on Saturday evening we all repaired on board again & the next morning set sail for Singapore - We had a moderate passage of 4 days through the Straits of Banca & Rhio & on the morning of Thursday found ourselves at anchor in the harbour or rather the Roads of Singapore amongst some 20 or 30 other vessels - The sail through Rhio Straits is pretty & interesting, being bounded on either side but more particularly the western by innumerable little islands of which nothing scarcely is known - they appear for the most part to be densely covered with wood - their elevation varies much -

Singapore is a commercial settlement belonging to the East India Company by whom it was established through the medium of Sir Stamford Raffles so lately as the year 1819 - Its advantageous site renders it the chief Port of all the Islands of the Indian Archipelago, & hitherto its mercantile business seems to have been of such extent & importance that the colonists have found enough to occupy their attention in this single department, so that

141

it is only just now that they are beginning to turn their thoughts & capital to cultivation - One or two sugar plantations have on a small scale been commenced upon - nutmeg & gambier also in a little measure seem to be inviting the attention of the settler - The Island, separated by a very narrow Strait from the Malay Peninsula, is wholly covered with jungle & this is alarmingly infested with tigers, which within a mile or mile & a half of the Town repeatedly commit depredations, carrying off dogs, horses, buffalos & men almost at pleasure - Although a reward of \$100 is offered for every tiger's head that may be brought into the Town, yet so unprovided is the Colony with the proper means of pursuing them, having nothing but Timor ponies & useless curs for the purpose, that seldom is the Government revenue called upon for the payment of such gratuity - The only plan at present attempted for the apprehension of these ferocious brutes is that of pit-falls - The Town of Singapore itself is densely populated with China men, who seem to be the principal mechanics of the place; Malays, who live principally in their boats (sampan) feeding on rice with a morsel of fish, & Natives of Bengal, Madras &c commonly denominated Clings who being a finer race of men & more mus

142

cular than the Malays perform the more laborious descriptions of employment connected principally with lighterage - The Chinese however as a race are by far the most athletic, muscular characters, their persons being of a remarkably robust stamp, their limbs muscular & well knit - As field labourers they are said to be very capricious and not to be depended on, but the best method of ensuring their willingness is by gratifying their appetites, and as they are not over nice in the choice of their food, preferring it would seem variety to quality, it is not so difficult a matter to please them - Some hundreds of China men have been imported into the island of Mauritius where besides board & lodging & the allowance of a small patch of ground, wages are given them at the rate of \$6 or \$7 dollars P month - After remaining nearly 3 weeks at Singapore busily doing nothing all the time, the Consignees of the 'Dumfries' thought it proper with the Captain's consent to send her up to Pulo Penang, where upwards of 100 tons of cargo were in readiness for her - We weighed anchor accordingly on the morning of the 22nd August & after a fair passage of rather better than 5 days up the Straits of Malacca arrived at our destination - The town is situated on the eastern side of the Island, a narrow channel separating it from

143

the Malay coast - The town itself can boast of no great attractions, but presents a pretty appearance nevertheless on landing at the jetty - A high ridge seems to run in a direction about N & S, through the Island separating a level country, in breadth about 5 miles from the coast, on the eastern side, from the thick jungle which yet characterizes the western position - Pepper, gambier, betel nut & sugar seem to be the favorite productions, but the plantations on the island are not extensive - The Chinese are as yet the principal growers of the Cane which they cultivate on the Malay coast & from which they manufacture a coarse sugar - The Honorable E. I. Company in addition to the Island of Penang purchased from the King of Gueda an extent of territory on the Malay Peninsula

opposite to the said island reaching east about 25 miles & South as far as Malacca excepting two intervening native towns on the coast - this district is styled 'Province Wellesley', is said to be well watered, of an undulating character & possessing very good soil - The climate is also much more tolerable than from the position of the country might be expected & the frequent supplies of rain seem, with the other advantages that the Province lays claim to, peculiarly

144

to befit it for the cultivation of the Sugar Cane - There is indeed every inducement for Speculators to commence such a pursuit, and about 7000 acres have been already leased from the Compy: in the most advantageous sites with this view - The terms are exceedingly liberal, but the land is only disposed of on leasehold & in no case sold - The lessees are allowed to occupy the land rent free for the first two years, from the 2nd to the 5th year a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a rupee P acre is exacted, from the 5th to the 8th $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee, from the 8th to the 20th (I think) 1 rupee, & from the 20th to the 50th 3 rupees P acre, and a fresh agreement is necessary at the end of this term - if however no operations are commenced upon the land during the first 2 years the lease is forfeited but no pecuniary exaction made - The land is covered with a thick jungle but of no very formidable character, which affords a useful supply of timber for the erection of the necessary huts and buildings - the trees are first cut down, & after the removal of such as may be required for immediate purposes on the Estate, are set fire to - This being accomplished the cane is forthwith planted, the stumps being allowed to remain in the ground till they rot, a process, which from the constant succession of rain, & heat of great intensity,

