

**FOR THE BEST OF REASONS:
THE EVANDALE SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY
1847-1861**

by

Keith E. Adkins B.A. Honours

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**School of History and Classics
University of Tasmania**

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Statement of originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgment is made in the text of the thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of books, libraries and reading in colonial Tasmania, conducted largely through an examination of the records of the Evandale Subscription Library in the period 1847 - 1861. The aims of this study are threefold. Firstly, it intends to show the foundations and traditions upon which the Evandale Subscription Library was established, emanating both from Britain and from within the colony. Founded as a penal colony, in 1803, within a generation Tasmania also became a destination for free British settlers seeking to improve their circumstances at the farthestmost outpost of the Empire. The decline of the Aboriginal population following the appropriation of their land, the latter's suitability for agriculture, and the availability of convict labour, left few impediments for settlers, beyond the isolation they experienced and the absence of sufficient means for intellectual recreation and practical enquiry. As a result, some of the earliest community-based libraries in the Australian colonies were established in Tasmania.

Secondly, it aims to reveal the borrowing habits of library subscribers, from evidence of borrowing rather than from the incidence of bookselling, or merely from availability, given the evidence of library catalogues. The incidence of books and reading in emerging societies has long interested historians. Mostly such enquiry is hampered by the lack of hard data. For Tasmania, the fortuitous survival of the loans and borrowing register of the Evandale Subscription Library provides evidence of the books borrowed by library subscribers at a critical time in the colony's development, coinciding with the cessation of convict transportation and the emergence of representative government. This study also investigates the sharing of books and periodicals within the home or family unit, particularly by women. As a means of collating this data, to determine the borrowing habits of subscribers, an electronic database was constructed from the library's catalogue of books and loans register.

Thirdly, this study aims to demonstrate the importance of the Evandale Subscription Library (and libraries, books and reading generally) in the lives of individuals in the colony, as a means of recreation, of self-improvement, of maintaining links with their homeland, and to the building of a civilised society, in the British model.

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Launceston

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>ADB</i> | <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> , Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967-1976 |
| AOT | Archives Office of Tasmania, Hobart |
| <i>Catalogue</i> | The Evandale Subscription Library catalogue and loans register |
| <i>Database</i> | Electronic database of the <i>Catalogue</i> |
| <i>DNB</i> | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , London: Smith Elder, & Co., 1885-1900 |
| <i>NSTC</i> | Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue Series 1&11 (1801-1870) Compact disc: Averro Publications Ltd, 1996 |
| <i>Pioneers Index</i> | The Tasmanian Pioneer's Index 1803-1899. Compact disc: RMIT & Archives Office of Tasmania, 1993 |
| QVMAG | Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston |
| THRA | Tasmanian Historical Research Association |
| TMAg | Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart |

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Introduction

The first European settlers in Tasmania encountered little there that was familiar. In the place of civilisation as they knew it, they encountered a people whose established culture they failed, or did not want, to understand. Moreover, there were differences in climate, vegetation and landscape. The settlers' homeland was a world away both in thought and distance. The first wave of settlement signalled the demise of the Aboriginal people and the establishment of a society based on convictism. All but the most brutal or ignorant must have been uneasy with both the transformation and the outcome.

The second wave brought British free settlers who came to improve their circumstances in a country that offered land and labour on generous terms. Among them were those who, in 1822, brought European settlement to Bothwell. Those who settled at Evandale included a number of emancipists who sought the same advantage as the free arrivals. For many, their gain was tempered by isolation and some free settlers returned to Britain while others sought to preserve British customs and establish British institutions in the colony. Their reasons included, firstly, to maintain those traditions with which they were familiar or to which they aspired and, secondly, to found a society along the same lines.

This study describes two groups, one at Bothwell and one at Evandale, that founded community-based libraries in Tasmania. What the founders attempted was not unique. By the 1830s such institutions were commonplace in Britain, particularly outside the metropolis, and even more so in Scotland. What was unique were the conditions under which it was effected. As a result of extraordinary records, which enable the study of book and library practices, this study is focused on the Evandale community. Had such records survived for Bothwell, a similar story may have been told. A further difference is that, in the Reverend Robert Russell, Evandale had an outstanding pastor for longer

duration, who left material evidence of his endeavours, including a library. It will be shown, however, that Bothwell set an example for Evandale to follow.

The main arguments presented are that Russell founded the Evandale Library according to a plan whereby he established a church, a library and a school, as a means of serving the district in both a Christian and a temporal sense; that he sought to provide uplifting and instructional literature as a means of increasing individual and community worth; and he also sought to provide recreational reading for a society in isolation. Two further claims are made. Firstly, it is proposed that he symbolised the ideals of education and self-improvement embodied in the Scottish Enlightenment, in the church he built for Evandale; similarly evocative was the schoolhouse building he built and into which he moved the library. Secondly, that it was his Bothwell experience that provided the inspiration and example upon which the Evandale Library was founded. This study will show that the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment were embodied in both communities through the energies of their Scottish founders.

This study recognises the establishment and development of the library, and defines the ideals and traditions upon which it was founded. It will identify the role of the founder, his associates, the donors and the borrowers, and evaluate the books that were borrowed in their intellectual context. It will show that the Evandale Library was the result of multiple foundations and traditions and that, in addition to serving the recreational, intellectual and cultural needs of library subscribers, it was established as a means of improvement for this emerging society, at a decisive time in the colony's history. This study follows upon the work of historians of the book, in Australia and overseas, as a means of ascertaining practices surrounding libraries, books and reading in colonial Tasmania and of increasing our understanding of this particular community.

Furthermore, it brings into prominence the role of books and reading in the lives of colonial settlers, and recognises the establishment of a society based upon the Scottish model. It provides hard data for the borrowing habits of nineteenth-century library subscribers, rather than evidence of what may have been available through booksellers and libraries from advertisements and catalogues. It reveals the power of books and libraries, at a time when communications were limited, to transmit ideas and culture

across the globe and to maintain links with Britain. The period ends in 1861, when the books were renumbered, and the accuracy in recording the borrowing data waned, making comparisons less certain. It was also when Russell took a period of leave to return 'home' to Scotland, and when his endeavours were firmly established.

1 Historiography of the book

The history of the book is a recent phenomenon that, during the last half-century, has gained acceptance as a means of informing the history of societies and culture. The utility of the term is to distinguish new sorts of work on the history of the book from older styles of bibliography, and not to create a new sub-discipline of history. Book history takes many forms. A pioneering work was the publication of Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader*, a social history of the nineteenth-century mass reading public, published in 1957. Altick describes the 'common reader' as those 'who became day-by-day readers for the first time ... as literacy spread out and printed matter became cheaper'.¹ He describes the work 'an attempt to study, from the historian's viewpoint, the place of reading in an industrialised and increasingly democratic society'.² Concurrently, in France, in 1958, was the publication of *L'Apparition du Livre* by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, which was translated into English and published as *The Coming of the Book* in 1976. The French study covers the period 1450 to 1800. Febvre and Martin discuss the impact of printing and the book as a force for social change.³ Elizabeth Eisenstein, in 1979, wrote *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, in which she discusses the cultural and intellectual aspects of the printing revolution that replaced medieval manuscript production in early-modern Europe.⁴ While bibliography customarily defined books as objects and commodities,

¹ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. p.7.

² *ibid.*, p.1. For a discussion about the progress of issues raised by Altick (and others), see Jonathan Rose, 'Reading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.53, 1992, pp.47-70.

³ See Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, London: Verso, 1990.

⁴ See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. The original work was in two volumes.

and often continues to do so,⁵ works such as these opened up new opportunities for the study of books and reading by social historians.

In *The Order of Books*, published in 1994, Roger Chartier examined readers, authors and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Chartier states his aim

to initiate more general reflection on the reciprocal relations between the two meanings that we spontaneously give to the term 'culture'. The first designates the works and the acts that lend themselves to aesthetic or intellectual appreciation in any given society; the second aims at ordinary, banal practices that express the way in which a community - on any scale - experiences and conceives of its relationship with the world, with others, and with itself.⁶

In this way, Chartier is suggesting the need to consider the relationship between the cerebral and creative aspect of books and literature and the manifestation of ideas and actions in the lives and practices of readers. Similarly, Robert Darnton has studied reading through the recent centuries and across national borders. Darnton states that the 'records of lending libraries offer a better opportunity to make connections between literary genres and social classes, but few of them survive'.⁷

Paul Kaufman has studied community-based libraries in Britain.⁸ Community-based libraries are defined as subscription libraries and the like, established by communities for reasons other than commercial gain. Foremost is his study of the borrowing data of the Bristol Library for years 1773-1784. A smaller study is of the Lichfield Cathedral Library. Kaufman states of Bristol that 'the record is unique because it is the only one now known to have survived in the archives of English city libraries of the 18th century'.⁹ The survival of this data has allowed analysis of community-based library

⁵ See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

⁶ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994. p.ix. The work was first published in France as *L'ordre des livres*, in 1992.

⁷ Peter Burke (ed.), Robert Darnton, 'History of Reading', *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994, p.147.

⁸ Paul Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library 1773-1784*, Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960. Paul Kaufman, *Libraries and their Uses*, London: Library Association, 1969. Paul Kaufman, 'The Rise in Community Libraries in Scotland', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 59, 1965, pp.233-294. Paul Kaufman, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', *The Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol.57, part 7, 1967, pp.1-67. Paul Kaufman, 'Readers and their Reading in Eighteenth-Century Litchfield', *The Library*, Fifth series, vol. 28, 1973, pp.108-115.

⁹ Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library*, p.3.

borrowing that is so seldom possible. With Bristol, in an attempt to explore taste, Kaufman lists the number of times each book was borrowed. He states, 'Obviously, in the seventy-seven folio registers with a complete record of every loan from 1773 to 1857 there lies a vast treasury of social and intellectual history awaiting exploration - a record unique in the distinction of the borrowers not only in Britain but anywhere else in the world'.¹⁰ Apart from reference to Coleridge, Southey and other notable subscribers, he does not attempt to identify the borrowers.¹¹ His study of the Lichfield Cathedral Library briefly discusses books and borrowers.¹² Of libraries generally he states that 'not a single record of any borrowings from any commercial library in England is known to survive' from the eighteenth century.¹³

Concerning Scotland, Bill Bell, John Crawford and Fiona Black have examined emigrant reading, the provision of libraries, and bookselling practices. Bell has reported on reading practices by Scottish emigrants, both on board ship and following resettlement in the British colonies.¹⁴ Of book history he suggests that to 'recognise the importance of textual communication to the emergence of societies is to begin to realise some of the ways in which the history of the book is now beginning to inform the history of culture'.¹⁵ Of particular relevance to this study, Bell argues that books and reading contributed to settlement, by means of instruction and recreation, and by preserving identity and establishing community,¹⁶ in a manner argued in this present study.

¹⁰ Kaufman, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', p.32.

¹¹ loc.cit.

¹² Kaufman, 'Readers and their Reading in Eighteenth-Century Litchfield'.

¹³ Kaufman, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', p.10.

¹⁴ Bill Bell, 'Print Culture in Exile: the Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, vol.32, no.2, 1998, pp.87-106. Bill Bell, 'Bound for Australia: shipboard reading in the nineteenth century', Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Journeys through the Market*, Kent: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999, pp.119-140.

¹⁵ Bell, 'Print Culture in Exile', p.102.

¹⁶ Bell also acknowledges, and points to the shortcomings of, the work of Benedict Anderson who links nationalism with what he terms 'print-capitalism', and of Elleke Boehmer, who identifies print culture as a mechanism of Empire. Bell suggests: 'Helpful as they are in defining the mechanics of imperial ideology, such totalising perspectives do little in the end to account for the actuality of settlement life'. *ibid.*, pp.95-96. For Anderson see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991. For Boehmer see Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

John Crawford has examined the origins and development of library provision and community-based libraries in Scotland, from the 16th to the late 20th century.¹⁷ By the use of computer technology he has constructed electronic files in which to store data for analysis. Of special relevance to this study and Evandale, Crawford suggests:

that library provision in Scotland has traditionally been based on small administrative, local community centred roots ... These traditions originated in small market towns and villages and although they spread to large towns and cities the small population unit remained the essential base for library provision.¹⁸

Crawford reports on libraries rather than on titles in collections or their popularity with borrowers. He confirms, however, his agreement with the 'long-accepted thesis that education and education-related provision has been a major force in Scottish history'¹⁹ and clearly a prime motive in the establishment of community-based libraries.

Fiona Black has examined the availability of books in Canada and the Scottish contribution during the years 1752-1820.²⁰ Black, too, has gathered material for analysis by the means of a customised electronic database. The objectives of Black's study are directed towards business procedures rather than reading practices. While all three, Bell, Crawford and Black, have not reported on library borrowing, in the manner of this Evandale study (undoubtedly due to the criteria they have set and the limitations of data), their work has contributed towards this study by establishing benchmarks for Scotland.

In New Zealand, Keith Maslen has written on the founding of community libraries in the Otago region, in particular the Naseby Athenaeum founded in 1873.²¹ He states that 'before 1862 libraries had been few, various in nature, scarcely public and usually short lived'.²² Maslen suggests that the 'whole subject of the reading habits of early

¹⁷ John C. Crawford, 'The origins and development of societal library activity in Scotland', MA thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1981. John C. Crawford, 'Historical models of library provision: the example of Scotland', Ph.D thesis, Glasgow Caledonian University, 1993.

¹⁸ Crawford, 'Historical models of library provision: the example of Scotland', p.iv.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.313.

²⁰ Fiona Black, 'Book Availability in Canada, 1752-1820, and the Scottish Contribution', Loughborough University, Ph.D Thesis, 1999.

²¹ Keith Maslen, "'Two Books for Every Horse": A Nineteenth-Century Regional System for Otago and Southland', *The Culture of the Book, Essays from two Hemispheres in Honour of Wallace Kirsop*, Melbourne, BSANZ, 1999, pp.397-409.

²² *ibid.*, p.397.

settlers calls out for exploration'.²³ While the Otago region has certain parallels with Evandale, given the extent of Scottish settlement, Maslen accounts for the emergence of public and community libraries at a later time and under different circumstances, without data comparable with this present study, thereby providing small basis for comparison.

In Australia, Elizabeth Webby²⁴ and Wallace Kirsop²⁵ have reported bookselling practices and the availability of books within the colonies. Webby has identified the extent to which books were advertised for sale and offered by public auction. Webby has also written about the development of bookselling practices and the emergence of circulating and subscription libraries, providing evidence of books being imported into the colony, privately and for resale, and the establishment of lending libraries and reading rooms. She does not produce, however, 'much evidence about what works were actually purchased, borrowed, or read',²⁶ suggesting that such evidence is scarce.

Kirsop's principal work on colonial Tasmania relates to publishers J. Walch & Sons of Hobart, and their trading activities. In an observation that gives support to this present study on Evandale, he suggests that 'the cultural life of the towns on the road between Hobart and Launceston is often easier to reconstruct both in broad lines and even in detail than that of much larger centres on the mainland'.²⁷ Similarly, and pertinent to this study, and undoubtedly mindful that book history is frequently impeded by the absence of hard data, he states, 'The cultural historian ... is foolish to ignore statistical

²³ *ibid.*, p.402.

²⁴ Elizabeth Anne Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century', Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971.

²⁵ Wallace Kirsop, 'Books and Readers in Colonial Tasmania', Michael Roe (ed.), *The Flow of Culture: Tasmanian Studies*, Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1987, pp.102-121. Wallace Kirsop, 'Bookselling in Hobart Town in the 1840's', *Books for Colonial Readers - The Nineteenth - Century Australian Experience*, Melbourne: BSANZ occasional publication No.5, 1995, pp.59 - 76 plus notes. Wallace Kirsop, *Towards a History of the Australian Book Trade*, Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1969. Wallace Kirsop, 'The Walches as Sellers of Music and their Customers in the 1840s', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.25, Nos 3 & 4, March 2002, pp.7-13.

²⁶ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia', vol.1, p.319.

²⁷ Kirsop, 'Books and Readers in Colonial Tasmania', p.105.

data when they are readily at hand'.²⁸ Neither Webby or Kirsop has reported on subscription library borrowing in Tasmania in the manner of this present study.

Book historians have made a particular study of women's reading. The study of women's reading of the nineteenth century (and earlier) involves special difficulty; less evidence is available because of their lack of visibility as book buyers or library patrons. A noteworthy exception is Elizabeth Fenton's purchase of French novels, from Walch and Sons, Hobart, in the 1840s.²⁹ Women readers have been subjected to generalisations regarding their reading habits, particularly the perceived undesirability of reading novels. Among recent studies, Jacqueline Pearson has examined women's reading in Britain 'both as a way of clarifying our understanding of women's cultural position in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and as a way of better comprehending the authors ... who wrote with this audience in mind'.³⁰ Similarly, Kate Flint has examined the period between the accession of Queen Victoria and the outbreak of World War I, and what she terms the 'topos of the woman reader, and its functioning in cultural debate'.³¹ Across the Channel, Martyn Lyons has examined the manner in which in France, following the Revolution of 1789, the reading of women, workers and peasants was sometimes feared because it raised the expectations of women and spread socialist ideas among the lower class.³²

Elsewhere, Lyons has suggested that book history 'is no longer limited to the meticulous, but narrow concerns of bibliographers and historians of printing technology [but that the] social role of the book must be analysed by studying its market, methods of distribution and, ultimately, its reception'.³³ Of Lyons's work, his editor, David Walker, states:

Lyons commends new approaches to the book and reading...The social contexts in which people read, their physical surroundings...their expectations, the time

²⁸ Kirsop, 'Bookselling in Hobart Town in the 1840's', p.59.

²⁹ Kirsop, 'Books and Readers in Colonial Tasmania', p.114.

³⁰ Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain 1750-1835*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.ix.

³¹ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.viii.

³² Martyn Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001.

³³ Martyn Lyons, 'Texts, Books, and Readers. Which kind of cultural history', David Walker, Julia Horne and Martyn Lyons (eds.), *Books, Readers, Reading*, Deakin University: Australian Cultural History, 1992, p.1.

they spend, their class, their gender are subjects of real interest to those seeking ways in which reading practices reveal the workings of our culture.³⁴

Of particular relevance to this study, Lyons singles out the catalogues of lending libraries as 'important sources, especially when they can be compared with evidence of levels of usage and actual reader preferences'.³⁵

The difficulty that applies to women's reading of the nineteenth century also applies to children's reading. Both clearly suffer from their lack of visibility as library patrons and book buyers. Of the libraries examined in the course of this study, with the exception of the Evandale Library there is no data for children's usage.³⁶ There is also the extent to which the study of children's reading is likely to have been motivated by educational and social concerns. Women's reading has attracted the attention of students of gender studies and those seeking to address the imbalance of the sexes of earlier centuries.

Finally, Michael Roe³⁷, Manning Clark³⁸, and John Gascoigne³⁹ have made a particular contribution to this study by providing intellectual support for the arguments it presents. Clark has described the nation's founders as 'The Sons of the Enlightenment', thereby validating the term.⁴⁰ Roe, acknowledging the influence of Clark in his work, has defined Moral Enlightenment as the dominant force in colonial Australia. Roe describes the phenomenon as

A growth from eighteenth-century thought, this faith mingled Romantic, Protestant, and liberal attitudes. It was developed especially by upholders of secular culture, and of the Temperance movement, who urged that everyone could, indeed must, become good, wise, prosperous, and responsible ... Perception of so happy a fate, and striving towards it, would impregnate society and bind it together.⁴¹

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.vi.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.9.

³⁶ Of later times, Lyons and Taksa have observed: 'Reading surveys show that, in any English speaking country, at any point in the twentieth century, girls read more than boys'. M. Lyons and L. Taksa, "'If Mother Caught us Reading...!': Impressions of the Australian woman reader 1890-1933', *Books, Readers, Reading*, p.45.

³⁷ Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965.

³⁸ C.M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 6 vols, 1962-1987.

³⁹ John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁴⁰ Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol.1, p.42.

⁴¹ Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, p.6.

Roe, in his explanation, gives prominence to the example of F. M. Innes, and his discussion on American Transcendentalist, Ellery Canning as an example of 'the new faith', when Innes was newspaper editor of the *Tasmanian*.⁴² Given that Innes was an Evandale Library subscriber, Roe's definition holds particular relevance to this study.

Gascoigne has defined the Enlightenment, in the Australian context, as 'an attitude of mind rather than a formal creed'.⁴³ Given that in continental Europe the Enlightenment was often at odds with Christianity, in that belief based upon Creation was challenged by the discourse of science, he suggests that 'what is striking about Enlightenment in its English-speaking and, more particularly, Australian guise is the extent to which the impulses of the Enlightenment and Christianity could coalesce'.⁴⁴ Furthermore, he suggests that its 'most durable and potent bequest ... was the idea of progress'.⁴⁵ Gascoigne's comments are also of particular importance to this study.⁴⁶

2 Aims of the study

This study aims to identify the foundations and traditions upon which the Evandale Library was founded; to determine from where the books were obtained; to reveal the workings of the library for years 1847-1861; to identify the identities and borrowing habits of its borrowers; to consider borrowing and borrowing patterns in relation to external events and circumstances; and to demonstrate the role and importance of books and libraries in colonial Tasmania. In addition, this study aims to consider the relationship between the library, the individual, and the community. This study is timely on two counts: firstly, because the history of books and reading is increasingly being

⁴² *ibid.*, p.149.

⁴³ Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p.1.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.6.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.69.

⁴⁶ See also George Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture*, Melbourne: Cheshire, 1957 and Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire, neo-classical culture in New South Wales 1788-1860*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986. However, both focus instead on mainland Australia. Nadel goes as far as to introduce *Australia's Colonial Culture*, a work in which he links the Scottish Enlightenment with Australian colonisation, by stating that 'The centre of attention is the colony of New South Wales though in keeping with contemporary practice the name Australia is often used instead' (p.1). To this extent Tasmania is forgotten.

recognised as a means for understanding emerging societies. A number of professional associations have been established, internationally and locally, to provide research support and a meeting forum.⁴⁷ Similarly, the history of books and reading is the subject of a growing body of literature.⁴⁸ Secondly, this study is timely because of the growth of Tasmanian historical studies. In addition, societies and archives have been established to meet the demands of professionals and other persons interested in developing an understanding of the colony's founding.⁴⁹

3 Research questions

This study explores two issues. The first relates to the library. The second relates to the borrowers and their borrowing habits. Questions relating to the library are: what were the intellectual and social foundations on which the library was founded; from where were books obtained; what were the procedures in establishing and running the library and by whom; and to what extent was borrowing the result of external circumstances? The questions relating to borrowers and the borrowing are: who were the borrowers and what did they borrow; what were the preferences and borrowing habits of women; what was the participation of children; and what was the relationship between the library, the individual, and the community? Each of these has been investigated by means described in the Methodology (p.12).

4 Borrowing and reading

This study acknowledges that borrowing and reading are separate acts. While the act of borrowing does not guarantee reading, it is an act of purpose, and clearly one that indicates an interest, if not an intention, that leads to reading. Furthermore, The data upon which this study is based allows for examining subscriber borrowing, rather than just book availability. Of the studies discussed in the previous section on book

⁴⁷ Internationally, the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP). In Britain, the British Book Trade project. In Australia, The History of the Book in Australia (HOBAS).

⁴⁸ See the Bibliography for published and unpublished works consulted in this study.

⁴⁹ In Tasmania, the Tasmanian Historical Research Association (THRA) and the Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies. In Launceston, the Community History division of the QVMAG and the Launceston History Society. In Evandale, the Evandale History Society.

historiography, Kaufman's examination of the Bristol and Lichfield libraries also discuss borrowing, but are less extensive than this present study.⁵⁰ While it is not suggested that Evandale Library borrowers read all the books they borrowed, no comparable study of borrowing has been attempted for an Australian library.

5 Methodology

The methodology has three elements: The first was the use of an electronic database constructed from the library's catalogue of books, donations and loans register, as a means of collating data. Fewer than one percent of entries in the loans register were considered doubtful due to legibility and were excluded from the results. Details of the database construction are given in Appendix H. The second element was research on background and comparative aspects of the library from documentary sources. As a means of ordering these sources, two electronic files were made (detailed below). The third element involved field trips undertaken to provide a context for the study and examine the sources and complement the data (also detailed below).

Documentary sources

In 1996, the manuscript catalogue of books and loans register of the Evandale Subscription Library, held in the archives of the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery in Launceston, was made available for study. This volume lists the books and periodicals held by the library, the donation of material and its donors, and the subscribers and their borrowing, dating from the library's inception in 1847.⁵¹ This

⁵⁰ Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library*; Kaufman, 'Readers and their Reading in Eighteenth-Century Litchfield'.

⁵¹ The volume was added to the Museum's collection following the library's dispersal fifty years previously. With an ageing book stock and declining patronage, in 1946, at the request of Mr Donald Mackinnon, of *Dalness*, (a library trustee and descendant of Allan Mackinnon, a founding donor and subscriber), the Museum's director, Mr N.J.B. Plomley, surveyed the library's residual collection and made recommendations concerning its dispersal. In consultation with the State Library of Tasmania a quantity of the volumes were added to that collection, a number entered the collection of the QVMAG. See correspondence QVMAG files. With the exception of the manuscript catalogue and loans register (and the published Rules and Catalogue of 1857), other records of library management have not survived.

volume is unique in colonial Tasmania and possibly the English speaking world.⁵² No study of this data has been made by historians or bibliographers.

In addition, documentary sources included: books, newspapers, published and unpublished material, records held privately and in libraries, museums and archives in Tasmania, mainland Australia and Britain. All sources are cited in the Bibliography and footnotes. The most significant have been the *Clyde Company Papers*⁵³ and *The Narrative of George Russell*,⁵⁴ concerning the Russell family and their circle, and the *Launceston Examiner* and the *Cornwall Chronicle*, the two newspapers that served the Evandale region. Unfortunately, few letters or diaries of Evandale Library subscribers have been discovered. They would have been most useful in providing information and insight to confirm how subscribers regarded the library and the books that they borrowed, and to corroborate the findings.

As a means of ordering material, an electronic 'Dateline' file using *Microsoft Word* version 7 was constructed to record, chronologically, reports in the *Launceston Examiner* and the *Cornwall Chronicle* concerning Evandale, the library, its subscribers, and events in the district. An electronic 'Evandale Subscriber file' was constructed, alphabetically by surname, from within the former file and from the documentary information listed above.

Field research

Field research yielded the following data. In Scotland, examples of Greek Revival architecture were examined and archival evidence concerning Robert Russell's formal education, was located at the University of Edinburgh. In mainland Australia, the correspondence of John Richardson Glover, at the Mitchell Library; copies of nineteenth-century periodicals, at the National Library of Australia; and documents and correspondence belonging to the family of George Russell of *Golf Hill*, at the State Library of Victoria, were examined. In Tasmania, there were surviving volumes from

⁵² Notwithstanding the survival and importance of the Bristol library data, the Evandale data is noteworthy for its detailing, its listing of donations and of periodicals.

⁵³ P. L. Brown, (ed.), *Clyde Company Papers*, 7 vols, London: Oxford University Press, 1941-1971.

the Bothwell Literary Society, and volumes from the Evandale Subscription Library, held in libraries, museums and archives; and volumes from the personal library of Dr Kenworthy, held at the University of Tasmania.

Definitions and interpretation.

In this study the Evandale Subscription Library catalogue and loans register is referred to as the *Catalogue*, while the electronic database of the *Catalogue* is referred to as the *Database*. The terms 'book' and 'volume' are interchangeable in that both refer to a single binding. To enable like to be compared with like, it has required that both books and titles are reported in the Tables. The term 'title' refers to one which may have been published either in single, or multi-volume form. The *Catalogue* numbers each book or volume of a multi-volume title. The aim of the *Database* was to determine the comparative popularity of titles and authors, the response of borrowers, and borrowing patterns. To avoid over-reporting when multi-volume works were borrowed, the number counted against that work was for the highest borrowing of that title. No attempt was made to reconcile repeat or single-volume borrowing, on the grounds that reasons for this may vary, and can not be known. Variations and additions to these procedures are noted at the foot of individual Tables.

The use of short titles and author identification

Both the manuscript *Catalogue* and the library's published rules of 1857, adopt the use of short titles. However, there is no uniformity between either the records or the procedures. Similarly, in most instances, author's names are not given. This has caused difficulty, particularly when identifying incomplete titles, and those adopted by more than one author. Where doubt exists the names of authors have been omitted. This study has identified works by reference to the *Catalogue*, the published rules of 1857, and secondary sources. The secondary sources most consulted were: *The London Catalogue of Books published in Great Britain 1816-1851*, London, 1851⁵⁵; Robin Myers, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to*

⁵⁴ P. L. Brown, (ed.), *The Narrative of George Russell*, London: Oxford University Press, 1935.

1940, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970, 2 vols; *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* Series 1&11 (1801-1870), Compact disc: Averro Publications Ltd, 1996. As a result, most titles have been identified. Where this has not been possible, or where doubt exists, the title quoted is that listed in the *Catalogue*.

Conventions

For the sake of clarity and consistency, items marketed as a library set, although strictly not titles, (e.g.). *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and the *Waverley Novels*, are given in italics. Similarly, the Evandale Subscription Library adopted standard categories to denote like material, (e.g.). *Magazines, Essays, and Letters*, which are also given in italics. For the same reason, because community-based libraries are both institutions and collections, the term 'library', unless when quoting, is given in capitals only when naming them or as short-titles. Personal libraries are in lower case. Also for clarity (and emphasis) the names of pastoral estates are given in italics.

The name Tasmania

The island was named Van Diemen's Land by its European discoverer, Abel Jansz Tasman, in 1603, in honour of his employer, Anthony van Diemen, governor-general of the East India Company.⁵⁶ The name Tasmania was 'recognised in *Godwin's Emigrant's Guide to Van Diemen's Land, more properly called Tasmania* (1823), in the Letters Patent of Bishop Nixon [1843]; and used by at least one newspaper,⁵⁷ before it was officially adopted on 17 December 1855. The name Tasmania was made official to coincide with the end of convict transportation, marking a new era in the history of the colony. For uniformity, this study adopts the name Tasmania unless quoting other works.

⁵⁵ The Evandale Subscription Library copy has survived and is held in the QVMAG library.

⁵⁶ Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983, vol.1, p.3.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, vol.1, p.521.

6 Chapter details

This chapter, the Introduction, gives details of the construction of the study, it describes the unique data upon which it is based, and it explains what is meant by book history. It defines the aims of the study and identifies the research issues and the questions set to achieve those aims, and it provides details of the methods, procedures and formalities adopted in the study.

Chapter I discusses the foundations and traditions, originating from Britain, upon which the Evandale Library was established. These took two main forms. The first comprised the founding of circulating and subscription libraries, bookselling practices, the prominence of Scotland, and the growth of novels and periodical literature in the years leading to the library's founding. The second was the Scottish tradition of community development, education and self-improvement.

Chapter II discusses books and bookselling in the colony. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss existing practices to which the Evandale Library was subject.

Chapter III discusses the establishment of a colonial publishing industry. Its importance to this study is that it discusses the reading material, other than that obtained from Britain, most readily available to colonists when the Evandale Library was founded and in the period of this study

Chapter IV discusses the establishment of colonial lending libraries: circulating libraries, based on commercial motives, and community-based libraries, and the basis of their founding. Given some common features this chapter also discusses libraries established within convict probation stations

Chapter V discusses the Bothwell Literary Society and its library. Its importance to this study is that it will be argued that the society and its library provided Robert Russell with an example upon which to base the Evandale Library.

Chapter VI describes Evandale and its environs and community. It discusses Russell's arrival and the traditions he brought with him and the founding of his church. The Evandale Library was established during a turbulent period in Tasmania's history. This chapter discusses matters of significance to the library and its future operation: the economic, social, and political circumstances of the day.

Chapter VII describes the Evandale Library's founding in 1847, the acquisition of books and periodicals, by donation and by purchase, and the library's operation during the years from 1847 to 1861.

Chapter VIII discusses the books borrowed from the library and their borrowers, and is supported by a series of Tables. It describes the borrowing by women, both on their own account and through the membership of male subscribers, and it discusses evidence of books loaned to children. Finally, this chapter provides details of factors that influenced borrowing and borrowing patterns.

Chapter IX, the Conclusion, comments upon the aims and arguments stated at the outset and makes conclusions based upon the discussion undertaken in the previous chapters.

Chapter 1

Traditions emanating from Britain

The establishment of the Evandale Library should be seen in the context of similar practices in Britain, both because of their shared traditions and because it will be seen that British settlers sought to emulate conditions existing in their homeland. Moreover, while it will be shown that colonists sought in books and reading a means of dealing with their isolation and of maintaining links with Britain, common to both societies are the questions of why people read and founded libraries such as those at Evandale and Bothwell. Foremost among these reasons was the desire to read both for recreation and for self-improvement, and to endow their communities with suitable library collections.

Traditions emanating from Britain, on which the Evandale Library was founded, included: library provision, which increased significantly in the period leading to the Evandale Library's foundation; the popularity of the novel, and the questioning of this in the moral sense; and the accompanying growth in periodical literature and bookselling practises. Given Robert Russell's role as the Evandale Library's founder, they also include the interest in education and books, and the vision of progress evident at this time in Scotland, where he was born and educated.

1 Book and library provision

A growing population, increased literacy, and financial barriers to individual book ownership in eighteenth century Britain, set the scene for an increase in various forms of library provision. It came in many forms: some towns and even villages set up public libraries; some learned institutions opened semi-public reading rooms; some

philanthropic individuals endowed such facilities; some coffee-houses and the like sought custom through the provision of reading matter. In addition, two new initiatives focused on the provision of reading material: the 'circulating' libraries, which were commercial operations, and the 'subscription' libraries, which were set up by free association. Circulating libraries were a well-established phenomenon by the 1740s. Subscription libraries emerged soon after. Such libraries became common throughout Britain. Scotland, despite its smaller population and wealth, did not lag behind England.

The population of Britain grew by about 60 per cent during the eighteenth-century: the population of England and Wales increased from an estimated 5,500,000 to 8,893,000,¹ the population of Scotland increased from about 1,100,000 to 1,608,000.² Although there is no assurance that the level of literacy increased in proportion to the population, the number of literate people almost certainly did. At the same time, other factors, including the founding of new schools of varying kinds; middle-class women's increased leisure; the striving for religious salvation; self-improvement; and middle-class ambitions, led to an increased interest in books and reading.³

The limiting factor was the high cost of books. Until about 1780, small octavo volumes such as essays and novels sold for between 2s. and 3s., non-fiction octavos for 5s. or 6s., and quarto and folio volumes cost between 10s. and 12s. In comparison, wages, which were fairly constant in Britain before 1790, enabled shop assistants to earn from 4s. to 16s. a week, plus board; clerks in merchants' offices about one pound, and London Journeymen (qualified mechanics or artisans) between 15s. and 20s.⁴ The cost of books increased greatly after 1790, due to changed publishing practices and economic dislocation following the Napoleonic wars.⁵ Book prices continued to rise until about 1830, making ownership prohibitive to all but the wealthy.

¹ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, p.30.

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago: Benton, 1963, vol.20, pp.157-8. (Population estimates for Scotland are empirical because Sir John Sinclair's *First Statistical Account of Scotland* only appeared in 1791.)

³ Paul Kaufman, 'The Rise in Community Libraries in Scotland', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 59, 1965, pp.46-7.

⁴ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.51.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 260-290.

In the past, libraries were established in towns and villages with the assistance of lay benefactors, making books available to scholars, pupils and parishioners as well as clergy.⁶ The practice was extended in the eighteenth century as a result of 'the church's awakening interest in the education of the poor [whereby] certain clergymen set up little collections of books which everyone in the parish might borrow'.⁷ Early in the nineteenth century many libraries were augmented by financial grants from religious societies in conjunction with local sponsors. While favouring religious tracts, most excluded novels. Although cities, including London, Manchester and Bristol, boasted libraries endowed by churchmen, scholars, local dignitaries and merchants, most were limited in that they comprised mainly theological or learned works that appealed to a select readership.⁸ It is noted in Chapter IV that the earliest community-based library in the colony, the Wesleyan Library, founded in Hobart in 1825, was directed towards self-improvement and was established under similar circumstances.

Of a less exclusive nature, in the final decades of the eighteenth century, clubs were established in Britain, where members combined to buy certain books. Book clubs differed from libraries in that the books purchased, having satisfied the members' immediate requirements, were sold, after which the process was repeated. A further alternative was provided by various newsrooms, coffee houses and shopkeepers, whereby reading material was made available to patrons.⁹ Nevertheless, library provision was insufficient to satisfy the increased demand. Circulating libraries were started by business interests to provide a commercial service by 'hiring' books to customers. Allan Ramsay's Edinburgh circulating library is reputed to be the first in Britain.¹⁰

An alternative to commercial interests was when a 'number of people in a community interested in books would join together voluntarily to launch a scheme, whereby a

⁶ Graham Best, 'Books and Readers in certain eighteenth-century parish Libraries', Loughborough University of Technology, Ph.D thesis, 1985, pp.1-22.