145

is effected in the space of about 2 years - labour is abundant and therefore cheap, so that there appears every promise of success to the capitalist who has enterprise enough to launch forth into so important an undertaking, as that of reclaiming an extent of country yet existing in all the wildness of nature within five or six degrees of the equator, the lords of which are as yet the tiger, the elephant, the alligator and the Rhinoceros - The Chinamen & Malays however penetrate into the interior wherever the rivers seem to invite them without apparent apprehension. While at Penang I had the satisfaction of witnessing one of the monthly feasts indulged by the Chinese - About 8 O'clock in the evening I was attracted to a spot where four streets met by an immense assemblage of Chinamen and a train of palanquins closely mustered, & in company with Capt'n. Thomson⁸⁴ joined the crowd to see what was the cause of such a concourse of people - At one place a stage had been erected & four or five characters in theatrical costume were to be seen upon it acting some Chinese play, the dresses were gaudy enough but though there was a Harlequin amongst the actors

146

demonstrating the performance to be Comic his buffoonery was not sufficient to excite the merriment of a stranger wholly ignorant of the language in which the proceedings were carried on - indeed it seemed to have no other effect upon the Chinamen themselves whose steady gaze at the performers was unrelaxed by a single smile as far as we could see, certainly by none of that jovial laughter which usually resounds in an English theatre during the performance of a Comedy, and which the Chinese show themselves by no means incapable of while sporting with one another in the streets during the day - nearly opposite the stage was a table about 12 feet long spread with fowls and every sort of bon bons, the plates being so thickly placed as to touch each other in every direction - at one end of the table was a large pig and goat, undressed & whole, having the head and every part complete, the entrails however having been taken out, and the liver placed in a plate

beside each - lamps were suspended over the table, having some transparent cloth about them, round which some grotesque little figures were made to traverse - The table was crowded with Chinamen watching with curiosity the motion of the various figures performing their orbits around

147

the light in the centre - The sound of two or three fifes called us away from the scene to witness the devotions of a priest who in a separate sort of stall was worshipping the idol Boodh - there were but few spectators here and to us who did not understand the purpose of the objects we saw having at the same time no interpreter, the scene lost a great deal of its interest - in separate stalls there were also grotesque figures dressed in different styles which we could not guess the meaning of - We hovered about the crowd moving from one place to another for some time but saw no change in the different scenes, but were afterwards given to understand that the finale of the whole was the demolishing of the feast, portions of the meat however being sent to different parties who did not attend the feast. We remained at Penang eight days when having taken in about 130 tons of cargo for London we again weighed anchor & proceeded to retrace our course to Singapore - The Straits of Malacca offer nothing of particular interest - The Sumatra coast being exceedingly low & that on the Malay Peninsula almost equally so, presenting occasionally only a rounded hill of no great elevation, excepting Mount Ophir at the

148

base of which close to the coast is situated the town of Malacca - During the interval that occurs between the change of the N.E. and S.W. Monsoon, denominated the Variables, the Straits generally appear subject to alternate calms & squalls, the latter most frequently accompanied with rain - these sudden bursts of weather are for the most part of greater violence in Malacca Straits than in either those of Banca or Rhios - We reached Singapore in six days which, though the distance does not exceed four degrees, is nevertheless considered a remarkably short passage for the time of year - Here we remained till the 10th of October, the difficulty of obtaining cargo at rates of even moderate remuneration to the ship-owner accounting for the delay we suffered - I whiled away the time as well as the lack of acquaintances & the limits of my pecuniary resources permitted me, and found it monotonous enough withal - My longing anxiety to get home on account of the unpleasant suspense which for upwards of a twelvemonth I have already been enduring not only on my own account but for those whose interests are equally entwined about my heart made me hail the day of departure with unfeigned delight - In addition to Col: Gawler & his family we

149

received two extra passengers, who make up the cabin complement - We have now been 25 days from Singapore & 14 from Angiers, we have been favored with fresh breezes from the S.E. with the exception of the last two days since we left the latter place & find ourselves now in about the same meridian as the island of Roderigos, having had the good fortune to complete about 200 miles on the average for each day - At Angier we stopped to take in stock & provisions, as they are procurable at a less rate than at Singapore - Fowls are at the rate of \$1 P doz: Ducks from \$1½ to \$2 P doz: Geese \$12 P doz: Sheep such as they are, of the Bengal breed, \$2 each, Yams \$1½ P picul of 133 lbs, Batatas or Sweet Potatos \$1 P picul - fair sized turtle \$1 each - It appears strange at first sight that Coffee does not answer well at Singapore, ripening so unevenly as to render it necessary to make several distinct collections of the berries - I think the cause of this maybe traced to the absence of regular seasons, & the almost daily supplies of rain causing a continual germination in the plants - the seasons not being distinguished as in most

tropical regions by the periodical falls of rain but merely by the changes of the N.E. and S.W. Monsoon - The cultivation of the nutmeg tree in some measure occupies the attention of the Settlers, but seems to be a very precarious article of produce - No estimate of the return can be properly entertained till the expiration of the seventh year when there maybe such a preponderating number of male trees as to occasion but a comparatively small crop & very much disappoint the expectations of the grower - A plantation of Cocoa Nut Trees when once arrived at maturity produces a very handsome income considering the absence of all expences in maintaining it - each tree is worth 1 dollar P annum - Fruits are exceedingly cheap at Singapore & good of their kind - but Malacca is most famed for the production of them in both quantity & quality - indeed the Chinese & Malays at certain seasons bring down their junks & proas⁸⁵ laden with them - a rare & most delicious fruit peculiar to this part of the world is the mangosteen - it is about the size of an apple or peach the exterior of the skin which is about a third of an inch

thick is of purple colour, the inside is parted like that of an orange but not so regularly & having not more than 5 or 6 divisions, it is of pure white colour of a soft pulpy nature and rich but peculiar flavour - there are usually one or two seeds distributed amongst the divisions -