⁷ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.219.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.213-4.

⁹ Kaufman, 'The Rise in Community Libraries in Scotland', p.7.

¹⁰ W. Aitken, *A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955*, Glasgow: Scottish Library Association, 1971, p.16.

collection of books could be bought and accommodated for the use of members who paid the required subscription'.¹¹ Such libraries are mostly termed subscription libraries. Some subscription libraries were constituted as proprietary institutions, with members buying and having the power to sell their interest, as was the case with the Leeds Library.¹² Some were associated with learned societies and clubs. In the Australian colonies, the library associated with the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land, established in Hobart in 1843, discussed in Chapter IV, is a good example.

Although the terminology differs among scholars, it is generally agreed that circulating libraries were commercial undertakings, while subscription libraries were collective organisations constituted by, and for the benefit of, members.¹³ Patronage of circulating libraries depended on commercial considerations, while subscription libraries were mostly selective concerning membership. There is also an extent to which members of subscription libraries exercised a 'degree of control' over the collection, more so than they would have in a circulating library.¹⁴

Conversely, by the end of the eighteenth century circulating and subscription libraries had become common throughout Britain. Although England and Scotland embraced both types, Scotland favoured subscription libraries. It is probable that there were 'not less than one thousand' circulating libraries operating in Britain by 1801.¹⁵ Of these, it has been possible to identify no more than twenty-five in Scotland.¹⁶ It is probable that

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.19.

¹² Elaine Robinson, 'The Leeds Library in 1817', *A Very Good Public Library*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Allenholme Press, 2001, pp.48-49.

¹³ John Crawford adopts the term Middle Class Subscription Libraries. John C. Crawford, 'Historical models of library provision: the example of Scotland', Ph.D thesis, Glasgow Caledonian University, 1993, pp.160-167. See also John C. Crawford, 'The origins and development of societal library activity in Scotland', University of Strathclyde, MA thesis, 1981. I am especially indebted to John Crawford, Glasgow Caledonian University Library, for his assistance while undertaking this study. Richard Altick, whose seminal work is directed towards the mass reading public, indexes references to all such libraries under 'Circulating Libraries'. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.433. The fullest description is given in Paul Kaufman, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', *The Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol.57, part 7, 1967, pp.1-67. Kaufman also uses the term 'private' subscription libraries. Kaufman, 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', p.232.

¹⁴ Robinson, 'The Leeds Library', p.36.

¹⁵ Reported in the *Monthly Magazine* of April, 1811 and quoted in Kaufman, 'The Community Library', p.10.

¹⁶ Kaufman, 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', p.245

there were not more than one hundred subscription libraries in England by 1800, with at least forty identified in Scotland.¹⁷

Evidence of the five Scottish subscription libraries for which catalogues have survived, reveal a preference for improving literature. The Edinburgh Library was established in 1794, and thirty-nine members enrolled in the first year, including three ministers of religion (one was the president and another the secretary), two postal officials, one customs officer, three merchants, two lawyers, a printer, a brewer, a vintner, an ironmonger, a grocer, a tanner and a silversmith. Members met mostly at the local insurance company office but the location of the library remains uncertain. The library employed a salaried librarian and met incidental expenses. In the first year, revenue came chiefly from subscriptions and was expended mainly on book purchases. Receipts included funds for 'irregularities of reading', presumably fines for overdue loans or defacing books. The first year's admission and subscription fee was almost £2 per subscriber.¹⁸ Book titles were selected by a sub-committee of six. The library of 250 volumes comprised mainly history and travel, plus a 92-volume edition of Bell's *Poets of Britain*.¹⁹ A noteworthy inclusion was Cook's voyages in three volumes. Standard works included David Hume and Tobias Smollett's *History of England*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and William Robertson's *History of Scotland*.

The Dundee Library, founded in 1796, had an entrance fee and subscription which totalled just nine shillings. In 1800 it had 1196 titles, predominantly historical and philosophical works. It shared many titles in common with Edinburgh, including works by David Hume, William Robertson and Adam Smith. The library at Duns was founded in 1768. The catalogue of 1789 lists fifty-four subscribers, three of whom were women and included nine clergymen, a schoolmaster, a surgeon, three lawyers, four merchants, a bleacher and a butcher. The library's rules and regulations have not survived. In 1789 the library held some 600 volumes, mainly history and travel. Otherwise the collection included works by William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Laurence Sterne, Voltaire in thirty-six volumes, and

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.246.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp.248-250.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp.281-283.

three works by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The library held few religious works.²⁰ The library at Ayr was, seemingly, an adjunct to a literary society. The catalogue, dated 1802, includes the regulations and list of members from the library's foundation in 1762. The membership, eleven of whom were women, included clergymen, physicians, attorneys, schoolmasters, merchants, tanners, a baker, a watchmaker and a cabinet maker. Again the fees were modest.²¹ Books were selected by a committee of eight, meeting at least four times yearly. In 1790, it was agreed to exclude works of religious controversy, novels and 'trifling miscellaneous publications'.²² Perhaps not surprisingly, titles proposed for purchase were 'consistently of the sober variety'.²³ Again, the library comprised mostly works of history, travel and philosophy. The library at Forfar was founded in 1795. Records up to 1800 reveal a membership of seventy-nine, including lawyers, surgeons, schoolmasters, merchants, bakers, a brewer, a saddler, a tailor and a watchmaker. The membership is unusual only in the absence of clergymen, a profession usually well represented. In other respects the Forfar Library was typical of its kind.

Common features among the five Scottish libraries were the book stock, clientele and the financial benefit of membership. Regarding the books, the chief characteristics were the limiting of novels and the few theological works. It is clear that the libraries were founded with educational aspirations and that novels failed to qualify. To this extent these libraries provided readers with books for self-improvement rather than for recreation. Given the high cost of books, the financial benefit needs no explanation.

One point to be noted is that these libraries generally held little in the way of theology and apologetics. It is probable that such works were felt to be potentially divisive and those provided by the church, the school and the home were thought to be sufficient, and that members wanted different reading material from subscription libraries. While the clergy regularly played a prominent role as officials and as borrowers, the membership comprised mostly professionals and patrons from the middle classes.

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.250-1.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.252.

²² Quoted in *loc.cit.*

²³ *loc.cit.*

Also in Scotland, there were a number of free community lending libraries before 1800, of which Innerpeffray is noteworthy for the survival of borrowing data. For the eighteenth century, the data reveals the absence of fiction and the popularity of religious and improving literature. Among the borrowers were 'no less than twenty-seven vocations, from farmer and flax dresser to schoolmaster and minister'.²⁴ Chitnis states that 'Innerpeffray Library's borrowing register shows the capacity of ordinary people of central, lowland Scotland ... to support and countenance an intellectual movement [the Scottish Enlightenment] in the university towns and cities'.²⁵

Subscription libraries were strongest in the provinces both in England and in Scotland. Although London's first subscription library was formed in 1785, the movement began much earlier elsewhere, beginning at Liverpool in 1758, in Leeds in 1768, Sheffield in 1771, Bradford in 1774, York in 1794 and Scarborough in 1801.²⁶ Similarly, of the five Scottish subscription libraries examined, Edinburgh was founded in 1794, but Ayr had been founded in 1762 and Duns founded in 1768. Of the Scottish population centres with community libraries before the end of the eighteenth century only Edinburgh and Dundee had circulating libraries.²⁷

Two explanations can be offered. Firstly, it is likely that limited population, distance, and economic disadvantage inhibited the development of commercial libraries in rural areas. Secondly, the communal nature of subscription libraries can be expected to have suited provincial life. While the first point acknowledges a commercial reality, the second (as will be demonstrated with Evandale and Bothwell) recognises the capacity of small communities, not so well supplied with books and periodicals, to unite for the common good, both in the provision of library material and in the preference given to improving works. Moreover, the social benefits must not be underestimated: while subscription libraries provided small communities with a sense of identity associated with institutions of improvement, they also provided a communal meeting place in towns that lacked facilities to be found more readily in major population centres.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.270.

²⁵ Anand C Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, London: Croom Helm, 1976., p.19.

²⁶ Kaufman, 'The Community Library', p.25.

2 Novels and fiction

The growth in library provision was accompanied by the increasing popularity of fiction during the eighteenth century. Although poetry and drama, being imaginative works, are both forms of fiction, in practice the latter term has largely become synonymous with novels.²⁸ The English novel was created in the eighteenth century. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, published in 1719, is acknowledged as the earliest novel.²⁹ The work is acclaimed for its originality and characterisation: Defoe 'had nothing to guide him but his own genius.'³⁰ Allen argues that the greatest novelists of the eighteenth century were Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding, followed by Tobias Smollett and Laurence Sterne.³¹ In 1740 Richardson published *Pamela*. Allen suggests that we 'come to Richardson with two centuries of novels behind us; it is scarcely possible for us to imagine the intense shock of novelty that *Pamela* must have had for its first readers'.³² Henry Fielding published *Tom Jones* in 1749. Smollett was the author of poetry, drama, history and novels. His first novel, *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, was published in 1748. Sterne published sermons, letters and novels. As a novelist he is best known for *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, published in 1759. Lesser novelists and novels followed. Among the most popular were Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, published in 1776. Common to the 'Big Four' was the extent of their creativity and originality, and for Richardson and Fielding, their willingness to present issues unbridled by forced conventions.

The popularity of novels was resisted by some on the grounds of their literary and moral laxity. During the nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott's success with the *Waverley Novels* gave respectability to fiction, especially with subscription libraries. Scott was born in Edinburgh and educated at the High School and the Edinburgh University. His earliest novels, beginning with *Waverley*, published in 1814, were set in

²⁷ Kaufman, 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', p.247.

²⁸ See J. A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of literary terms and literary theory*, London: Penguin, 1992, p.343.

²⁹ Walter Allen, *The English Novel*, London: Penguin, 1991, pp.37-40.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp.37.

³¹ *ibid.*, p.43.

Scotland. Scott was central to the Scottish identity during the nineteenth century. In 1840, only eight years after his death, the foundation stone was laid in Edinburgh for a monument to commemorate his life. Youngston describes the monument, which rose one hundred and eighty feet in height, as 'the most dominating and inescapable single structure in the centre of the city'.³³ In addition to honouring the writer, the monument confirms his place in the Scottish psyche. Scott's first novel to adopt a purely English subject, *Ivanhoe*, published 1819, embraced the era of Richard I, romanticised in British folklore, and included Robin Hood among its characters.

The creation of the novel produced a number of new writers, many of whose works were based less on talent and more on sentiment, romance and adventure, and often written to repetitious formulas. Allen states that 'literary historians, in an attempt to impose some sort of order on the chaos in fiction during the last thirty years or so of the century, have often distinguished categories of the novel - the novel of sentiment, the Gothic novel, or novel of horror, the oriental tale, the novel of doctrine, and so on'.³⁴ Such works attracted the attention of the new readership that emerged as a result of industrialisation, social dislocation, and the founding of community libraries. Kaufman defines the phenomenon:

for masses of people in England at this time the new fiction was an incalculable liberating force. The tales of wild adventure, the descriptions of the amour of the nobility and gentry, the lurid accounts of scenes remote in time or place, all were thrilling new experience for the imagination. Such widening of outlook for these classes caught in endless drudgery, often dogged with lifelong poverty, was almost a miracle of escape.³⁵

While this may assist towards explaining the situation in Britain, this study will argue that in Tasmania fiction also enabled British settlers to engage with their homeland through reading, and to alleviate their isolation. Equally, therefore, what was accomplished for the Tasmanian reader was engagement with a world of thought beyond the boundaries of colonial life.

³² loc.cit.

³³ A. J., Youngston, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993. p.279.

³⁴ Allen, *The English Novel*, p.88.

³⁵ Kaufman, 'The Community Library', p.23

Publishers, booksellers and library proprietors, in attempting both to meet and create demand, combined in the marketing of three-volume novels, otherwise known as triple-deckers. The practice was to the financial advantage of the supplier be it publisher, bookseller or library borrower. In Britain, Thomas Hope's *Anastasi*, published in 1819 at a cost of a guinea and a half, was the first novel published in this form. Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*, similarly priced, followed in 1821.³⁶ This practice placed the editions beyond the means of most private buyers. The circulating libraries became the publisher's major customers, exerting influence on future book prices and publishing policy. Thereafter, other publishers produced cheaper, single-volume imprints of inferior quality with smaller type, reduced page margins and cloth bindings.³⁷ While cheap editions enabled novels to reach a wider audience, the two-tiered marketing practice increased the prestige of circulating libraries and contributed towards acceptance of their product.

Sir Walter Scott's impact is visible in publishing statistics. Scott's first novel, *Waverley*, published in 1814, sold 6,000 copies in its first six months. *The Antiquary*, published in 1816, sold 6,000 copies in its first six days. Between 1829 and 1849 78,270 sets of the *Waverley Novels* were sold.³⁸ It was not just library patrons who read Scott. '[John] Ruskin's father was a devotee of Scott, and as a child Ruskin himself knew the Waverley novels and Pope's *Iliad* better than any other book except the Bible'.³⁹ In the 1840s, John Murray, the publisher, 'read no novels except those of Scott'.⁴⁰ Most importantly, the extraordinary popularity experienced by the works of Scott during the nineteenth century paved the way for novels to be introduced to subscription libraries.

³⁶ Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*, Devon: David and Charles, 1970, pp.11-12.

³⁷ *ibid.* The marketing of novels, in particular the triple decker, is discussed at length by Griest.

³⁸ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.383.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.116

⁴⁰ George Paston, *At John Murray's 1843-1892*, London: John Murray, 1932, p.39f.

3 Periodical literature

Periodicals are defined as including newspapers, magazines, review publications, journals and like material, published at frequent and regular intervals, usually daily, weekly, monthly or quarterly.⁴¹ Newspapers are mostly treated separately by historians and bibliographers. Nineteenth-century British law defined newspapers as 'every periodical containing news or comment on the news that was published oftener than every twenty-six days, printed on two sheets or less, and priced at less than 6d. exclusive of [government stamp] tax'.⁴² Accordingly, it is customary for the term 'periodical' to describe the more substantial publications (magazines, journals, review publications, etc.), marketed individually 'in parts' and frequently as series bound as volumes.⁴³ Furthermore, within the description, the term 'literary periodical' distinguishes publications devoted to 'poetry, essays, fiction, and criticism of other literary works [from those that] disseminated information or partisan opinion'.⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the distinctions, newspapers and (standard) periodicals regularly included literary material within their columns.

The significance of periodicals in nineteenth-century Britain is emphasised by the fact that '[t]he circulation of periodicals and newspapers is thought to have been larger and more influential than that of books in Victorian society'.⁴⁵ Reasons given include lower prices, accessibility, causality, topicality and newsworthiness.⁴⁶ Despite the censorship long associated with periodical literature and the introduction of stamp tax during the early nineteenth century, the easing of regulatory measures mid-century contributed towards their later growth.⁴⁷ In addition, emerging professional

⁴¹ Neither Carter or Glaister provide a specific definition for periodicals: John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, London: Granada, 1985. Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, London: The British Library, 1996.

⁴² Altick, *The English Common Reader*, pp. 327-8.

⁴³ Generally for 'parts' and 'part-issues' see Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, pp.150-153.

⁴⁴ Walter Graham, *English Literary Periodicals*, New York: Nelson, 1930, p.15.

⁴⁵ J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (eds.), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994, p. i.

⁴⁶ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.318.

⁴⁷ Graham states that periodical literature in Britain was subject to censorship from the seventeenth century onwards as a means of limiting political propaganda. Graham, *English Literary Periodicals*, pp. 15-16. The Stamp Act levied a tax on newspapers in 1819 in response to the activities of Tom

associations found journals a valuable means of imparting information and regulating their organisations.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the growing recognition and status afforded the arts, popular culture, industry and commerce occurred simultaneously with an expansion of workers' and students' journals, the religious press and self-improving literature expounding contemporary values. For all these the periodical press was well suited.

There is also the extent to which periodicals were akin to subscription libraries. Firstly, they both shared in growth during the period. Secondly, they offered variety in both range and content. In addition, they were being continually brought up-to-date by new editions or additions. Consequently, their readers were patronising a library of sorts.

The number of British periodicals increased significantly throughout the nineteenth century. In 1800, a total of 264 periodical titles 'of all kinds' was published in Britain,⁴⁹ by the mid-century, over 1000 scientific journal titles alone had been published and by the end of the century there were over 200 titles in music, more than 400 agricultural journals and 450 claiming medical content.⁵⁰ Early in the century 'the largest audience seemingly' was attracted to denominational magazines, in particular the *Methodist Magazine* and the *Evangelical Magazine*, each with circulations in 1807 of 18,000 - 20,000 copies.⁵¹ Next in popularity were 'the newly founded critical quarterlies' the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*.⁵² 2,200 copies of the *Examiner* were distributed in 1808, its first year.⁵³ The bulk of nineteenth-century periodical literature has attracted limited attention by bibliographers and historians but the 'literary periodicals' (so called) have fared better. The five-volume *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824 - 1900*, which aimed to index subjects, book reviews and authors, chose for its first volume 'eight journals of outstanding quality and influence': *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Contemporary Review*, *Cornhill*

Paine and others. The tax was repealed in 1855 and tax on paper removed in 1861. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, pp. 327-8.

⁴⁸ Don Vann and VanArsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, p. i.

⁴⁹ Graham, *English Literary Periodicals*, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Don Vann and VanArsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, p. 4.

⁵¹ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, pp. 318, 392. Later circulation figures are not reported, however the *Christian Herald* had a circulation of 195,000 in 1881 (p. 395).

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 318

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 392

Magazine, *Edinburgh Review*, *Home and Foreign Review*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, *North British Review* and *Quarterly Review*.⁵⁴ Later volumes included a further 35 titles including the *Quarterly Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Ainsworth's Magazine*, *New Monthly Magazine*, *Bentley's Miscellany* and the *Dublin University Magazine*. Similarly, prominent periodicals and those associated with literary personalities such as Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* have been the subject of monograph studies.⁵⁵ Towards the middle of the century *Ainsworth's Magazine* achieved a circulation of 7,000 in its first year (1842), *The Illustrated London News* sold 41,000 in its second year (1843). The *Penny Magazine* sold 40,000 in 1845 and *Chambers' Journal* in 1849 sold between 60,000 and 70,000 copies.⁵⁶ Dickens's *Household Words*, which commenced in 1850, achieved a total circulation of 100,000 copies and averaged 40,000 'during its "best years"'.⁵⁷ In 1854, *Punch* achieved a circulation of 40,000 copies and the *Athenaeum* 7,200.⁵⁸ By mid-century there was a strong demand for both secular and literary periodicals in addition to religious publications.

The periodical press produced real benefits for authors. Periodicals, defined by content and readership, enabled authors to identify potential readers; provided authors with the means of publishing anonymously; and raised the status and income of authors by establishing a literary format that paid for contributions. Furthermore, serialisation, particularly of fiction, increased these benefits.⁵⁹ John Ruskin (1819-1900), leading English author and art critic, was attracted by the vigour and opportunity provided by the periodical press; he considered it possessed a sharper and more specific sense of readership than most books.⁶⁰ Few of Ruskin's major works were written first as books: most were published first in periodicals for the 'specific needs of a specific

⁵⁴ *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, University of Toronto Press, 1989, vol. I, p. xix.

⁵⁵ See: Edmund Blunden, *Leigh Hunt's "Examiner" Examined*, London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928. John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers. The Edinburgh Review, 1802 - 1815*, London: Faber, 1957. Leslie A. Marchand, *The Athenaeum. A Mirror of Victorian Culture*, New York: Octagon, 1971.

⁵⁶ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, pp.391-396.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, p.394.

⁵⁸ *loc.cit*.

⁵⁹ This study defines 'serial' as the publishing (often republishing) of material (usually fiction) in serial form, in periodicals. Recently, however, Myers and Harris argue for extending the definition of term by substituting it for 'periodical'. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Serials and their Readers 1620-1914*, Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1993.

readership on a specific occasion'.⁶¹ Ruskin was motivated by the opportunity periodicals offered to develop literary forms, exercising differences in tone when writing for monthly and quarterly publications.⁶² John Stuart Mill (1806-73), prominent English philosopher and social reformer, produced an estimated 450 items for newspapers and periodicals. Although Mill's reputation was built on major books, in his youth periodicals enabled him to publish more radical views anonymously. Mill produced more than 200 such articles during the period of legislative reform of the early 1830s.⁶³ Periodicals made possible a career dedicated to writing. In the past most authors were obliged to live by patronage or other means. During the eighteenth century, growing demand among competing publishers for material 'that enlivened and enlightened', recognised professionalism and enabled authors to earn a living.⁶⁴ Serialisation made periodicals even more attractive. The serialisation of Dickens's *Hard Times* in *Household Words* (a weekly journal produced by Dickens from 1850) required that 'every middle-class reader who wished to keep up with his Dickens was forced to buy *Household Words* every week'.⁶⁵ Given the fresh opportunities that periodicals offered, authors benefited from a new and larger publishing field.

Periodicals provided increased opportunities for publishers.⁶⁶ Publishers established periodicals for which they undertook editorial and commercial responsibility and reaped the benefit. Commercially, periodicals were marketable creations and, once established, the financial reward for publishers was ongoing. Identified by tailored mast-head titles, periodicals promoted the product rather than the writer. The advantage was enhanced by the anonymity usually given writers. With a greater number of products, publishers were possessed of commercial opportunities in addition to books. Furthermore, publishers and booksellers were among the heaviest advertisers of books in periodicals.

⁶⁰ Brian Maidment, 'Readers fair and foul: John Ruskin and the periodical press,' Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982, pp. 29-58.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.32.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp.34, 62.

⁶³ Ann P. Robinson and John M. Robson, "'Impetuous eagerness': the young Mill's radical journalism", *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, pp. 59-77..

⁶⁴ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, London: Harper Collins, 1997, p.142.

⁶⁵ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.347.

Periodicals offered an additional reading experience. Periodical literature increasingly satisfied the vocational and non-vocational needs of nineteenth century readers: they appealed to many who found whole books too daunting; their topicality created interest; they offered more variety and required less sustained attention than books; and they satisfied the desire for news.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the regularity of issue and known values with which subscribers sought association earned subscriber loyalty.

Essentially, the significance of periodicals was the extent to which they transmitted ideas, beliefs and values, instruction, data and information, entertainment; their popularity and general acceptance; and the extent to which subscribers identified with them as arbiters of values and vehicles of status. As a literary genre, nineteenth-century periodicals accomplished these tasks perhaps even more successfully than books. For Tasmanian readers, British periodicals provided news from home, intellectual content and a means of engaging with their homeland. Given their newsworthiness, proliferation, cost and obsolescence, they were well suited to subscription libraries in the colony as well as to private subscribers. They were read both for recreation and for instruction.

4 Bookselling practices

The highly positive attitude towards books and literature in Scotland, and particularly in Edinburgh, is confirmed in that 'except in London, Edinburgh, and a few other towns, there were [in eighteenth-century Britain] no shops devoted exclusively to books' with books elsewhere being sold alongside stationery, patent medicines and goods of general merchandise.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Edinburgh was only surpassed by London and Dublin as the leading centre for book production and distribution in the English-speaking world.⁶⁹ By 1763, Edinburgh possessed three paper-mills, and by

⁶⁶ For periodicals and publishers generally see Don Vann and VanArsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*.

⁶⁷ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.318.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.57.

⁶⁹ Richard B. Sher, 'Corporatism and consensus in the late eighteenth-century book trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers Society in comparative perspective', *Book History*, Pennsylvania: State University Press, vol.1, 1998, pp. 33-4.

1790, twelve.⁷⁰ Similarly, six printing houses increased to sixteen over the same period.⁷¹ Chitnis exclaims that ‘no wonder Edinburgh was to be called the Birmingham of literature’.⁷² The increase in the number of book titles published annually in Scotland rose from 266 a year in the 1790s to 565 in 1815, the result of a widening middle-class reading public and the increasing popularity of the novel, particularly those of Walter Scott.⁷³ The *Statistical Account of Scotland* claimed that ‘literature was an industry and ... part of Scotland’s material wealth, just as important as the goods of any other branch of industry’.⁷⁴ In the expansion of the English reading public, the contribution ‘of Scottish institutions and the enterprise of individual Scotsmen, was much greater than the actual size of the Scottish population would suggest’.⁷⁵ Roy Porter, in discussing print culture in Britain, singles out Scotland for the prominence given to education and literacy, particularly in outlying regions.⁷⁶

5 Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh was overcrowded and unsanitary with few civic buildings considered worthy of a Scottish capital. In an endeavour to correct material deficiencies and as an expression of civic pride, steps were taken to enlarge and beautify the town. While much of the New Town was residential and Georgian in appearance, many churches and public buildings were Greek Revival in design, including the ‘Old Quad’ of Edinburgh University (1789-1834), one of a series of buildings designed by brothers Robert and James Adam, who were responsible for introducing designs based upon ancient Greek and Roman models.⁷⁷ Foremost among these was the new Edinburgh High School (Illustration 5),

⁷⁰ Anand C Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, London: Croom Helm, 1976, p. 16.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷² *ibid.*, p. 21, quoting L. Simond, *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1815, 1, p. 375.

⁷³ M. Lynch, *Scotland, A New History*, London: Pimlico, 1997, p. 352.

⁷⁴ Chitnis *The Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 16.

⁷⁵ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 9.

⁷⁶ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment*, London: Penguin, 2000, p. 74.

⁷⁷ For neo-classical architecture see J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival. Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870*, London: John Murray, 1995. For Edinburgh see Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*.

completed in 1829, described by Summerson as ‘the noblest monument of the Scottish Greek Revival’.⁷⁸

Accompanying the rebuilding of the New Town was the intellectual phenomenon termed the Scottish Enlightenment, centred on Edinburgh. This was the manifestation of a greater movement of ideas and practices that took root in Europe during the eighteenth century, which exalted reason above tradition (and revelation) and brought massive advances in philosophy and science.⁷⁹ However, within the wider intellectual movement, rather than causing division between revelation and reason, the Scottish Enlightenment was distinctive in being accommodated within Christian belief.

Central to it were the works of Adam Ferguson, author of *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, published in 1767, regarded as a ‘classic in the literature of sociology’;⁸⁰ Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* gave credence to the study of political economy; and David Hume, historian and the foremost British philosopher of the age. It is defined by David Daiches as an ‘improvement of man’s understanding of himself, both body and mind, both the individual and the social self; and improvement of his understanding of the natural world’.⁸¹

David Daiches, when describing the frontispiece of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd edition, published in Edinburgh in 1788, identifies the link between the New Town of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was a publishing triumph for Scotland. Daiches suggests that the engraved image which shows the arts, science and technology in a classical setting (Illustration 4) ‘exemplifies the ideals and inspiration of the Scottish Enlightenment’.⁸² Set in the universities, ecclesiastical and legal professions of Edinburgh, the movement was accompanied by

⁷⁸ Sir James Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, London, 1953, quoted in Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, p.158.

⁷⁹ For the English Enlightenment see Porter, *Enlightenment*. See also: John Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁸⁰ Duncan Forbes, editor, in his introduction to Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966, p.xiii.

⁸¹ David Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones (editors), *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730 - 1790. A Hotbed of Genius*, Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996, p.2.

the distinction granted medicine. It is noteworthy that the photograph album presented to Robert Russell by his Evandale church congregation upon retirement, contains photographs of members of the Edinburgh Medical School, including Professors Christison, Syme and Miller.⁸³ This supports the proposition, which is discussed in Chapter VII, that Russell carried the memory of his Edinburgh experience with him to the colonies, manifest in the church, the library and the schoolhouse he built in Evandale. The distinction given education and books, the intellectual vitality, the vision of progress evident in Scotland at this time, clearly motivated Robert Russell's wider ministry. Moreover, the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment, in regard to books, learning and the establishment of a civil society, were to manifest in the colony, in Evandale and Bothwell, through their predominantly Scottish settlement.

⁸² *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730 - 1790*, p.4.

⁸³For Edinburgh medical professors see John D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine*, London: Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1932. Robert Russell's photograph album is held by the Evandale History Society.

Chapter II Colonists' books and bookselling in the colony

1 Colonists' books

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss existing book and bookselling practices to which the Evandale Library was subject. Books were scarce in the colony before the 1820s. The first notice in the press for books was when Walter Colquhoun, of Hobart, advertised in July 1816, in the *Hobart Town Gazette*, for the return of a 'misaid' copy of Harris's *Minor Encyclopaedia*.¹ Elizabeth Webby writes of the 'virtual impossibility of replacing missing volumes' at that time.² Books were first offered publicly for sale the same month when Andrew Bent of the *Hobart Town Gazette* advertised a copy of Willich's *Domestic Encyclopaedia*. He offered the four-volume set for £4, which he described as: 'The most useful book ever printed ... the same price as sold for in London'.³ Despite the shortage of books, it seems that there was little demand for this item, at this cost, as the item was readvertised five weeks later.

From early on, prospective emigrants were advised to bring books out with them from Britain. Dr James Ross offered such advice in his *Hobart Town Almanac*, in 1836:

As to those things which administer to your personal comforts, to the daily wants of yourself and family ... you ought to provide yourself with ... a small collection of good standard works. For if you have not some taste for reading at least, if not for writing, I would not much recommend you to emigrate at all.⁴

¹ *Hobart Town Gazette* 13 July 1816.

² Elizabeth Anne Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century', Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971, vol.1, p.14.

³ *Hobart Town Gazette* 27 July 1816.

⁴ James Ross, *The Settler in van Diemen's Land*, Melbourne: Marsh Walsh, 1975, p.41.

Ross graduated LL D from the University of Aberdeen and arrived in the colony in 1822, where he was granted 1,000 acres on the River Shannon, some distance north of Hobart.⁵ Discouraged by farming and stock losses, he would have been aware of both the isolation and hardships experienced by immigrants. Upon abandoning life on the land Ross embarked upon a literary career in Hobart, where he became instrumental in the founding of a number of community-based libraries. The extent to which his remarks gained circulation in Britain is uncertain but he did, however, describe his colonial experiences in the *Penny Magazine*, under the title 'An Emigrant Struggles'.⁶

Bill Bell notes, however, that some shipping agencies in Britain 'actively discouraged [emigrants] from taking on board anything considered surplus to requirements', which must include books: 'One agency advised steerage passengers in 1842 that their baggage should consist "only of their wearing apparel, with such bedding and utensils for cooking as may be required on the voyage"'.⁷ While this clearly restricted shipboard reading it also compounded the book shortage as settlers were obliged to buy books locally.

Luggage restrictions were likely to be less of an impediment to those in senior government service who were likely to be given adequate cabin space. G.T.W.B. Boyes, a government official and gifted amateur watercolour artist, who arrived in the Australian colonies in 1823 and was appointed auditor of Van Diemen's Land in 1826, provides rare evidence, in his diaries, of his personal library, reading habits, and that he brought books with him from Britain.⁸

The diaries published for years 1823-32, reveal his reading during the voyage from Britain and his time in Hobart. Boyes possessed an acute and enquiring mind. He was an

⁵ See 'Ross, James (1786-1838)' *ADB*, vol.2, pp 396-397. See also Karen Barnes, *Dr. James Ross 'The Colonist Janus'*, Department of History and Classics, University of Tasmania, Honours thesis, 1998.

⁶ The relevant extracts from the *Penny Magazine*, held in the collection of the State Library of Tasmania, in Hobart, do not include Ross's reference to books.

⁷ Bill Bell, 'Bound for Australia: shipboard reading in the nineteenth century', Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Journeys through the Market*, Kent: St Paul Bibliographies, 1999, p.121.

⁸ For Boyes see Margriet Roe 'Boyes, George Thomas William Blamey (1787-1853)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.143-144.

admirer of Milton and Byron and was well versed in Shakespeare. He read the sermons of Thomas Chalmers, the Scottish churchman, stating: 'I think [his] style improves to a certain extent but he is still verbose not always intelligible and affected in the arrangement of his words and sentences'.⁹ Boyes showed a preference for geology and botany.¹⁰ Research by his journal editor, Peter Chapman, has revealed surviving volumes from Boyes's library now held publicly in Hobart.¹¹ They include Bakewell's *Introduction to Mineralogy*, also Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in French, the mark of a cultivated and bilingual reader.

Boyes was 'an avid reader of novels ranging from Scott (a great favourite), Balzac, Mrs Fanny Trollope, Mary Leman Grimstone, J. F. Cooper, through at last in middle life to Dickens himself'.¹² Further evidence of his reading (and the inadequacy of bookselling in the town) is given when describing Hobart in 1831: 'In the evening walked down to a book sale as it is called in the hope of buying a copy of Washington Irving's Works. The saleroom was a miserable place'.¹³ It is noteworthy that, on one occasion, on the voyage from Britain, in circumstances described '[t]oo hot for any serious occupation', he read Scott's *Peperil of the Peak*.¹⁴ Presumably, the distinction of reading fiction as not being a 'serious occupation' was one he extended to his other favoured novelists.

Boyes's diaries provide evidence of him lending books to fellow colonists in the manner of an informal reading group, or undertaken elsewhere by professional or superior community-based libraries. Bernard Smith suggests that Boyes 'saw himself, not altogether without reason, as a protagonist of European culture amid colonial

⁹ Peter Chapman (editor), *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985, p.365.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.147.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 651-652: Chapman lists the books known to have been either brought to Australia by Boyes in 1823 or acquired by him in the period 1824-32, now held in the Molesworth Collection in the Van Diemen's Land Folk Museum, Hobart..

¹² *ibid.*, p.6.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.428.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.141.

barbarism'.¹⁵ In 1831, his diaries note loans, including *Childe Harold*, by Byron, to officers of the colonial military, and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* to a Dr Bryant.¹⁶ While the loan of Byron suggests that Boyes shared his literary pursuits with members of his circle, he was able to supply the medical man with works relevant to his calling.

Smith also states that the Antarctic explorer, Captain James Clark Ross, 'had noticed, like many other visitors, during his stay in Hobart, the striking contrast between the educated colonial residents and their Australian-born children', termed "Gumsuckers" by Boyes.¹⁷ Captain Ross visited Hobart in August 1840, in command of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and was entertained by the lieutenant-governor, Sir John Franklin.¹⁸ For Boyes, the lack of educational facilities in the colony and fear that his children may be adversely influenced by such an environment, was a reason why he delayed sending for his wife and children until 1832, wanting his children to continue with their education in Britain.¹⁹

Surviving volumes from the library of Dr. George Story (sometimes Storey) show that following his arrival, in 1828, he maintained a medical library while working on the east coast of Tasmania.²⁰ His books, which include works of surgical instruction and copies of *The Lancet*, are mostly from the period before his departure from Britain, suggesting that many came with him on the voyage.²¹ Story arrived in the company of Francis Cotton and his family with whom he resided at *Kelvedon*, near Swansea.²² In Tasmania, Cotton

¹⁵ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.290.

¹⁶ Chapman, *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes* p.507.

¹⁷ Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, p.290.

¹⁸ Lloyd, Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983, vol.1, p.357. See also Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin in Tasmania 1837-1843*, Melbourne University Press, 1949, pp.245-249.

¹⁹ Chapman, *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, p.25.

²⁰ For Story [or Storey] see Mary Bartram Trott, 'Story, George Fordyce (1800-1885)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.490-491.

²¹ Surviving volumes are held in the Sir John Ramsay Memorial Library at the Launceston General Hospital.

²² For Cotton see Mary Bartram Trott, 'Cotton, Francis (1801-1883)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.248-249. For the Cotton family and Story see: Francis Cotton, *Kettle on the Hob. A family in Van Diemen's Land. 1828-1885*, Orford: Joan Roberts, 1986.

was a practising Quaker, and became a substantial landowner.²³ Story was the District Assistant Surgeon for Great Swanport where he attended the road gangs and was in charge of the Rocky Hills Probation Station.²⁴ He was, for a period, secretary of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land.²⁵ Mostly, Story was resident at *Kelvedon* from where he practised medicine. Doubtless, presupposing an absence of medical books in the colony, he came equipped to perform his duties; in Hobart. Boyes's loan of *Anatomy of Melancholy* to Dr Bryant suggests that Story was well advised to do so.