Here the Journal ends. John was only twenty and Boucher nineteen when their brother left them to fend for themselves as best they could. Despite a suggestion that Rhodes might return to Australia after consulting his uncle about what he could expect from his father's estate⁸⁶, he never came back. His uncle died on 15th September 1842 with the estate still unadministered. Rhodes as a residuary legatee for life, and crucially of the age of 23, was appointed administrator on the renunciation of Robert Hawthorn, the other executor, on 23rd November 1842. It looks as though there were disputes over the will as evidenced by a case in Chancery in 1843 between Goss vs: James.⁸⁷ Earlier in the same year, John and Boucher had apparently leased or mortgaged two of the three sections so lack of ready money may have affected all of them. Relations between Rhodes and his brothers were never harmonious. His mother's emollient letters to Boucher show that she tried to improve matters between them but they were never really close friends again.

At the time of his marriage at Ilfracombe, Devon, in January 1847, Rhodes was described as a civil engineer. His bride, Mary Lister, had been at the same school in Exeter as two of the daughters of John Gale Vidal, his mother's brother, according to the 1841 census. Her father, James Lister, was "Inspecting Commander, the Coast Guard". Boucher married at his home in the Inman Valley the following year, a widow, Mary Le Brun née Helmore, who brought with her a small son, Samuel. Both her parents were originally from the Isle of Wight but were living in Walthamstow in 1841 where, according to the census, her father was a coal merchant. Her future husband, also Samuel, was living in the same street as an apprentice surgeon. Her parents and sisters left London for South Australia on the *James Turcan* in July 1841 but she did not go with them. She married in February 1843 and their son was born in London in May 1844. They then went to Mauritius where Samuel's father, John Le Brun, was running a Mico charity school and preaching as a non-conformist missionary.⁸⁸ Sadly, a second son and her husband both died in Mauritius and she joined her family

in South Australia. John Vidal married Frances Lucy Fisher in 1851. She was a daughter of James Hurtle Fisher, a lawyer and early supporter of settlement in South Australia, who had arrived with his family on the *Buffalo* with the first Governor, Hindmarsh, and became a very significant figure thereafter, both as a lawyer and a politician.

In July 1853 Boucher and John finally sold the three sections of land in the Inman Valley for £1,285, and together they bought a piece of land in the town of Noarlunga which contained a steam flour mill. Boucher was engaged in rather a lot of land speculation culminating in the purchase with a partner, Peter Hayward, of Canowie for £28,700 in January 1858 which he held in partnership with others until 1893 according to a copy of a deed of sale. However, he was an absentee partner as he had returned to England by the time of the birth of a daughter in 1864. John had left even sooner. He does not appear to have remained a sheep farmer, neither was he described as a "miller" as his brother was on occasions. He managed to get a government position as Colonial Storekeeper on the retirement of the previous incumbent at the end of 1854, which suggests he may have risen through the colonial bureaucracy. There is one suggestion that he returned to England the following year. He was living in Stroud, Gloucestershire according to the 1861 census. He described himself as a "fundholder". There is no suggestion in any subsequent census that he was ever anything else. When he died in 1897 his estate was valued at £9699. Boucher, however, did not describe himself as a "fundholder" but an "Australian Sheep Farmer". He bought a Georgian mansion, Hallsannery, near Bideford, Devon. At his death in 1908, his estate was valued at £39978, so there is ample acknowledgement of the source of his wealth. For him, his father's effort to secure a meaningful and prosperous life for his sons, turned out well.

And what of Rhodes? His path was much more chequered. After his marriage he lived in York with his growing family until moving to Guernsey in the summer of 1861. In both the 1851 and 1861 census he was described as a civil engineer but he was never a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, nor is there any evidence of the work he was engaged in. A letter from his mother to Boucher in 1852 described him as having been in a deep depression ever since his marriage, partly caused by business disputes between the brothers, particularly with John, and more general worries about money. In Autumn 1860 Rhodes was suffering severe back pain and was at Matlock, Derbyshire, taking warm baths. It may be that physical disability decided them to go to Guernsey and to start afresh in a milder climate. His eldest son (also William Rhodes) entered Elizabeth College in the summer of 1861 and was there until 1865, his 18th year. His brother, Herbert Lister, entered the following year. Their contemporaries were James Alphonso and George Herklots sons of John Michael Vos who arrived in Guernsey in 1862 from Calcutta. In the same year, their eldest sister, Emma, with her husband, James Gibson Craig Herklots, visited the family in Guernsey. In a small ex-patriot community one must assume that the James and Vos families were acquainted, as by 1869 William Rhodes was living with the Herklots in Coonor in the Nilgiri Hills of Western India, in charge of their coffee plantation, Benhope.