Some settlers acquired books during return visits to Britain. When Edward Archer returned to England, in 1834, 'he went to bring back a bride, and books, among other useful items'.²⁶ While direct evidence as to the nature of their interest is not presented, Neil Chick was doubtless right in his inference that 'The mind was to be looked after as well as the farms' noting that he ordered books including Walter Scott's complete works, 'song books, books on animal husbandry and horticulture, almanacs, maps of London (for old times' sake) and of Van Diemen's Land (since none were printed locally) books of sermons [and] a history of the Reformation'.²⁷ Members of the Archer family established vast pastoral estates and some of the colony's finest country mansions, in the north of the colony, in the 1820s. Today, the Archer estate of *Woolmers*, which has remained in family ownership, possesses a library of fine nineteenth-century works, the accumulation of many generations of occupancy, making provenance less certain.²⁸

Colonial estates were regularly provided with books and libraries, as a means of providing books both for instruction and recreation, and doubtless to emulate their peers

²³ A quantity of Cotton's books are held in the Quaker collection in the University Library in Hobart, which show that he, too, established a library of Quaker literature

²⁴ A number of books from the library at *Kelvedon* have been rebound in furnishing fabric, probably by a convict binder. Examples are held in the University Library in Hobart and the Ramsay Memorial Library in Launceston.

²⁵ This would have given him access to the society's excellent library, built up by gift and exchange. I am indebted to Gillian Winter for this observation. Also see Gillian Winter, "For the advancement of Science: the Royal Society of Tasmania 1843-1885", Honours thesis, University of Tasmania, 1972.

²⁶ Neil Chick, *The Archers of Van Diemen's Land*, Lenah Valley: Pedigree Press, 1991, p. v.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁸ *Woolmers* is administered as a trust by the Archer family and others and is open to the public.

in Britain where country mansions which had designated libraries were customarily furnished with finely bound books. James Cox was granted land alongside the South Esk River, south of Evandale, in 1817, which he named *Clarendon*. Born in Wiltshire in 1790, he completed his formal education there before being reunited with his parents in New South Wales in 1804. His father, William, had arrived as a Lieutenant in charge of shipboard prisoners in 1800 and acquired pastoral land in that colony. James Cox arrived in Tasmania in 1812, bringing assets valued at £400, sufficient to be granted land at Gordon Plains and Port Dalrymple. *Clarendon* was named after the Cox family property in New South Wales, and in 1819 comprised 80 acres of cultivated land. The *Clarendon* homestead was constructed in 1838 as a 'large Regency residence' having 'a main facade of five bays and a tetra-style portico with Ionic columns'.²⁹ When discussing the Australian colonies overall, Gascoigne cites *Clarendon* as: 'One tangible sign of the increasing aspirations of the pastoralists [being] the erection of replicas of English country houses, a phenomenon particularly marked in the prosperous lands of the Launceston region of Van Diemen's Land'.³⁰ Built during a period of rural prosperity, based on wool production, *Clarendon* is one of Tasmania's most imposing mansions.³¹

Clarendon is now in the possession of the National Trust of Tasmania. There are no surviving records relating to the original Cox library but the present library includes a number of books inscribed by James Cox and his wife Eliza.³² Two titles can positively be attributed to them: *Remarkable Insects*, London: Religious Tract Society, 1842, inscribed 'Eliza Cox Clarendon'; and M. Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians*, London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1835, 6 vols (one volume missing) inscribed 'James & Eliza Cox Clarendon 26th July 1844'. The latter volumes carry the bookplate of Henry Dowling's Circulating Library of Launceston which suggests they were either not

²⁹ *The Heritage of Tasmania. The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1983, p.110.

³⁰ John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.36.

³¹ Maddock describes Cox as a successful pastoralist, keen on field sports and expressions of outward display, who, by 1864, had acquired by grant, inheritance and purchase numerous pastoral properties in the district including *Clarendon* which then comprised 5060 acres. M. J. Maddock, *Clarendon and its People*, Launceston: Regal Press, 1996. pp. 1-6.

returned or were de-accessioned items (see Illustration 16).³³ Despite the meagre data, it is apparent that the couple acquired books while at *Clarendon* and had dealings with Dowling's library. Considering the reputation of circulating libraries to favour novels, it is noteworthy that both titles are non-fiction and books of some substance.

Under somewhat different circumstances, Maria Medland Wedge, writing from *Leighlands*, her home near the northern township of Perth, stated, in August 1844:

I have been reading, lately, D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, which I have found most interesting and instructive; but here we have a sad lack of good books. I don't think we are generally a reading community, yet truly anyone, especially a female, living in the midst of a forest, as we do here, ought to have rational resources within herself.³⁴

Recently arrived in the colony with Bishop Nixon as a governess for his children, Maria found that her marriage to John Helder Wedge had distanced her from friends in Hobart.³⁵ Her observations are in accord with those of another recent emigrant: Louisa Anne Meredith wrote, when reminiscing about her life and experiences on the east coast of the colony in the summer of 1842:

Sometimes, but very rarely, were we so fortunate as to obtain the loan of a new book, and great was the delight of such an acquisition, for our reading was usually limited to the old familiar volumes of our own small library, and the English newspapers, with which the kindness of our home friends supplied us.³⁶

In the case of Mrs Wedge, newly-wed and with her husband in circumstances reduced as a result of economic recession at this time, cost had to be considered.³⁷ For Mrs Meredith,

³² Inspected by the author, in the library at *Clarendon*, April 1998.

³³ This study has uncovered two bookplates for Henry Dowling's Circulating Library. The second bookplate (Illustration 17) survives as a printed image, in the collection of the QVMAG.

³⁴ N. Nixon, *The Pioneer Bishop in Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart: The Author, 1953, p.30.

³⁵ John Helder Wedge (1793-1872) surveyor, explorer and a borrower from the Evandale Subscription Library. For Wedge see G. H. Stancombe, 'Wedge, John Helder (1793-1872)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.575-576.

³⁶ L. A. Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of nine years*, London: John Murray, 1852, vol.1, p.168; Morris Miller suggests that *My Home in Tasmania* 'is still one of the best authorities on Tasmanian life and society during the forties of last century.' Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, vol.1, p.216.

³⁷ G. H. Stancombe, 'Wedge, John Helder (1793-1872)', *ADB*, vol.2, p.576.

perhaps she recalled her days at Homebush, when, as a member of the Australian Library in Sydney, she 'enjoyed receiving a fresh supply of books once or twice a week'.³⁸

Those who sent to Britain for books included Robert Campbell Gunn, public servant, politician and amateur botanist, who arrived in the colony in 1830, where he held a number of government appointments and elected positions.³⁹ Gunn and his colleague, Robert W. Lawrence, contributed towards the groundbreaking work of William Jackson Hooker, the renowned British botanist and Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, by collecting plant specimens and sending them to Britain⁴⁰ In Tasmania, Gunn amassed a substantial library, including works of natural and applied science, general and classical literature, almanacs, British periodicals, Tasmaniana, dictionaries, grammars, medicine, pharmacy, theology, philosophy, history, travel, law and politics.⁴¹ The catalogue compiled some years after his death includes works by J. F. Cooper, Samuel Warren, Charles Lever, Bulwer Lytton, Thackeray, most of Dickens, the novels of Walter Scott, and more than two hundred unnamed volumes, some listed 'worn and torn', probably suggesting they were much read. Clearly, fiction featured in the family's reading.

Gunn relied on sources overseas for books and periodicals. In correspondence with Hooker, in May 1849, he stated:

Really you must suppose me a perfect bibliomaniac, but having few other enjoyments but my Books to keep me up to the progress of matters in Europe I like to get as many as my limited means can purchase and the very great generosity of my British friends will furnish ... We have no public library that can be so called ... so that I must

³⁸ Ellis, *Louisa Anne Meredith: A Tigress in Exile*, p.74. Meredith was probably referring to the Australian Subscription Library, founded in Sydney, in 1826, which later became the basis for the State Library of New South Wales. See Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, pp.67-73, 304-313; vol.2, pp.301-313.

³⁹ For Gunn see T. E. Burns and J. R. Skemp, 'Gunn, Ronald Campbell (1808-1881)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.492-493.

⁴⁰ For Lawrence see Bruce Wall, 'Lawrence, William Effingham (1781-1841)', *ADB*, vol.2, p.95.

⁴¹ For Gunn's library see *Catalogue of Library of the late Robert Campbell Gunn, at Newstead House, Launceston, Tasmania*, Launceston: Daily Telegraph, January 1921.

possess all within myself or go without the information which I so ardently desire to obtain.⁴²

Gunn's correspondence with Hooker is filled with requests for botanical literature.⁴³ He also requested books of Hooker for his 'friend Dr Joseph Milligan', Commandant of the Aboriginal Settlement on Flinders Island, including Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; Milligan asked that his books be 'either half-bound or bound in cloth' given his 'moderate income'.⁴⁴ Milligan shared Gunn's interest in botany and was secretary of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land.⁴⁵ Obviously, Gunn and some of his friends relied upon books from London for professional, instructional and recreational purposes.

As well as books that Gunn received from his 'British friends' he also patronised Orger and Meryon, the London booksellers. Gunn's correspondence with Hooker makes regular mention of Orger and Meryon. On 25 December 1846 Gunn wrote to Hooker: 'I have just recd a letter from Messrs Buckles & Co intimating that they had put some Books on board the Union for me from you'.⁴⁶ Buckles and Co were Gunn's shipping agent.⁴⁷ Gunn's letter, which reached London 23 April 1847, contains a note across the head 'in Hooker's handwriting - Parcels by Onger [sic] and Meryon, 174 Fenchurch St.'⁴⁸ On 17 March 1849 Gunn wrote at length to Hooker on botanical matters. Across the head Gunn had written: 'Instead of sending any parcels for me to Buckles & Co who have now given up business - pray send them always to Messrs. Onger [sic] and Meryon, Booksellers, 174 Fenchurch Street'.⁴⁹ It would seem that in addition to books that they may have sent to Gunn on his own account (upon the winding up of his shipping agent's business) Orger & Meryon accepted the task of forwarding goods to him. Gunn's letter

⁴² T. E. Burns and J. R. Skemp, *Van Diemen's Land Correspondents 1827-1849*, Launceston: QVMAG, 1961, p.124.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.42, 59, 65, 75, 82, 94, 103, 118, 124.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.65. Milligan was a fellow amateur botanist and secretary of the Royal Society of Tasmania. For Milligan see W. G. Hoddinott, 'Milligan, Joseph (1807-1884)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.230-231.

⁴⁵ Milligan was secretary from 1848 to 1860. *ibid.*, vol.2, p.230.

⁴⁶ Burns and Skemp, *Van Diemen's Land Correspondents*, p.116.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.114.

⁴⁸ *loc.cit.* It is likely that the misspelling occurred in the transcription of the letter by Burns and Skemp who repeat the error throughout the publication.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.121.

to Hooker, dated 10 May 1849, suggests that he made additional arrangements at that time:

Having opened a communication with Mr Lovell Reeve for various Books wanted by myself, as well as my friends, and as I will be receiving parcels from his [sic] regularly, (as well as from Messrs. Ongar [sic] & Meryon) I would feel obliged by your sending any odds and ends which you can spare me through Mr Reeves [sic].⁵⁰

The supplier to whom Gunn refers was probably the L. Reeve who traded as a bookseller and publisher from 5 Henrietta Street, London.⁵¹ Gunn gave no reason as to why he sought a further book supplier at this time, but it is clear that he retained his relationship with Orger and Meryon, in addition to that established with Reeve. It is also clear that the relationship established between Gunn and the booksellers went beyond the supply of merchandise, and provided a means both to relieve his intellectual isolation and maintain a contact with Britain.

Irish exile William Smith O'Brien relied heavily on books, both as a means of relieving isolation and advancing intellectual enquiry.⁵² Smith O'Brien was a member of the Irish aristocracy, educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge and a member of the British Parliament when convicted of treason as a result of his role in the rising of 1848 and transported to Tasmania, in 1849. He was one of a number of Irish nationalists transported at this time.⁵³ His journal for the years 1849-1853 provides evidence of his sea voyage on the *Swift* and his exile in Tasmania. First he was sent to the convict probation station on Maria Island where he was 'isolated in a small cottage, with virtually

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵¹ See *Hodson's Booksellers, Publishers and Stationers Directory 1855: A facsimile of the copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: With an introduction by Graham Pollard*, Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1972, p. 73. Reeve has not been encountered elsewhere in the course of this study.

⁵² Richard Davis (ed.), *'To Solitude Consigned' The Tasmanian Journal of William Smith O'Brien 1849-1853*, Sydney: Crossing Press, 1995.

⁵³ Thomas Francis Meagher, Terence Bellew MacManus and Patrick O'Donohoe accompanied Smith O'Brien on the *Swift*. Others included John Mitchel who was exiled at Bothwell where in his diary he comments on the library, discussed in Chapter V.

no communication, and only a small plot in which to exercise'.⁵⁴ Later he was sent to Port Arthur where he was similarly confined and deprived of company. Eventually he was granted a ticket-of-leave, spending much time in the vicinity of New Norfolk where he was the favoured guest of many well-to-do colonists.

Smith O'Brien's journal is punctuated by reports of his reading. His journal editor, Richard Davis, states that he brought a quantity of books with him from Britain, and that the 'the range of [his] reading on board the *Swift* was enormous'.⁵⁵ As a political prisoner, clearly, he was afforded privileges similar to those enjoyed by Boyes on the voyage. Smith O'Brien mentions 'books that have fallen in my way during my residence', suggesting that in addition to books brought with him he was provided with books by colonists.⁵⁶ His reading comprised mostly biography and history.⁵⁷ Of biography, he stated 'I am inclined to think that there is no class of writing which is so influential ... in forming the character and opinions of mankind'.⁵⁸ His reading of history was both expansive and bilingual, ranging from *The Odyssey*, in Greek, to West's *History of Tasmania*, a presentation copy from its publisher, Henry Dowling, which Smith O'Brien reviewed in the *Hobart Town Courier* 29 January 1853.⁵⁹ Given his superior education, status and the circumstances of his crime, Smith O'Brien was one of a select number of well-connected political prisoners transported at this time. Clearly, Dowling was aware of such a person. Smith O'Brien's reading also included Shakespeare, Byron, Goldsmith, Irving, Melville, Dickens and Scott.

In circumstances reminiscent of Boyes, the colonial official who read Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* when it was '[t]oo hot for any serious occupation' during the voyage from Britain,⁶⁰ Davis suggests that: 'Depression sometimes made concentration impossible

⁵⁴ Davis, *To Solitude Consigned*, p.19

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.33.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.90.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp.450-453.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.102.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.395.

⁶⁰ Chapman, *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, p.141.

[for Smith O'Brien] and he was forced to read novels'.⁶¹ He was a compulsive reader whose reading invites a number of observations: Firstly, books were vital to his survival in the colony, a condition noted some years earlier by Dr James Ross. Secondly, he added to the colony's bookstock and he shared books informally, a practice also of Boyes. Thirdly, although his reading was mostly to satisfy an educated and enquiring mind, he also read novels, if, as did Boyes, for light entertainment.

A subsequent colleague of Boyes, James Bicheno, was appointed colonial secretary of Van Diemen's Land in 1842 at the age of 57. Before his appointment he had been called to the Bar in London, elected a fellow of the Linnean Society and published books on natural history and political economy. Bicheno's Tasmanian appointment carried a salary of £1,200.⁶² He arrived in Hobart in April 1843. Bicheno was a learned and able administrator with wide interests. His library included books on antiquities, architecture, biography, classics, commerce and political economy, voyages and travels, history, law, natural history, philosophy, theology and English literature.⁶³ His small collection of fiction included Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* and Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*; absent were novels of the type mostly seen in community libraries. His library included Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, in 10 vols, but not Scott's novels.⁶⁴ The library comprising 2500 volumes was bequeathed to the Tasmanian Public Library in 1851, thereby more than doubling the collection which numbered 1434 books in July 1850.⁶⁵

Bicheno's intellectual resources and the scope of his collection suggest that he both brought books with him for the voyage and sent for books from Britain. Given his intellectual interests, financial means, and isolation from Britain, and the absence of comparable collections, it is not surprising that he should accumulate such a library, also

⁶¹ Davis, *To Solitude Consigned*, p.33.

⁶² James Ebenezer Bicheno, (1785-1851), *ADB*, vol.1, pp.97-99.

⁶³ *loc.cit.* The library was acquired for £300 following provision in Bicheno's will that his library be offered to the Tasmanian Public Library.

⁶⁴ *loc.cit.*

⁶⁵ *A catalogue of the Tasmanian Public Library and reading room...with the rules, regulations, and bye-laws and list of members*, Hobart, 1851.

that he should make provision for it to remain in the colony.⁶⁶ Its benefit, presumably, was most felt in Hobart, adding little to the provision of books in other centres.

It is likely that many of the Evandale residents also brought books with them. Research by this writer has revealed books of the period in the libraries of descendants of Evandale Library subscribers, but there is less certainty as to the original ownership. Given that libraries seldom remain static, invariably the collections have grown (or diminished), placing limits on the value of the data.⁶⁷ Although personal libraries were common among landed proprietors, little evidence is forthcoming concerning the less affluent. Given the high cost of books, and that the less affluent necessarily brought fewer with them, their personal libraries were likely to have been rarer and smaller.

Gunn and Story built working libraries to further their professional interests, probably both as collectors and to compensate for the lack of an alternative source.⁶⁸ The example of Gunn confirms the role of Orger and Meryon in establishing private libraries in the colony. In so doing, the bookseller contributed towards both the advancement and spread of knowledge and reinforced the values and links of Empire. Gunn's dealings with English booksellers provides evidence of their role and their significance to colonists, when links with Britain were at their strongest, and before local booksellers increased in importance.

Evidence of colonists' books and libraries contribute towards understanding why the community-based libraries at Evandale and Bothwell were founded. Many colonists relied on books and reading, both for improvement and recreation and as a means of dealing with their isolation. Given the examples of Meredith, Smith O'Brien and Boyes, it is clear that books were loaned to friends and acquaintances, but that the practice was limited.

⁶⁶ Sadly, the library established by government surveyor Thomas Scott at *Mt Morriston*, near Ross, sometime after 1830, is no longer held in Tasmania. Scott's library was relocated to Mt Eliza in Victoria in the 1990s following the sale of *Mt Morriston* to overseas interests. Bibliographical analysis of the library is yet to be undertaken.

⁶⁷ In this matter I am indebted to numerous descendants of Evandale subscriber and estate owners.

⁶⁸ Cotton's Quaker books may also be considered a working library.

There is nothing to suggest that the libraries of the landowning class served those beyond their immediate circle. While books were purchased from Britain, a significant source of the colony's bookstock continued to be items brought out by British settlers, as Dr Ross recommended. As the colony grew in stature and population, it could be expected that local booksellers, publishers and lending libraries would be required to play a greater role.