Rhodes returned to England in 1867. A letter from Caroline James, his aunt, to her son Herbert in about May 1868 notes: "I am sendg you a letter from Cousin Rhodes, which having answd you may destroy when read - you will be sorry to hear of his pecuniary loss ...". The family had settled in Crimchard village in Somerset where their youngest daughter was born in January 1868. In the 1871 census he was described at a "flax spinner". By 1874 he had bought a flax mill and rope walk, Corrie Mill, near Dalwood, Devon and was living at Ridge House, Stockland. From the Corrie Mill accounts it is shown that both Boucher and J.F. Hayward, later his partner in Canowie, were partners in this venture too. Rhodes' son William had returned to England in 1871 and for two years he was employed at the mill where the main production was twine, until the business was wound up in September 1876. From 1875-6, the Herklots family were living in Bristol and Ilfracombe, Devon, but returned to Coonoor in 1877. It is possible that William went back with them. He married their daughter, May, in 1884 and spent the rest of his life in Coonoor as a planter.

Rhode's son Herbert married Boucher's eldest daughter Mary in 1880 and it seems likely that the

only photograph of the three brothers was taken at Halsannery at that time. But even here there is a mystery as the photographer appears to be E. Biel & Co. Porto.⁸⁹ It may be that the techniques developed by this company in producing spectacular reproductions was the reason for using the company.



John (died 1897)

Rhodes (died 1897)

Boucher (died 1908)

- 1 This diary can be read alongside the *The Letter-books of Herbert Jarrett James. 1821-1840* which illuminates much of the story in the journal.
- 2 Editor's pagination
- 3 Thomas J. Leavitt
- 4 Howland & Aspinwall merchants 54 & 55 South
- 5 William Brooks King Registrar of the Court of Admiralty in Jamaica also owned Union Hill in St Andrew. By 1838 he was listed as a bank stockholder in the Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada., late residing in Hamilton.
- 6 Most probably North Church, a Dutch Reformed church at the corner of Fulton and William Street which was completed in 1769. In 1834 one of the two ministers was Rev. Thomas de Witt, D.D. and he was still there in 1856.
- 7 Broadway
- 8 Robert Lennox or Lenox, a merchant
- 9 William Henry Aspinwall
- 10 Apparently built in 1836
- 11 Utica and Schenectady railroad "...commenced operations with the month of August, 1836.." [*The Schenectady Reflector*]
- 12 The 'Rochester' was a side-wheel Hudson River steamer built in 1836 for the North River Line, New York to Albany.
- 13 Presumably in Wall Street.
- 14 The 1836 United States presidential election in New York took place between November 3 and December 7, 1836, as part of the 1836 United States presidential election. New York voted for the Democratic candidate, Martin Van Buren, over Whig candidate William Henry Harrison.
- 15 The Brig Kentucky was built in 1833 for Captain Benjamin Carver and was sailed by him for 10 to 12 years. She then went into the slave business, carrying slaves from Africa to Rio de Janeiro.
- 16 North Carolina.
- 17 Annexed by Britain as part of the Bahamas in 1799.
- 18 Now capital of the Dominican Republic, at that time known as the Republic of Spanish Haiti.
- 19 24th November according to his father's letter-book.
- 20 Jamaica Kingston 1774 6th May 1837 | 1 Enslaved | £29 3S 1D
Josiah Edward Berdoe & Susannah Berdoe Awardees [UCL]
- 21 He acted as letter copier for his father from about 7th December, the date of the first letter copied into the letter-book.
- 22 Possibly Robert Vidal, an attorney, whose older brother was John Gale Vidal who held several estates in St Catherine. Sligoville, established in 1835 in the parish of St. Catherine, was the first post emancipation free village to be established through the industry of the formerly enslaved in collaboration with the Baptist Church in Jamaica. Located to the north of Spanish Town, the settlement occupies lands in an area formerly known as Highgate. It was also the site of an estate and great house of the same name. The area was also known as Government Mountain. Highgate was at one time owned by Howe Peter Browne, the 2nd Marquess of Sligo who was Governor of Jamaica from 1834 to 1836. [<http://www.spanishtownjamaica.com/sligoville/sligovillehistory.htm>]
- 23 A blind or shutter having adjustable horizontal slats.
- 24 "I really don't know"
- 25 Alex Reid Scott of Elin, Scott & Co., Kingston
- 26 Wednesday was 24th May in 1837
- 27 James Cockburn
- 28 In St Dorothy. James Cockburn was receiver in the cause of 'The Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital vs Willis'.
- 29 This Cherry Garden is probably also in St Dorothy, owned by Ralph Bernal, an absentee. This was a sugar plantation. [There was also a Cherry Garden estate in St Andrew and another in St David]. The estate overseer and attorney was Francis McCook. He was mentioned in Benjamin McMahon's *Jamaica Plantership* 'He was fond of jovial company at times, and now and then would indulge in an olympic shine.....Still Mr. McCook was and is a safe man for the protection of property, and the best servant by far in Mr. Bernal's employ.' [p. 68] McCook was a member of the House of Assembly for St Dorothy in 1838.
- 30 12th July 1837
- 31 Could this be the J. Brown who was servant of HJJ and was noted in his letter-book as returning to Jamaica in June 1839.
- 32 No. 284 Broadway [Longworth's American Almanack, New-York Register, and City Directory 1837]
- 33 According to his taste and circumstances
- 34 No one with a name like this appears in the manifest as a passenger on the 'Dumfries'.
- 35 Nore Sand in the English Channel was marked by light vessel [Norie *The new British channel pilot* 1839]
- 36 South East of Cape Town
- 37 Advertisement for "The Defiance" in South Australian Gazette 9th March 1839 ..."In connection with The Defiance, a Mail Cart carrying passengers runs to and from Holdfast Bay to suit the convenience of shipping at anchor there"..

[<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750464>]

- 38 The prefabricated house built by Peter Thompson in London referred to in his father's letter-book.
- 39 Charles Burton Newenham was a J.P. for the province and appointed the first Sheriff of South Australia in March 1840.
- 40 Traditional Australian soda bread baked in the campfire.
- 41 Willunga, south of Adelaide. Post Office opened on 14 July 1839. Slate discovered nearby which spawned a number of profitable quarries which were the economic basis of the town which developed there.
- 42 Thomas Perry, born c1801, was a cabin passenger on the 'Dumfries' but there was another, Alfred Perry listed, born c1811.
- 43 Boarding House run by James Henry in Stephens Place.
- 44 Possibly Huntly McPherson [articles concerning him: *South Australian Register*. 30 January 1841 & 3 July 1841. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/27442200> & <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/27442592>]
- 45 John Brealey born Dawlish, Devon 7th February 1816, married Mary Ann Back, at Dawlish, April 1839. Employed by HJJ to work for his sons in South Australia. Arrived at Port Adelaide on the *Prince Regent* 25th September 1839. John was listed in the manifest as a farmer, carpenter and wheelwright. Their son, Francis Thomas, was born on the voyage. John died in Adelaide 13th October 1889. Mary was also born at Dawlish, 27th July 1819, and died at Hyde Park, South Australia, 9th August 1892
- 46 HJJ had given John Brealey a letter of introduction to Giles Edward Strangeways dated 1st June 1839 [see HJJ's letter-book p. 212-213] In the initial allotments of land, Thomas Bewes Strangeways had got a one acre plot on the north side of Carrington Street (no. 444) [*The Register* (Adelaide, SA : 1901 - 1929) Saturday 27 December 1913 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/57131853>]
- 47 Presumably in Carrington Street.
- 48 A building of rammed earth or clay.
- 49 Hogsheads
- 50 Thomas Bewes Strangeways, older brother of Giles Edward, second son of late Henry Bull Strangeways, of Shapwick, Somerset, J. P., and Colonel Commandant of the Polden Hill (Somerset) Local Militia, was born in 1810. Having served as ensign 71st Foot, he, in 1836, with his brother Giles Edward Strangeways, accompanied Captain (afterwards Rear-Admiral) Sir John Hindmarsh in the Buffalo to found the colony of South Australia. He was present at the inauguration of the colony at Glenelg on Dec. 28th, 1836; appointed Acting Colonial Secretary August 22nd, 1837, on the suspension of Mr. Robert Gouger. Resigned July 13th, 1838; settled on his property at the Inman Valley, where he farmed for many years, subsequently removing to the neighbourhood of Adelaide. He married Miss Lavinia Albina Fowler, and died at Glenelg in 1859 without issue [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Dictionary_of_Australasian_Biography/Strangeways,_Thomas_Bewes]
- 51 James Erskine Calder (1808-1882). He became Surveyor General in 1859.
- 52 Lt.-Col. George Gawler, second governor of South Australia from 17th October 1838 to 15th May 1841.
- 53 Henry Inman (1816-1895) Gawler dismissed Inman on 18th May 1840, after an inquiry revealed potential conflict of interest in supplying forage hay that Inman had bought from John Baker for the police horses. Admitting imprudence, Inman vehemently denied any criminal intent. Appreciated but unlamented, Inman was replaced by Thomas Shuldham O'Halloran as first to bear the title Police Commissioner. [Wikipedia]
- 54 Thomas Shuldham O'Halloran (1797-1870) O'Halloran was first married at Dawlish, Devonshire, on 1 August 1821 to Anne, daughter of James Goss [sister of Stephen Weston Goss, later husband of HJJ's daughter Elizabeth]; she died at Calcutta in 1823, leaving two children. On 10 July 1834 at Newry, County Down, he married Jane, eldest daughter of James Waring, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. The family landed at Holdfast Bay in November 1838 in the *Rajasthan*.
- 55 Edward Charles Frome (1802-1890). He arrived in Adelaide in September 1839 to take up the appointed of third Surveyor General of South Australia.
- 56 In the Adelaide Hills.
- 57 Henry Kemmis, his wife and six children were cabin passengers. He was 3rd. son of Thomas Kemmis (XXV) of Shaen by his wife Mary: born 1812 at Brockley Park: B.A. of Trinity College Dublin, Midsummer 1834: of the City of Oxford and subsequently of Mount Pleasant, Yankalilla, Hindmarsh, South Australia: of Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land, Tasmania in 1858, and in 1866 of Campbell Town, Tasmania: died at Quirindi 29th. September 1899: married 1st. Mary, daughter ofDodd Esq. of Oxford, who died at Yankalilla 29th. September 1848 and is buried there, and 2nd. in 1851 at Rapid Bay, South Australia, Isabella, daughter of William Dagleish Esq. of Newcastle-On-Tyne. [<http://www.kemmisfamily.info/TheKemmisBook/kemmis10.html>]
- 58 Joseph Johnson and his wife Matilda, arrived from London on the *Singapore* 11th November 1839 as cabin passengers. Of the Reedbeds, Adelaide. There is a nice description of his prizewinning cheeses and butter in the *Southern Australian* Tuesday 21 March 1843: " Mr Joseph Johnson, of the Reed-beds, the gentleman to whom the prizes had been awarded for cheese and butter, rose to acknowledge the toast on behalf of the agriculturists. As an agriculturist, he could only say that he was glad to see the prospects of the colony. As to our growing wheat, it was ridiculous for any one now to laugh at us.... And as to the butter and cheese he believed they were good too