2 Colonial bookselling

An increase in bookselling testifies to both the increase in demand for, and supply of, reading matter (see Table 24). Samuel Tegg established himself as a bookseller and stationer in Hobart following his arrival from London in December 1836. Tegg was the son of bookseller Thomas Tegg of Cheapside, London and the brother of Sydney bookseller James Tegg, with whom Samuel frequently shared business ventures.⁶⁹ In 1845, Samuel Tegg's business was acquired by J. Walch and Son, members of a recently arrived immigrant family.⁷⁰ Walch senior was a retired military officer who served in India and emigrated to the colony in 1842. Before the purchase of Tegg's business Walch was employed as superintendent of the convict probation station at Broadmarsh in southern Tasmania.⁷¹ As such he would have superintended the library that existed there. While Walch may have lacked bookselling experience, at Broadmarsh he would have gained some first-hand local knowledge of bookstock. Walch conducted the Murray Street bookselling business, and in time a Launceston branch, alongwith his circulating library, stationery, bookbindery and printery. Walch claimed to offer 'books in greater variety than

⁶⁹ For Tegg see L. F. Fitzhardinge, 'Tegg, James (1808-1845) and Samuel Augustus (b.1813)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.504-505; James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, 'Reassessing the reputation of Thomas Tegg, London, Publisher, 1776-1846', *Book History*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, vol.3, 2000, pp. 45-60.

⁷⁰ For Walch see Neil Smith, 'Walch, Charles Edward (1830-1915)', *ADB*, vol.6, pp.337-338. For Walch's bookselling and library activities see Wallace Kirsop, 'Bookselling in Hobart in the 1840's', *Books for Colonial Readers*, Melbourne: BSANZ, 1995, pp. 59-76. Tegg's Launceston business was sold 'into various hands' before becoming A. W. Birchall and Sons. Clifford Craig, *The Van Diemen's Land Edition of the Pickwick Papers*, Hobart: Cat and Fiddle Press, 1973, p.2.

⁷¹ Kirsop, 'Bookselling in Hobart in the 1840s', p.62.

any other establishment in the colony'.⁷² In Hobart, if not Tasmania, the firm of Walch and Son retained its pre-eminent position in the period under examination in this study.

Other Hobart booksellers included William Westcott, who offered new and second-hand books from his Argyle Street premises. Included in his thirty-eight page catalogue of 1849 were dictionaries and encyclopaedias and books on divinity and religion, history, biography geography, travels, poetry, natural history, agriculture, political and moral philosophy, medicine and mathematics. There was also Bischoff's *History of Van Diemen's Land*, priced at 4.6d. and Enfield's *New Encyclopaedia* in 10 volumes for 15s. Included, too, was *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in twenty volumes for seven guineas. *Westcott's Books* advised that he also had 'several Hundred Volumes of Valuable Editions of Greek and Latin Classics, and a good selection of French Works, not mentioned in the Catalogue'.⁷³ In 1849, George Rolwegan established himself in Collins Street, as a bookseller, stationer, bookbinder, machine paper ruler and account book manufacturer. He also advertised the service 'Gentlemen's libraries cleaned and repaired'.⁷⁴ Rolwegan emigrated from Scotland in 1833, then went 'onto the gold diggings' at Windless Hill, Friar's Creek, Golden Gully, in Victoria, before arriving in Tasmania.⁷⁵ In January 1851, Huxtable and Co. was established as a bookseller and stationer, in Murray Street, 'having entered into arrangements' with London booksellers for the sale of books and periodicals.⁷⁶ By the 1850s, therefore, Hobart had a number of booksellers, both of new and second-hand books, both in their own right and sometimes as agents for London booksellers.

In Launceston, in 1834, Henry Dowling opened a stationery warehouse in Brisbane Street, the centre of town, where he advertised books and periodicals. He was the eldest son of the Reverend Henry Dowling whose long ministry in the Baptist church in Launceston was marked by his preaching and his espousal of teetotalism, civil and

⁷² *Wood's Royal Southern Kalender* 1850

⁷³ *Catalogue of Westcott's Books, new and second-hand, Van Diemens Land*, 1849.

⁷⁴ *Wood's Tasmanian Almanac* 1849, p.219. I am indebted to Gillian Winter for this reference.

⁷⁵ Paul Fenton (ed.), *James Fenton of Forth*, Melbourne: Educare, 2001, p.111.

religious liberty.⁷⁷ Henry Dowling junior, printer, publisher, bank manager and philanthropist, arrived in the colony in 1830, at the age of 20. He was employed first at the *Hobart Town Courier* edited by James Ross and later on the *Launceston Advertiser* published by John Pascoe Fawkner. Judging from his newspaper advertising Dowling was Launceston's major bookseller in the 1840s.

Samuel Tegg, the Hobart bookseller, opened a branch in Launceston in 1844.⁷⁸ He did not retain the business long and in 1847 sold to a former employee Robert Blake. Upon Blake's insolvency and death in 1849 the business was sold to J. Walch and Son of Hobart.⁷⁹ Tegg was retained as London agent for the Launceston business.⁸⁰ Walch continued to import the latest best-sellers from England and continued Tegg's practice of supplying at London prices. The Hobart firm of Huxtable and Co. was established in Launceston as bookseller and stationer in the 1850s. In circumstances not unlike Tegg, Huxtable relinquished the business in January 1852 in favour of A. Duthie 'who had for some time past, had its management'.⁸¹ Huxtable's disposal of his Launceston branch to Duthie was probably due to the tough economic times of the period, distance from Hobart, and the willingness of a local purchaser. The Walch family's reason for entering the Launceston market was probably that having purchased Tegg's Hobart business in 1845, they sought benefits of scale and, given their dominance in Hobart, and with Tegg's assistance as their London agent, they were better able to match Dowling.

In December 1852, Dowling advised the sale of his stationery and bookselling business to J. J. Hudson.⁸² In April 1853 auctioneer Charles Weedon advised the disposal of Dowling's 'residual stock' consisting of two thousand books, a great number described as

⁷⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 1 January 1851.

⁷⁷ For the Dowling family see Isabella J. Mead, 'Dowling, Henry (1780-1869)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp. 316-317.

⁷⁸ Fitzhardinge, 'Tegg, James (1808-1845) and Samuel Augustus (b.1813)', *ADB*, vol.2, p.505.

⁷⁹ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.152. For Blake see *Launceston Examiner* 18 April 1849.

⁸⁰ Fitzhardinge, 'Tegg, James (1808-1845) and Samuel Augustus (b.1813)', *ADB*, vol.2, p.505.

⁸¹ *Launceston Examiner* 14 January 1852.

⁸² *Launceston Examiner* 22 December 1852.

new.⁸³ Possibly they were surplus to Hudson's immediate needs or beyond his ability to purchase. In May 1853 Dowling sold his bookbinding business to Benjamin Alfred Wood.⁸⁴ The same year he was elected to Launceston's first municipal council, after which he engaged in civic duties.

Auctioneers regularly sold books. Public auctions were held when owners returned home to Britain or experienced financial failure. A high proportion of the books advertised in 1829 resulted from John Pascoe Fawkner's failure to establish a circulating library in Launceston and the subsequent sale of his stock.⁸⁵ Charles Weedon set up as an auctioneer in Launceston in 1842, and he 'eventually had the largest auctioneer's business in the town'.⁸⁶ Webby suggests, on the basis of the evidence of newspaper advertising, that auctioneers dominated bookselling in Launceston in the 1840s as they did in Australian centres elsewhere.⁸⁷

An examination of auctioneers' sale catalogues indicates that their activities were linked to commercial initiatives from Britain, offering less competition to local booksellers than their advertising may suggest. In 1849, the Launceston auctioneering firm of Underwood and Eddy offered a consignment of 497 titles. Given their publication dates it is likely that most were second-hand items recently received from Edward Lumley of London.⁸⁸ Included in the unreserved auction were books on religion, fine arts, medicine, law, architecture, biography, travel, education and natural history. A noteworthy inclusion was a copy of the Breeches Bible, published in 1581, and accompanying literature. The few popular novels, including *The Spy* by J. F. Cooper and works by Walter Scott, are hardly noteworthy among the listing. Similarly, the following year, Charles Weedon conducted an auction of books and engravings received 'from London, from an eminent publisher, for

⁸³ *Launceston Examiner* 14 April 1853.

⁸⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 26 May 1853.

⁸⁵ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, pp.44-45.

⁸⁶ *The Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*, Hobart: Maitland and Krone, 1900, vol.2, p.152. The firm of C. J. Weedon and Co., Estate Agents and Sharebrokers, remains in operation at the time of writing.

⁸⁷ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.151.

⁸⁸ *A catalogue of books, a new consignment from Ed. Lumley, of London... which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Underwood and Eddie... 23rd and 24th Jan. 1849, Launceston, 1848.*

sale without reserve'.⁸⁹ The books comprised mostly works of theology, history, poetry, medicine and fine arts. Although some novels were included, most by Charles Dickens, Bulwer Lytton and Samuel Lover, their entry appears insignificant compared with the prominence given to others in the listing.⁹⁰ Given that Underwood and Eddy offered mostly older works and that Weedon offered books on behalf of an unnamed London publisher, both collections being predominantly non-fiction, it is likely that they were engaged to dispose of slow-moving or remaindered stock on the colonial market, rather than to become a serious challenge to local booksellers.

Webby suggests that many colonists 'preferred to by-pass local booksellers and place orders directly with London booksellers'.⁹¹ Evidence provided by surviving library volumes examined by the author support this proposition with colonial stationers' labels becoming more plentiful from mid-century. Webby quotes from local newspaper advertisements placed by Orger and Meryon, booksellers and stationers, of London, soliciting business in the colony. This study demonstrates that community-based lending libraries, in particular the Evandale Library and the Launceston Library Society, regularly used the services of Orger and Meryon.

Local booksellers, in keeping with the times, actively promoted current British periodicals, both for immediate sale and by subscription from Britain. Henry Dowling, in December 1847, announced the arrival of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, undoubtedly among the most popular periodicals of the day.⁹² The following week he sought names of subscribers to *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany* which he described as 'the only British periodical exclusively devoted to the affairs and interests of the colonies'.⁹³ In January 1848, Robert Blake advertised a variety of magazines including *Punch*, *Penny Magazine*, *London Saturday Journal* and *Sharpe's London*

⁸⁹ *Catalogue of a large and varied assortment of books... lately received from London... which will be sold by public auction, by Mr C. J. Weedon*. Launceston, 5 March 1850.

⁹⁰ The catalogue was printed by Henry Dowling which suggests the scope of his business.

⁹¹ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.155.

⁹² *Launceston Examiner* 4 December 1847.

⁹³ *Launceston Examiner* 8 December 1847.

Magazine.⁹⁴ In January 1851, Huxtable and Co advised that they had entered into arrangements with London booksellers for the supply of both books and periodicals.⁹⁵ In 1856, Duthie advertised bound serial works including *Art Journal*, *Family Economist*, *Family Friend*, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and *Hogg's Instructor*.⁹⁶

In 1858 J. Walch and Son, Hobart and Launceston, advised that they were receiving subscriptions for the *Illustrated London News*, *Ladies Illustrated Newspaper*, *Home News*, *Punch*, *European Times* and *Illustrated Times*.⁹⁷ The following month Walch advertised also having received copies of *The Leisure Hour*, which he described as 'a family journal of instruction and recreation'; *The Sunday at Home*, termed 'a family magazine for Sabbath reading'; *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*; *Titan* (formally *Hogg's Instructor*) and *The Family Friend*.⁹⁸ It is clear that at this time a range of British periodicals was available to colonists both for immediate sale from local booksellers and by subscription from Britain.

Booksellers were both meeting a demand and creating one by making books and periodicals more readily available to colonists. Evidence of books sent from England and the activities of British booksellers suggests that demand was always present. Colonial booksellers sought to capture and increase this business by newspaper advertising and the availability of plentiful stock. Evidence of bookselling is from Hobart and Launceston outlets. While it is probable that some selling was conducted by local traders in country towns, there is no indication that the practice was widespread. It certainly could not be expected to have satisfied serious readers.

⁹⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 26 January 1848.

⁹⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 1 January 1851.

⁹⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 15 May 1856.

⁹⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 9 March 1858.

⁹⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 17 April 1858.

Chapter III Colonial publishing

This chapter will discuss the establishment of a publishing industry in the colony. Its importance to this study is that it discusses the reading material, other than that obtained from Britain, that was the most available to colonists when the Evandale Library was founded and in the period of this study. It will show that colonial publishing followed upon, and was based on, the activities of local newspaper proprietors, booksellers and authors, both in Launceston and Hobart.

There were no fewer than thirty-seven newspapers published in the colony before 1850; some continued through the century (and beyond), others only survived for a few issues, were renamed, or were taken over by competitors.¹ The first newspaper published in the colony was the *Derwent Star and Van Diemen's Land Intelligencer*, issued on 8 January 1810, at Hobart, and produced by George Clark and James Barnes under the supervision of G. P. Harris, the Deputy Surveyor-General.² It was printed on the press brought to Port Phillip in 1803 by Lieutenant-Governor Collins, aboard the *Calcutta*.³ John West suggests that the publishing venture was of Collins's making and describes it thus:

Though but a quarto leaf, with broad margin, and all contrivances which dilate the substance of a journal, it was much too large for the settlement - where often there was nothing to sell; where a birth or marriage was published sooner than a paragraph could be printed; where a taste for general literature had no existence, and politics were excluded. The chief contents were droll anecdotes and odd exploits.⁴

¹ Listed in J. Moore-Robinson, *Chronological list of Tasmanian Newspapers from 1810 to 1933*, Hobart: *The Voice*, 1933.

² For Harris see Barbara Hamilton-Arnold (ed.), *Letters and Papers of G. P. Harris 1803-1812*, Sorrento: Arden Press, 1994. Also E. R. Pretyman, 'Harris, George Prideaux Robert (1775-1810)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.516-517.

³ Collins' press was used to print the 'Port Phillip Orders...the first Orders at Hobart[and] the first three papers at Hobart'. Moore-Robinson, *Chronological list of Tasmanian Newspapers*.

⁴ A.G.L. Shaw (ed.), John West, *The History of Tasmania*, Sydney: Angus and Robinson, 1981, p.43.

Only twelve issues were published. As 'Govt. Printer' Clark later produced the *Van Diemen's Land Gazette and General Advertiser* which first appeared on 14 May 1814. Only nine issues were published, the last being 10 September 1814.⁵

In contrast to earlier publications, the newspapers that followed were embroiled in politics and controversy. The colony's third newspaper, the *Hobart Town Gazette*, appeared 1 June 1816 as the 'official organ' of the colonial government, in addition to operating as a newspaper in the conventional manner.⁶ Andrew Bent was the publisher and early editions were produced on Collins's press.⁷ A new press was acquired from Britain in 1821. Bent came into conflict with Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, following his arrival in 1824.⁸ In the following year Arthur transferred publishing authority to James Ross, in collaboration with G. T. Howe, the publisher of the *Tasmanian Gazette and Launceston Advertiser*, which was Launceston's earliest newspaper, and was first published 5 January 1825.

Bent continued publishing under the banner the *Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser*, later to be absorbed into the *Mercury*, which is still published in Hobart. After his partnership with Howe ended in 1827, Ross continued to issue the *Hobart Town Gazette* for official information and founded the *Hobart Town Courier* for general news and in support of Arthur. Publication of the *Tasmanian Gazette and Launceston Advertiser* was transferred to Hobart in 1827; thereafter the paper became associated with various owners, including Robert Lathrop Murray and Henry Melville. Murray was among the colony's most politically active columnists and publishers.⁹ Melville purchased the *Colonial Times* from Andrew Bent in 1830 and directed it 'as an anti-Arthur organ'.¹⁰ In 1837, William Gore Elliston, who 'generally supported the Franklin administration',¹¹ followed in the steps of Ross and became the government

⁵ Moore-Robinson, *Chronological list of Tasmanian Newspapers*.

⁶ loc.cit.

⁷ For Bent see Joan Woodberry, *Andrew Bent*, Hobart: Fullers, 1972.

⁸ Lieutenant Governor George Arthur administered the colony from 1824 to 1836.

⁹ For Murray see E. Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1952, Chapter 1.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.43.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.42. Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Franklin, accompanied by his wife, Jane, Lady Franklin, administered the colony from 1837 to 1843.

printer and owner of the *Hobart Town Courier*. The wider conflict concerned the freedom of the press and responsible government. Morris Miller suggests:

In Hobart, and the colony generally, a hundred years ago or more, there were just the very elements to render community life unstable and to criss-cross the tragic and the comic in unrepresentable lines. To officials the colony was a gaol and “free” citizens were intruders or suppliants for gaol services; to the settlers the colony was a project in imperial immigration, and the prisoners provided the labour for its growth and stability as a part of a world-expanding empire.¹²

The conflicts included land management, prison reform, the role of the church and relations with Britain. In the absence of an elected legislature, the often heated debate was led by newspaper proprietors and editors and attitudes to events of the day were expressed through the press. The *Hobart Town Gazette*, under Bent, was to the forefront. Following Bent’s departure the newspaper followed the prevailing government policy.

Launceston’s newspapers were less embroiled in the political controversy that dominated their southern counterparts. Being removed from the seat of government in Hobart isolated them somewhat from events and the gossip that surrounded them. Because of this Launceston newspapers relied heavily on local, overseas and commercial news. The *Launceston Advertiser*, first published by John Pascoe Fawkner on 9 February 1829, was the town’s second newspaper. It was produced on Collins’s press, the press that was acquired following Bent’s purchase of the *Hobart Town Gazette*’s new press in 1821. The press was later passed on to the *Cornwall Chronicle* and then the *Launceston Examiner*. The last issue of the *Launceston Advertiser* was published on 31 December 1846 and it was then incorporated into the *Launceston Examiner*. Other northern newspapers included the *Cornwall Press and Commercial Advertiser*, published by Samuel Bailey Dowsett, between February and July 1829, and the *Independent*, also published by Dowsett, between March 1831 and January 1835. At the time of the Evandale Library’s founding, in 1847, the northern region was served exclusively by the *Cornwall Chronicle* and the *Launceston Examiner*.