(laughter) why, all he could say was that they belonged to the colony, and that a good dairymaid must be allowed to be a good thing (renewed laughter). With English minds, English habits, English industry, and English perseverance, they must do well, although, in the present depressed state of the colony, they were perhaps looking one at another and saying how are we to pay our labourers to-night? As long as their flocks and herds continued to thrive as they did. however, and as long as the present cordial good feeling subsisted among all classes he had no fear of the colony's doing well (cheers)..." [<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/71616476>]

- 59 Possibly Arthur Hardy (1817-1909) a trained lawyer, who emigrated to Australia on doctor's advice, and arrived in the State, then a province, on February 12. 1839. He started life here as a farmer by purchasing a few sheep at £3 per head, and taking up land at Shepley, now known as Paradise, which at that time was beyond the range of the South Australian Company's station. His older brother, Alfred, had come out specifically as a surveyor aboard the 'Cygnet' in 1836 and had married the second daughter of C.B. Newenham of Adelaide in January 1839. In May of that year he was appointed town surveyor. Arthur Hardy kept a diary and there is an entry that suggests that he may have known the James brothers:

"28th [December 1839] Extremely hot. Ther in Sun 145°, drove in to buss drove Mr James out who staid all night
29th S Very hot & close went about a little James staid & slept.

30th Still very hot thermr 106 in shade not very well & staid in town. drove James in & engaged at buss all day drove out not well staid in town.

[PRG 101/1/1 State Library, Government of South Australia]

- 60 Howe an overlander from the Murrumbidgee, New South Wales, arrived with 800 head of cattle in February 1840.
- 61 Charles Hentig son of Wilhelm Hentig, the Prussian Trade Consul in Hull, farmed his absentee father's section immediately to the west of Hahndorf. [https://localwiki.org/adelaide-hills/Adelaide_Hills_-_Local_Identities_%28D'_to_'F'%29]
- 62 Three families of McRae arrived at Port Adelaide from Greenock aboard the *Tomatin* on 10th March 1840. It appears that John Brealey was no longer with them.
- 63 Kimmis's daughter Aphrasia was born at Payneham 23rd April 1841. His next child was born at Yankalilla where he subsequently settled.
- 64 James Powell was born in Gwennap, Cornwall in 1818. He was also on the Dumfries (in intermediate class) under engagement to work for Mr Kemmis. [<http://www.alanblencowe.com/TREE/PowellJames1818.htm>]
- 65 HJJ died 3rd April 1840
- 66 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inman_Valley,_South_Australia with an account of the James brothers.
- 67 Settlement date was 16th September 1840
- 68 Two entries in the name William Rhodes James - District E. section 332, 80 acres; section 2276, 2277, 2322 notes: water source from a chain of ponds, and a well, twelve feet deep, with six of water, and a dwelling-house, out-houses, stock-yard, &c. Abundance of stone for building purposes. [South Australia Landowners 1835-1841 [<http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/46132519>]]
- 69 Edward Castle arrived 19th December 1839 aboard the *Moffat* from London. He travelled in the cuddy. His marriage was noted in 1846 when he was described as Edward Castle Esq., of Hackham, son of the late Thos. Castle, Esq. of Clifton, Bristol. Thomas Castle was a distiller and his will was proved in 1827 which shows that he was a wealthy man. This three sons, Charles, Edward and Frederick were all under-age, so trustees were appointed to manage his estate.
[<http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/fh/passengerlists/SAShips1839.htm> & <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/73841429> & PROB 11/1730]
- 70 Myponga
- 71 "Where on earth"
- 72 William with wife and daughter, and brothers Robert and his wife, Thomas and Joseph, and possibly two sisters, all of Wadingham, Lincoln, arrived on the *Singapore* 11th November 1839. They built the first Bush Inn at Willunga. [<http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/fh/passengerlists/SAShips1839.htm>]
- 73 John Burton Hack (1805-1884) arrived with his wife and children and his brother Stephen, aboard the *Isabella* 9th February 1837. [<http://www.familyhistorysa.info/shipping/passengerlists.html>]
- 74 Bungala river runs from the lower Inman Valled past the town of Yankalilla.
- 75 HJJ's will was proved and probate granted to WRJ4 on 7th May 1840. The other executor was Robert Hawthorn.
- 76 Records in the Land Office, Adelaide: Book 53 - Folio 172 - March 25 1841 - Conveyance by Wm. Rhodes James in fee to John Vidal James & Richard Boucher James as tenants in common of 3 parcels of 80 acres No. 276, 277 & 322 in Provincial Survey marked with letter 'E'. £240 paid in cash - Lease for one year between same parties & dated Dec. 14 1841 accompanying the conveyance. [Transcribed by Robert Sanders Regan, grandson of RBJ, for Samuel Lister James]
- 77 Adelaide Chronicle and South Australian Literary Record Wednesday 7 April 1841

THE LEAD MINE.

We have much pleasure in announcing that the result of the experiments made to ascertain the quantities of lead and

silver contained in the ore lately discovered in the mountains has been most favorable. A meeting of the provisional committee was held yesterday at the Auction Company's Rooms, at which the following report of the committee of assay was read :—

To the Provisional Committee of the South Australian Mining Association.

Your sub-committee, appointed this day week to superintend the assay of the ores from the Wheal Gawler Mine, beg to report that they, in company of several other gentlemen, visited the mine next morning, and brought away specimens that they saw detached from the rock. These they gave for the purpose of analysis to the gentlemen you appointed—Messrs Davy and Weston—who have furnished you with their report. Your committee beg further to observe, that one or more of their number was present during the whole time the processes were going forward, and that at all intermediate times the room in which the same were conducted remained under their lock and key. They have, in fine, to express their full belief that the analyses have been fairly performed, and that the appended report of them is worthy of all credit.

April 6, 1841. JOHN BROWN. JACOB HAGEN. W. BLYTH. G. STEVENSON.

To the Committee of the South Australian Mining Association.

GENTLEMEN—We have the honor to submit to you the report of our examination of the lead and silver ore which has been placed in our hands for analysis, on the correctness of which, as a minimum, we have every reason to believe you may rely. The ore is galena, and consists essentially of a combination of lead with sulphur, containing variable proportions of other substances. Every specimen which we have had an opportunity of satisfactorily examining, contains more or less silver. From the external aspect of the ore, it may safely be computed that it actually contains upwards of 75 per cent, of lead. The analysis of several specimens furnished to us by the deputation of your committee, has yielded an average of silver in the ratio of 12.526 ounces troy to the ton of ore — one specimen giving about 15½ ounces, and another about 9½ ounces. We have not yet had an opportunity of examining any specimen containing the extraordinary large proportion of silver which has been reported in some analysis, and have neither the means of confirming nor the right to call in question the accuracy, of such report. The result we have stated is the proportion of silver actually extracted; but had longer time and more suitable means been at our command it is not unlikely the assay might have been performed without a loss which, we think it probable may have occurred in the product, of 25 per cent or upwards on the silver obtained.

We have the honor to be, &c.

EDWARD DAVY. JAMES WESTON. Adelaide, April 6, 1841.

Other certificates of assay still more favorable were also produced from Drs Cotter and O'Hea, and Mr Harris; whereupon it was unanimously resolved—That the report of the committee of assay be received, with thanks for their attention; also— That it is the opinion of this committee that the Wheal Gawler mine presents great encouragement to the proprietors to commence immediate operations, and that it is worthy the support and confidence of the public. On the above we need scarce remark. The value of the mine must be evident to every one on a perusal of the report of the assay committee; and we believe, from the number of applicants for shareB, that active operations will be immediately commenced. The proprietors, we doubt not, will reap a rich harvest.

[<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/195860702?searchTerm=&searchLimits=l-title=986>][dateFrom=1840-05-27][dateTo=1842-05-18]

78 Arrived in Adelaide 15th May 1841

79 One person starts on the horse, the other on foot. The horse travels faster than the runner; after a previously arranged time has passed, the person on the horse gets off, ties the horse to a tree and takes off running. The first runner comes up to the horse, unties it and trots or gallops down the trail. When the horsed partner reaches the runner, the person on the horse can either get off and exchange with the other partner or can ride on and tie the horse to a tree. [Wikipedia]

80 Gawler had been accused of lavish spending as Governor and had been replaced by George Grey who had arrived on 10th May carrying the letter of Gawler's recall with him.

81 George Hall became the son in law of Colonel Gawler when he married his oldest daughter, Julia, on 21st September 1847. Hall by that time was Governor of Parkhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight. [Annual Register]

82 Gambier, an extract derived from the leaves of *Uncaria gambir*, has been used as a form of catechu (an extract of acacia trees) for chewing with areca nut. Particularly in the nineteenth century, it was economically important as a brown dye and tanning agent. [Wikipedia]

83 John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864) Scottish economist.

84 Richard Thompson, Captain of the *Dumfries*

85 A type of sailing boat originating in Malaysia and Indonesia that may be sailed with either end at the front, typically having a large triangular sail and an outrigger.