¹² *ibid.*, p.30

The *Cornwall Chronicle* was first published on 21 February 1835, by William Mann, its editor and printer. William Lushington Goodwin was appointed editor in December the same year. In 1847, its mast head was sub-titled 'Commercial, Agricultural and Naval Register', and stated that 'the Notices for claims for grants of land are published as issued by the authority of the Caveat Board'. Published each Wednesday and Saturday, price sixpence, its stated ideal was 'Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled in your children, that LIBERTY OF THE PRESS is the paradigm of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman'.¹³ It published classified advertisements, public notices, local, mainland and overseas news, editorials and letters to the editor, shipping and weather reports and personal columns. Under Goodwin, its style of reporting reflected the 'pugnacious' nature of its editor, causing anger among many northerners.¹⁴

For a time, Frederick Maitland Innes was employed as joint editor.¹⁵ Innes emigrated to the colony, arriving at Hobart in 1837, where, apart from a brief visit to Britain, he was employed as editor of the *Tasmanian*, the *Hobart Town Courier* and the *Observer*. He moved to Launceston in 1846 where, in addition to his employment at the *Cornwall Chronicle*, he served as a lay preacher in the Presbyterian Church, and was an active member of the Mechanics' Institute and the Launceston Library Society. When discussing Moral Enlightenment, Michael Roe gives the example of the editorial text adopted by Innes when the editor of the *Tasmanian*, taken from the American transcendentalist Ellery Channing:

I know no wisdom but that which reveals man to himself, and which teaches him to regard all social institutions, and his whole life as the means of unfolding and exalting the spirit within him. All policy which does not recognise this truth, seems to me hollow'.¹⁶

¹³ *Cornwall Chronicle* 18 August 1847 and repeated.

¹⁴ Moore-Robinson, *Chronological list of Tasmanian Newspapers*, see also Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, pp. 135-9.

¹⁵ Morris Miller, *Pressman and Governors*, p.178.

¹⁶ Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p.147. For Innes see also C. M. Sullivan, 'Innes, Frederick, Maitland (1816-1882)', *ADB*, vol. 4, p.458-9; C. M. Elliott, *Frederick Maitland Innes - A Study in Liberal Conservatism*, B.A. Honours thesis, University of Tasmania, 1963; Kate Hamilton Dougharty, *A Story of a Pioneer Family in Van's Diemen's Land*, Launceston: Telegraph Printery, 1953.

Roe described the phenomenon, which he depicts as the dominant force in colonial Australia, as one that ‘was developed especially by upholders of secular culture ... who urged that everyone could, indeed must, become good, wise, prosperous, and responsible [and that ...] Perception of so happy a fate, and striving towards it, would impregnate society and bind it together’.¹⁷ Innes’s regard for the role of books and reading in achieving these goals, in the Launceston Mechanics’ Institute, and his own borrowing from the Evandale Library, are discussed later in this study.

The *Launceston Examiner* was founded by James Aikenhead and first published on 12 March 1842.¹⁸ In 1845 Aikenhead was joined in partnership by J. S. Waddell, who bequeathed his interest to Henry Button. Changes in the ownership caused little public notice. John West acted for a time as editor. In 1847 the *Launceston Examiner* was published each Wednesday and Saturday afternoon, subscription ten shillings per quarter if paid in advance, or thirteen shillings credit. It offered similar content to the *Cornwall Chronicle*. Its masthead was subtitled ‘The nature and extent of its circulation renders the [Launceston] Examiner by far the best medium for Advertisers’. Accordingly, the style of reporting it adopted was less likely to offend.

John West was a journalist, the minister of St. John’s Square Chapel in Launceston - a building echoing the classical architecture of Robert Russell’s church at Evandale.¹⁹ West’s public role included the founding of Launceston Book Society and the Launceston Mechanics’ Institute (discussed later in this chapter), and the introduction of many hundreds of immigrants to the colony through the Launceston Immigration Society.²⁰ In 1848 West gave a public lecture on the visual arts, in Launceston, where he stated:

[T]hose who have seen the original works of the masters of the pencil, must have a strong recollection of their magical powers ... but it is not to art, at least in its most luxurious form, that the people of these lands will look for

¹⁷ Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, p.6.

¹⁸ The *Launceston Examiner* is still published.

¹⁹ Shaw suggests that the church building was begun in September 1841 (later than Russell’s church at Evandale) and opened in August 1842. Shaw (ed.), John West, *The History of Tasmania*, p.xii.

²⁰ Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991, vol.2, p.24.

prosperity ... the plough - not, the pencil - must be the crest of infant empires.²¹

Clearly, West possessed a capacity to identify with the immediate needs of the colony, in a time of economic recession and political uncertainty. He was one of the leaders of the movement to abolish convict transportation to Tasmania and, is noteworthy for proposing, in the 1850s, the federation of the Australian colonies.²² His *History of Tasmania* was published by Dowling, in Launceston in 1852.

Within the colony, the most instructive sources of advice and knowledge were the almanacs, calendars and directories containing information about the colonial administration, regional amenities and organisation, geographical description, climatic, agricultural and horticultural data, in addition to literary matters. Among the earliest were those produced by James Ross, G. W. Elliston, Andrew Bent and Henry Melville. The *Hobart Town Almanack* was produced annually by James Ross from 1829 to 1836, when it was taken over by Elliston. Ross's *Hobart Town Almanack* followed the publication of Andrew Bent's *Van Diemen's Land Pocket Almanack* (1824) and Bent's *Tasmanian Almanack* (1825-1830) and was contemporaneous with Henry Melville's *Van Diemen's Land Almanack* (1831-1837). It is likely that a number of these publications found their way to Britain, but while British publications giving a general description of Tasmania were directed towards a British readership, locally produced almanacs were more probably published in response to local demand.

Similarly, a number of publications advising settlers on horticulture and household management were produced within the colony. Daniel Bunce's *Manual of Practical Gardening, applied to the climate of Van Diemen's Land* was printed by Elliston in Hobart in 1838. A later work, Bunce's *Australian Manual of Horticulture* was published by Henry Dowling of Launceston (and others) in 1850. Also in the 1850s, *The Wreath: A Gardener's Manual, arranged for the climate of Tasmania*, was produced at the *Colonial Times* in 1855. It was stated that the work was 'as much for

²¹ Bernard Smith, *Documents on Art and Taste in Australia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1975, p.85.

the use of the newly arrived immigrant, as for those some time resident in the colony', and warned of the danger of assuming that the seasons in Tasmania were the reverse of those of Britain.²³ While the subjects of such works were presented by the colony's unique climate and settlement, colonial authors, printers and booksellers combined to grasp the opportunity they offered.

The first separate volume of verse published in Tasmania, *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, was written under the unusual pseudonym 'Pindar Juvenal' and printed by Bent in Hobart in 1827.²⁴ Ferguson describes the work as 'a humorous skit in rhyme based upon a comic and futile attempt by a band of ridiculous officials to capture Brady, the notorious bushranger and his gang'.²⁵ The Mitchell Library copy carries the written inscription 'Robert Wales of Launceston' below the pseudonym on the title page. The possibility of Wales's authorship is proposed in Appendix G. Possibly no more than thirty copies were printed, of which only four appear to have survived.

The first novel published in Australia, Henry Savery's *Quintus Servinton, a Tale founded upon Incidents of Real Occurrence*, was published anonymously in three volumes by Henry Melville in Hobart in 1830, and re-issued in London in 1832.²⁶ The novel was largely autobiographical with Savery narrating 'some of his major experiences' and pleading for the novel's acceptance in the colony and in Britain.²⁷ Morris Miller describes the novel as 'a long, rambling and monotonous narration [that] rolls on in wearisome periods to the close ... The work itself would most probably be unnoticed, were it not for the time and circumstances of its publication'.²⁸

²² See Patricia Fitzgerald Ratcliff, *John West's Union of the Colonies*, Launceston: Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, 2000; Patricia Fitzgerald Ratcliff, *The Usefulness of John West*, Launceston: The Albarnian Press, 2003.

²³ James Dickinson, *The Wreath: A Gardener's Manual, arranged for the climate of Tasmania*, Hobart: *Colonial Times*, 1855, p. xi.

²⁴ Pindar Juvenal, *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors, or the Heroes of Cornwall: a Satire in Three Cantos*, Hobart Town: Andrew Bent, 1827; E. Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1940; Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, pp.91-2; J. A. Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, Canberra: NLA, 1986, vol.1, p.426.

²⁵ Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia* vol.1, p.426.

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. vol.1, 500-1.

²⁷ Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, vol.1, p.398

²⁸ *loc.cit.*

Adopting the pseudonym 'Simon Stukeley', Savery was also author of the first volume of Australian essays, *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*, which first appeared in *The Colonial Times* in 1829 and later, in book form, published by Bent, in 1829-30. The essays comprised thirty thinly disguised sketches of local personalities believed to include Jocelyn B. Thomas, Alexander Reid, Captain Patrick Wood and Philip Russell.²⁹ Both of Savery's works were written in prison. Savery led a tragic life in the colony: following conviction for fraud in Britain in 1825 and transportation; debt led him again to prison and, finally, to Port Arthur where, in 1842, he died.³⁰ Savery acknowledged *The Hermit in London* as his inspiration for *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*. *The Hermit in London* contained essay sketches of English manners and appeared in the *Literary Gazette* 1819-20 and in book form in 1821.³¹

The first play written and published in the Australian colonies was the *Bandit of the Rhine*, by Evan Henry Thomas, published in 1835, in Launceston. Thomas arrived in Hobart, in 1822, where he was engaged in commerce, and associated with Andrew Bent as editor of the *Hobart Town Gazette*. Morris Miller suggests that Thomas, whose interests included literature and drama, was less suited to the political intrigue that surrounded the newspaper press.³² In 1827 he moved to Launceston, where he engaged in commerce and, presumably, wrote the play. It was first staged in Launceston, in October 1835, on which occasion Thomas was 'called on the stage and warmly greeted by the audience'.³³ It was staged in Hobart the following year. Unfortunately, no copies have survived. Further planned dramatic works were never written. 'It has been suggested'³⁴ that Thomas may have been the author or connected with the publication of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors* which, this study suggests, may more probably have been written by Robert Wales. A case for Wales's authorship is made in Appendix G.

²⁹ Philip Russell is described as 'one 'who seemed a liberal minded, well informed man, dressed in black, and whose expressions upon various subjects that arose as topics in conversation, did honour to his apparent calling'. C. Hadgraft, and M. Roe, (eds.), Henry Savery, *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*, St. Lucia: UQP, 1964, p.161. For a further discussion on the identity of named personalities see Michael Roe, 'Henry Savery's *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*', *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, vol.44, no.2, June 1997, p.91.

³⁰ Cecil Hadgraft, 'Savery, Henry (1791-1842)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp. 419-420.

³¹ Savery, *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*, pp.29, 30, 43.

³² Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, pp.62-81..

³³ Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, vol.1, p.354.

The first volume of verse by a native-born Tasmanian writer was Edward Kemp's *A Voice from Tasmania*, printed by John Moore of Hobart in 1846.³⁵ Kemp was probably born at Port Dalrymple between 1806 and 1808 and was educated at the King's School, Parramatta. He was prominent in the anti-transportation movement in Tasmania and, adopting the pen-name of 'Dion', was a contributor to the *Tasmanian Punch*.³⁶ *A Voice from Tasmania* contained '[u]ncomplimentary descriptions of official and other personages in Van Diemen's Land, including Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, the recently recalled Lieutenant-Governor'.³⁷ Morris Miller suggests that the work is 'characteristic of the contemporary press [in which] Kemp ... freely expressed his personal likes and dislikes'.³⁸ While it is likely that Kemp published locally because it was convenient to do so, the work was unlikely to have found a readership elsewhere.

In Launceston, Henry Dowling was the town's foremost publisher, a position he held for almost two decades. After moving to Launceston he published the *Tradesman's and Housekeeper's Diary* in 1836. In 1838 Dowling published a pirated edition of Dickens's *Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, in parts, and in book form in 1839. He claimed the work was 'the largest publication ... issued from either the New South Wales or Tasmanian Press'.³⁹ His next, and last, major publishing venture was John West's *History of Tasmania* in 1852. West dedicated the work to Henry Hopkins of Hobart. Dowling and West were both prominent within the Launceston community. It is not surprising that his work was published locally and by Dowling. Dowling is 'best remembered' for his pirated edition of Dickens and West's publication.⁴⁰ In the intervening period, Dowling printed sermons, almanacs, pamphlets on emigration, horticulture, intemperance, transportation, and other subjects.⁴¹ In September 1852 he

³⁴ E. Flinn, *ADB*, vol.2, pp.515-6

³⁵ Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, vol.4, pp.37-8.

³⁶ Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, vol.1, p.217.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, vol.4, p.38

³⁸ Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, vol.1, p.217

³⁹ Charles Dickens, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, Launceston: Henry Dowling, 1838, p. v.

⁴⁰ Clifford Craig, *The Van Diemen's Land Edition of the Pickwick Papers*, Hobart: Cat and Fiddle Press, 1973, p.5..

⁴¹ Ian Morrison, *The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia*, Melbourne: BSANZ, 1996, p.41.

was awarded a medal for printing by the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land.⁴² He disposed of his printery when elected to Launceston's first municipal council in 1853, thereby ending his publishing career.⁴³

Launceston Library Society president, solicitor, and parliamentarian, William Henty, was the author of two publications, one published in Launceston and the other in Britain. *On Improvements in Cottage Husbandry* was published in Launceston, c.1849, by Henry Dowling. The 26-page pamphlet reviewed 'the prospects for small proprietors in the Australian Colonies'.⁴⁴ Henty proposed that agricultural families were 'a necessary consequence' of the cessation of convict transportation and suggested that agricultural workers augment their living with the cultivation of marketable produce including potatoes, hemp, flax, mustard, apples and fruits.⁴⁵ The book was directed towards a domestic readership. Henty's second work, *The Art of Conversation*, a public lecture, was published by Orger and Meryon of London in 1850.⁴⁶ Orger and Meryon were regular suppliers of books and periodicals to the colony and the Launceston Library Society was among their clients. Henty's first publication was probably produced locally, by Dowling, because it was written for a domestic readership and he is likely to have known Dowling well. The second publication was probably published in Britain because of the universal nature of its subject, the topicality of Mechanics' Institutes in Britain and the colonies, and his familiarity with Orger and Meryon's practice of serving both markets.

The business founded by Samuel Tegg and subsequently acquired by J. Walch and Son, was named the co-publisher of books produced in Britain under the joint imprint of Thomas Tegg of Cheapside (also Dublin); R. Griffin and Co., Glasgow, James

⁴² *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land*, vol.2, part 2, Jan 1853, p.328. The Royal Society of Tasmania was established in 1843, based in Hobart.

⁴³ Isabella J. Mead, 'Dowling, Henry (1780-1869)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp. 317.

⁴⁴ Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, vol.4, p.287.

⁴⁵ W. Henty, *On Improvements in Cottage Husbandry*, Launceston: Henry Dowling, [c.1849], p.1. (Photocopy held Launceston Library.)

⁴⁶ The publication was reviewed in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* which the *Cornwall Chronicle* reprinted: 'The Art of Conversation.- By W. Henty, London: Orger and Meryon.- This is a lecture, addressed to the young, and was delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, in May 1849. It is really a very credible production, and calculated to be exceedingly instructive to young people. It is sensible and judicious in its observations, and highly characteristic of Anglo-Saxon

Tegg of Sydney and Samuel Tegg of Hobart: *Tales about the Sea, and the Islands in the Pacific Ocean*, by Peter Parley; *Tegg's Handbook for Emigrants, containing Useful Information and Practical Directions on Domestic, Mechanical, Surgical, Medical, and other Subjects, calculated to increase the comforts, and to add to the conveniences of the colonists*; and the *Chronicles of Crime; or, The Newgate Calender. Being a series of memoirs and anecdotes of Notorious Characters who have outraged the laws of Great Britain from the earliest period to the present time*, by Camden Pelham. In all these examples the name and location of Samuel Tegg of Hobart follows that of Thomas Tegg of Cheapside and James Tegg of Sydney, confirming that Samuel was engaged in wider publishing ventures led by his family.

Published in Tasmania, Samuel Tegg produced the *Elements of English Grammar* by Henry Thomas, in 1841. He also produced a number of almanacs, sermons and similar material. In 1838 Tegg produced *A Lecture, delivered before the Members of the Hobart Town Mechanics' Institution; on the Advantages of the General Dissemination of Knowledge, Especially by Mechanic, and Kindred Institutions* by Frederick Maitland Innes. Purchasing Tegg's business in 1845, Walch and Sons, both as publishers and printers, lacked the overseas connections of Tegg. In the period up to 1861, Walch mainly published almanacs and directories, lectures, sermons and similar material. A notable exception was the 1850 publication of Edwin Bryant's *What I saw in California*, which claimed (as the result of the discovery of gold) to 'supply the desideratum so much needed in the Australian Colonies, to meet the numerous enquires with reference to the New State of California'.⁴⁷ Considering that the publication carried the name of Henry Dowling of Launceston (who was also the printer) before that of Walch and Son, it is likely that Dowling was largely responsible for its publication.

The publishing of books and periodicals providing a general description of the colony was regularly undertaken in Britain. Among the more substantial works published in London were G. W. Evans's *Geographical, Historical and Topographical*

feeling, which is the same all over the world - honest, straightforward, and preserving. - Bell's Weekly Messenger'. *Cornwall Chronicle* 26 April 1851.

⁴⁷ Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, vol. 4, p.365.

Description of Van Diemen's Land (1819); Goodwin's *Emigrant's Guide to Van Diemen's Land* (1823); Curr's *Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land* (1824); and Bischoff's *Sketch of the History of Van Diemen's Land* (1832). All were clearly intended for a British readership and published to satisfy general interest, as well as for intending settlers when assisted emigration took place, as a result of land settlement and changed government policies.

From the 1850s it was not uncommon to publish a single work in both Britain and Tasmania. Major Henry Butler Stoney's *A Year in Tasmania* was published in 1854 by William Fletcher of Elizabeth Street, Hobart. The plain cloth binding was lettered black on the spine. The work contained a 'very interesting account of the penal settlement' and was subsequently published in Britain, under the title *A Residence in Tasmania*, by Smith, Elder, & Co. of London in 1856, with boards 'embossed in grape-cluster design and decorated in gold, lettered in gold on spine'.⁴⁸ The London edition also contained illustrations lacking in the Hobart edition, doubtless because they were too difficult to reproduce in the colony at that time. The book was aimed at a different readership, and the simplicity of the 1854 binding reveals the unsophisticated practices of colonial publishers. The first edition was clearly intended for local consumption and was a test of its success as an account of the colony. The London edition was published and bound for British readers.

Walch published Caroline Leakey's novel *The Broad Arrow* in 1860, in Hobart, following its publication in London the previous year. Leakey spent five years in the colony, returning to Britain in 1853 for health reasons. *The Broad Arrow* was written following her return, published under the pseudonym Oline Keese. Morris Miller described the novel as

a trenchant psychological criticism of the penal system of the day, based on first-hand knowledge and presented from a woman's point of view [in which she] deals with the social relations between assigned servants and their masters and mistresses, and reveals, with a show of justice, the ineptitude of presumed 'superiors' in handling their side of the problem.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, vol.7, p.446.