86 A Codicil to be added to and taken as part of the last Will and Testament of me Herbert Jarrett James formerly of Spanish Town in the Island of Jamaica but now of Clifton in the City of Bristol in England Esquire which will bears date the thirtieth day of June One thousand eight hundred and thirty six I direct that the Annuity of One hundred and fifty pounds per Annum given by my said Will to my Wife Jane Caroline James shall be increased to the sum of Two hundred and fifty pounds per annum payable in the manner and upon the terms expressed in my said will respecting

the said Annuity thereby given And whereas since the date of my said will my Three Sons being desirous of settling in South Australia I have purchased for them several sections or parcels of Land there and have also expended large Sums for their outfit passage and Settlement in that Country Now I hereby give and devise the said Sections or parcels of Land in South Australia so purchased as aforesaid with the appurtenances unto and to the use of my said Three sons William Rhodes James John Vidal James and Richard Boucher James in equal shares as Tenants in common and their respective heirs and assigns And I declare that the money so expended by me for my said Sons as hereinbefore mentioned shall not be considered as part of or be deducted from their shares of my residuary estate But nevertheless in consequence of my having made such purchase of Land and expenditure as aforesaid I revoke the direction to my Trustees contained in my said will to pay to each of my said sons absolutely the sum of One thousand and five hundred pounds on attainment of the age of Twenty three years And I further direct that the whole of the fourth part or share and also any accrued share of each of my said Sons of and in my said residuary estate shall from and after his attainment of the age of Twenty three years to be held by the Trustees or Trustee for the time being of my said will Upon Trust to pay the interest thereof to such son for life as directed by my said will and with such provision for his maintenance while under that age as therein contained And I also direct that no Child of either of my said sons shall take a vested interest under my said Will unless and until such Child being a Male shall attain the age of Twenty one years or being a female shall attain the age of Twenty one years or marry under that age and that if the first of my said Sons who shall depart this life shall leave no Child who shall attain a vested interest under the direction lastly herein before contained then (subject to the provision next hereinafter contained) the original fourth part or share of such one of my Sons as shall so first die shall go in the manner directed in my said Will respecting the appropriation of the share of any Son on his death under the age of Twenty three years or afterwards on his death and in default of issue as the case may be But I further direct that if more than one of my four Children (including my daughter Eliza Goss) shall depart this life without leaving any Child who shall live to attain a vested interest in my said Residuary Estate then the shares as well Original as accrued of each of my Children who shall so die without leaving any Child who shall attain a vested interest (except the first of my said Children who shall so die) shall be held Upon Trust for all the present and future born Children of my brother William Rhodes James to be equally divided between them share and share alike as Tenants in Common and their respective executors administrators and assigns it being my intention that no more than the share of one of my Children departing this life without leaving any Child who shall attain a vested interest in my said Residuary Estate shall survive to and accumulate upon the others of my said Children I direct that the power given by my said will to my said Trustees or Trustee to apply income in the maintenance education and support of my Sons until their shares shall become vested shall extend to all persons being minors who may from time to time be absolutely or presumptively entitled to any interest in my said Residuary Estate during their respective minorities I revoke the legacy of fifty pounds Jamaican Currency given by my said will to my nephew Haughton James I give to each of my nephews William Rhodes James and Herbert Jarrett James the sum of fifty pounds sterling for the purchase of books which may be useful to them in the prosecution of their studies and in all other respects I confirm my said Will In witness whereof I the said Testator have to this Codicil set my hand this fourth day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty. Herbert J. James - signed and declared by the above named Testator Herbert Jarrett James as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament in the presence of us present at the same time who in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses the name Caroline Jane James being first altered to Jane Caroline James in the first sheet - I, George Little Atty at Law Bristol - I, Rowland Taylor, his Clerk.

Registered will PROB 11/1927

Proved at London with a Codicil 8th May 1840 before the worshipful John Danbury Doctor of Laws and Surrogate by the oath of William Rhodes James Esquire the Brother one of the to whom admon was granted having been first sworn duly to administer - power reserved of making the like grant to Robert Hawthorn the other Executor when he shall apply for the same

Note above: On the 23d day of Novr. 1842 Admn with the Will annexed of the goods Chattels & Credits of Herbert Jarrett James formerly of Spanish Town the Island of Jamaica but late of Clifton in the city of Bristol Esq. deceased left unadm. by William Rhodes James Esqr. deceased whilst being one of the Execs. and one of the Residuary Legatees in trust named in the said Will was granted to William Rhodes James [illegible insert] Esq the lawful son and one of the Residuary Legatees for life named in the said Will having been first sworn duly to administer Robert Hawthorn the other surviving. Executor & survg. residuary Legatee in trust having first renounced as well the probate & execution of the said will and Codicil as letters of Administration with the said Will & Codicil annexed of the goods of the said deceased as by acts of Court X appears the said William Rhodes James having attained the age of 23 years.

87 *The London Gazette* June 23rd 1843

88 An account of meeting with John Le Brun in James Backhouse *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa* (1844)

89 See <https://web.fe.up.pt/~jmf/stereo/pt/pteb/pteb-info.htm>