⁴⁹ Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, vol.1, p.407. See also Margaret Giordano and Don Norman, *Tasmanian Literary Landmarks*, Hobart: Shearwater Press, 1984, pp.45-50.

Written within a decade of the cessation of transportation to Tasmania, *The Broad Arrow* was among the earliest books written about Australian convictism by a woman. Gillian Winter has observed:

In Hobart, *Walch's Literary Intelligencer* noted its publication in the August 1859 issue and foreshadowed a cheaper edition being issued, as the price of the English edition (2v for 21/-) would inhibit its sale in Tasmania. In February 1860 Walch's were advertising an edition 'specially got up for Tasmania' at half the original price (10/6).⁵⁰

While it is clear that publication in Tasmania was the result of the author's circumstances and previous associations, equally, it was marketed with two readerships in mind - a select one in Britain and a popular one Tasmania.⁵¹

Among its colonial purchasers was Robert Gatenby whose ancestor arrived in Hobart in 1823, and whose family established rural estates in the northern midlands of Tasmania.⁵² On 2 November 1860, Gatenby purchased a small quantity of books and periodicals from Walch and Sons.⁵³ Included among these was *The Broad Arrow*, for five shillings. It would seem that Walch had reduced the price again.

In some instances authors sought British printing expertise in addition to English markets. Francis Russell Nixon, the first Anglican Bishop of Tasmania, published *The Cruise of the Beacon: A Narrative of a Visit to the Islands in Bass's Straits*, in London, in 1857. Nixon arrived in the colony from Britain in 1843, after serving as Embassy chaplain in Naples and later at Canterbury Cathedral. He strove for twenty years to establish his authority within, and for, his Church in Tasmania; he departed the colonies for Italy in 1862 following retirement due to ill health and exhaustion.⁵⁴ The

⁵⁰ Gillian Winter, 'We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen': Caroline Leakey's Tasmanian experiences and her novel *The Broad Arrow*, *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, vol.40, no.4, Dec.1993, p.149.

⁵¹ The Evandale Library acquired a copy of Walch's edition of *The Broad Arrow* before August 1860 (the date of its first borrowing). The copy is now at the QVMAG.

⁵² For Gatenby see A. W. Taylor, 'Gatenby, Andrew (1771-1848)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.429-430.

⁵³ Walch and Sons merchant's invoice, held in the Gatenby papers, at the Launceston Library. I am indebted to Robyn Lake for this reference.

⁵⁴ Nixon was at the centre of conflict both within his own ranks and with the government over the authority and role of the church and subsidised education. See Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*; John Barrett, *That Better Country*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966; W. R. Barrett, 'Nixon, Francis Russell (1803-1879)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.285-288.

Cruise of the Beacon is an account of a pastoral voyage taken in 1854 and was illustrated by the author. By publishing in London Nixon intended the *Cruise of the Beacon* to reach an audience greater than that served by colonial publishers.

Notwithstanding that Christ College and its library were established under his direction,⁵⁵ his own contribution to the cultural life of the colony was in the visual arts rather than in literature.⁵⁶ Nixon did, however, donate books from his library to Christ College, probably upon leaving the colony.⁵⁷ Prior to the introduction of photography, in 1839, and for a period after, topographical painting (the recording of surroundings) was the only means of visual communication available to support the written word. In addition to Nixon's ambitions as an artist, the inclusions of these reproduced images clearly served such a purpose.⁵⁸ While it is clear that Nixon regarded Europe as his home⁵⁹ and that he sought a British readership, it is also likely that he sought the expertise of English printers to reproduce his visual images.

Louisa Anne Meredith was the colony's most prolific illustrator and author, producing numerous books on Tasmanian flora and fauna, as well as autobiographical works.⁶⁰ Meredith was born in Birmingham in 1812. Her first work, a book of verse, was

⁵⁵ As were the Launceston Church Grammar School, founded in 1846, and Hutchins School in Hobart. See Alison Alexander, *Blue, Black and White, The History of the Launceston Church Grammar School*, Launceston: Foot and Playstead, 1996, pp.1-8. Planned prior to Nixon's arrival, by Anglican churchmen, under Sir John Franklin's administration, Alexander suggests (p.5) that Nixon provided the energy necessary that finally brought the planning of the three institutions to fruition.

⁵⁶ Bishop Nixon and his wife, Anna Maria Nixon, were both accomplished water-colour artists. Bishop Nixon owned arguably the most significant art collection in the colony, brought from Britain, including two landscape paintings by J. M. W. Turner. Nixon was a member of the Hobart Sketching Club, under the direction of John Skinner Prout, and played a central role in the colony's earliest art exhibitions, held in Hobart, ten years before Sydney held similar events, conducted under the patronage of Sir John and Lady Franklin. See Keith Adkins, *Francis Russell Nixon, Artist in Tasmania 1843-1862*, Unpublished research paper, School of Humanities, University of Tasmania, Launceston, 1993.

⁵⁷ See *Christ College Trust/Lady Franklin Library Catalogue*, Hobart: Christ College, c.1985.

⁵⁸ Nixon was also to become an accomplished photographer. His reputation is based upon the series of photographs he took of members of the Aboriginal community at Oyster Cove on the Tasmanian mainland in 1858, some years after their relocation from Flinders Island. This series of photographs, subsequently copied by Beattie, provides a unique record of the community that Nixon encountered in 1843 when he visited Flinders Island in the company of Sir John Franklin, immediately prior to the Franklin's departure from the colony.

⁵⁹ Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, p14.

⁶⁰ Listed in Vivien Rae Ellis, *Louisa Anne Meredith, A Tigress in Exile*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1979, pp. 248-254.

published in London in 1835.⁶¹ When Meredith emigrated to the colony, arriving in Sydney in 1839 and in Tasmania in 1840, she already had a reputation as a writer in England, even if only a modest one and her colonial works were mostly published in Britain. Her first Tasmanian publication was in 1869.⁶² Giving her reasons she stated: 'I do not write for colonial readers - I can tell them nothing that they may not equally well discover for themselves ... I write to communicate such information to general readers in England'.⁶³ Meredith's books were of great pictorial appeal and in most instances generously illustrated by her own hand. Two editions of *My Home in Tasmania* were illustrated by Bishop Nixon.⁶⁴ Unlike Nixon, she settled in the colony. Meredith's final work, a richly colour illustrated folio edition of Tasmanian flora and fauna, was published in London in 1891.⁶⁵ Her intention to write for British readers was a good reason for publishing in Britain, but it is likely that, given the nature of her work, she, like Nixon, sought the greater expertise of British printers.

Dr James Ross published *The Van Diemen's Land Monthly Magazine* in 1835 in an attempt to establish a superior home-grown periodical in the colony. The periodical contained poetry, literary articles and articles on natural history, mostly written by Ross himself. Production of *The Van Diemen's Land Monthly Magazine* was suspended following four issues (September- December). The periodical 'filled temporarily the gap caused by the cessation' of Henry Melville's *Hobart Town Magazine*, published in eighteen parts in 1833-34.⁶⁶ Morris Miller is not particularly flattering about *The Van Diemen's Land Monthly Magazine* suggesting: 'Its articles were not so definitely "literary" as those of [the *Hobart Town Magazine*], several dealing with horticulture and natural history, with original verse, rare, and poor in quality'.⁶⁷

⁶¹ L. A. Meredith, *Poems*, London: Charles Tilt, 1835.

⁶² L. A. Meredith, *A Tasmanian Memory of 1834*, Hobart: Walch, 1869.

⁶³ L. A. Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of nine years*, London: John Murray, 1852, p.44.

⁶⁴ L. A. Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of nine years*, London: John Murray, 1852; L. A. Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania; or, Nine Years in Australia*, New York: Bunce and Brother, 1853.

⁶⁵ L. A. Meredith, *Last Series. Bush Friends in Tasmania, Native Flowers, Fruits and Insects, Drawn from Nature, with prose descriptions and illustrations in verse*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1891.

⁶⁶ Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, p.41. See also Clifford Craig, *Notes on Tasmaniana*, Launceston: Foot and Playstead, 1986, pp. 143-14.

⁶⁷ Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, p.41.

Almost two decades after the failure of Ross's *Van Diemen's Land Monthly Magazine*, a fresh attempt was made by editors Richard Lee and William Coote to establish a superior periodical in the colony. In 1853-4 the *Tasmanian Athenaeum or Journal of Science, Literature, and Art*, a monthly publication, was published jointly by Huxtable & Deacon, Hobart; A. Duthie of Launceston and Waugh & Cox of Sydney, in 1853-4. Again, the venture was unsuccessful and just one volume of six monthly issues was published. The editors expressed regret at the journal's failure and frustration with Tasmania's cultural climate:

The circulation of the Athenaeum has neither been general nor extensive enough to diffuse beyond a very limited circle the benefits, such as they were, it attempted to convey. Nor are the circumstances of the colony favourable to such an effort. The deficient means of printers, the conflicting interests of publishers, exist here to an extent not to be conceived by authors at home.⁶⁸

Included were book reviews, articles on music, poetry, astronomy, natural history, fine arts, trade and finance, architecture and the Aborigines. The issue for February 1854 carried an extensive report on the Tasmanian Public Library, which had opened in Hobart some years earlier. Although welcoming and supportive of the library, the report questioned the exclusive nature of the library's membership.⁶⁹ Such remarks probably alienated some library members and others. As with Ross's attempt, it would seem that neither the market nor the journal were ready for each other.

Otherwise, the greatest number of local publications were of government and official business, religious matters, convict transportation, emigration, reports on behalf of clubs and societies, pamphlets and ephemeral material.⁷⁰ Government publications related chiefly to administrative and parliamentary matters. James Ross published *An essay on Prison Discipline, in which is detailed the system pursued in Van Diemen's Land* in 1833. Penal reformer, Alexander Maconochie, published *General views regarding the social system of Convict Management* in 1839. In 1854 George Washington Walker published *Friendly Counsel to the Working Classes, more especially to newly arrived emigrants*. Anglican parson Henry Fry's *Forty Reasons for*

⁶⁸ *The Tasmanian Athenaeum or Journal of Science, Literature, and Art*, vol. 1, 1853-4.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁷⁰ The NSTC lists 360 total publications for Hobart and 54 for Launceston.

Leaving the Church of Rome published in Hobart in 1854, followed his 1847 *Letter to the householders of Hobart Town , on the effects of Transportation, and on the moral condition of the colony*. Reports were published on behalf of numerous societies, clubs and associations in the colony. While colonial publishing was clearly in its infancy in the period of this study, it did produce local information and offer an engagement with current issues relative to Tasmanians.

Chapter IV Colonial libraries

This chapter discusses the development of lending libraries in the colony prior to the Evandale Library's founding and in the period of this study. These include both circulating libraries and community-based libraries, of which the latter include those established to serve specific interest groups and institutions. Given some common features, this chapter also discusses libraries established within convict probation stations. Because of its special significance to this study the library established by the Bothwell Literary Society is discussed separately in Chapter V. The purpose of this chapter is to further illustrate the literary, intellectual and social climate into which the Evandale Library was established.

1 Circulating libraries

John Pascoe Fawcner attempted to establish a reading room and library in Launceston in 1825.¹ James Fenton states that Fawcner, the son of a transported convict, placed a special value on books and that whatever scholastic knowledge he possessed 'he acquired from such books as he could obtain the perusal of in his hours of rest from manual labour'.² Fawcner's fee was to be 'not more than £5' which he termed: 'a mere trifle, a labouring man may earn it in a fortnight'.³ The attempt failed. Later, he provided books

¹ In the same year a similar attempt was made in Sydney. Elizabeth Webby states that 'the first attempt to found a commercial circulating library [in Sydney] in the English model occurred in 1825' with a Mr Paul giving notice of his intention to form such an institution, comprising 'near 1500 volumes' of novels, and that the collection was probably taken over by R. Campbell who was similarly unsuccessful. See Elizabeth Anne Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century', Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971, vol.1, p.65-6. Given that Allan Ramsay's Edinburgh circulating library is reputed to be the first in Britain, perhaps Webby should have stated 'in the Scottish model'. For Fawcner see Hugh Anderson, 'Fawcner, John Pascoe (1792-1869)', *ADB*, vol. 1, pp.368-371.

² James Fenton, *A History of Tasmania*, Hobart: Walch, 1884, p.85

³ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, p.55. As such this would equate to \$1,000 today, in 2003.

for loan at his Cornwall Hotel.⁴ Webby notes that 'before and after the brief life of Fawkner's Circulating Library, the Launceston public had to rely [elsewhere] for their reading matter'.⁵

In 1829, Fawkner advertised the sale of books, including: David Hume and Tobias Smollett's *History of England*, Amelia Opie's *Madeline*, *Valentine's Eve*, *New Tales*, *Tales of the Heart*, *New Simple Tales Illustrations of Lying*, Lady Morgan's *France* and *Italy*, *Canterbury Tales* and a variety of pamphlets.⁶ The items were readvertised on a number of occasions, which suggests that few buyers responded. In June 1831, the *Launceston Advertiser*, also owned by Fawkner, published a list of almost one hundred and eighty titles for loan from his library. These included Scott's *Waverley Novels*, *Robinson Crusoe*, Mrs Green's *Gretna Green Marriages* and works by Shakespeare, Burke and Swift.⁷ Either he only tried to dispose of a portion of his collection or, given his apparent difficulty disposing of books, he maintained his library as much by default as purpose.

Despite Fenton's favourable comments concerning Fawkner's debt to books and learning, it is probable that he encountered difficulty for two reasons. Firstly, as a commercial venture his initial attempt was doubtless thwarted as much by cost as lack of interest. Secondly, in contrast to the example set by the Wesleyans, in that their library was established upon a philosophy of improvement and the building of a Christian-based community, Fawkner limited his market to those subscribers comfortable with, or in the habit of, patronising his hostelry. It is also likely that he further misjudged his market by not stocking sufficient fiction as, before his departure for Victoria in 1835, the library became the property of James Hill, who announced the addition of almost five hundred new novels, romances and other titles.⁸

⁴ C. P. Billot, *The Life and Times of John Pascoe Fawkner*, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1985, pp. 92-93.

⁵ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol. 1, p. 56.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 290.

⁸ *loc. cit.*

The library was later acquired by Henry Dowling who, in 1838, published a catalogue containing upwards of two thousand volumes of general literature.⁹ Little is known of Dowling's library apart from surviving volumes bearing labels listing the library's rules and regulations (see Illustration 16), and a newspaper report of July 1848, stating that he proposed 'to re-open' the library provided sufficient subscribers applied, and that it contained upwards of one thousand volumes 'of standard and modern books, including some of the most recently published works of fiction now added; and the best British periodicals'.¹⁰ Annual subscriptions were set at one guinea, in advance. There is no explanation for the discrepancy in the number of books claimed for the library; perhaps, for commercial reasons, he had already sold some of the original books and discarded copies in poor condition.

Dowling's library was clearly more affordable than Fawcner's library and undoubtedly held popular novels, and was probably located in the main street of town at his stationery warehouse, which also housed the town's first savings bank. Thus the library had more credibility than at Fawcner's hotel situated some distance away in Cameron Street.¹¹ It is also likely that Dowling was held in more esteem than Fawcner, the son of a convict, given the Dowling family's prominence in church, political and civic affairs in Launceston.

In Hobart, late in 1827, the *Hobart Town Courier* published a list of books available at Deane's Circulating Library, totaling more than one hundred and fifty works, most of which were novels.¹² Deane's yearly subscription was two guineas, twice that of the Mechanics' Institute. Town borrowers were allowed a week's loan and country borrowers one week extra.¹³ The following decade brought the closure of Deane's library, in 1835, because of business difficulties, and the opening of two new circulating

⁹ loc.cit. Research undertaken by this writer has failed to locate a copy in local history collections.

¹⁰ *Launceston Examiner* 14 July 1848.

¹¹ For Dowling's role in banking see E. A. Beaver, *Launceston Bank for Savings 1835-1970*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972.

¹² Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol. 1, p.49. For Deane see Ann K. Wentzel, 'Deane, John Philip (1796-1849)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp. 301.

libraries. Davis's Circulating Library opened with 'a concentration of popular novels and other new works'.¹⁴ Davis advertised the arrival of 'the latest and most popular works, including those of Bulwer, Cooper and Marryat'.¹⁵

In 1838, Samuel Tegg announced the opening of the Derwent Circulating Library, in Hobart, and informed readers that his library contained 'a selection not to be met with' in similar establishments in the colony.¹⁶ In 1845 Walch and Son assumed ownership of Tegg's library, together with the bookselling business. Borrowing records exist for the library, beginning with Walch's takeover until 'the early 1850s, when this side of the business ceased'.¹⁷ Kirsop suggests that 'the greater carelessness with which the register was kept causes some difficulty' identifying borrowings and borrowers.¹⁸ Similarly, no record was kept of the use of the reading room. Kirsop has observed, however, that 'Walch's customers included a very solid representation of what we may call the leaders of colonial society'.¹⁹

As well as Dowling's library, Launceston in the late 1840s was also served by Tegg's Circulating Library which, in February 1847, announced the arrival of additions 'of upward of 600 volumes'.²⁰ Later in that year Tegg's library was sold to Robert Blake together with the bookselling business. In December 1848, Blake requested subscribers 'who have long exceeded the time allowed [for borrowing books] to make up their minds to return them'.²¹ A library of which little else is known is Riva's Circulating Library, which, in March 1848, announced that it contained 400 works including novels, with

¹³ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, p.50.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, vol.1, p.285.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, vol.1, p.284.

¹⁶ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, p.285

¹⁷ Wallace Kirsop, 'Bookselling in Hobart Town in the 1840's', *Books for Colonial Readers - The Nineteenth - Century Australian Experience*, Melbourne: BSANZ occasional publication No.5, 1995, p.63.

¹⁸ *loc.cit.*

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.75.

²⁰ *Launceston Examiner* 27 February 1847.

²¹ *Launceston Examiner* 30 December 1848.

subscriptions set at two guineas per annum.²² Town subscribers were allowed one set of books and country subscribers two sets at a time.

By definition of their role as commercial entities, circulating libraries were subject to market forces which meant they were less likely to provide books for other than commercial reasons. The examples of Fawkner and Deane show that membership was expensive, a cost that reflects the cost of books and the financial return required for proprietors. To be successful, they favoured popular literature, which was fiction; in doing so they served a particular clientele.

2 Community-based libraries

The Wesleyan Library, founded by the Reverend Benjamin Carvosso, in Hobart, in 1825, was the earliest such institution in the Australian colonies.²³ The library proposed a subscription fee of ten shillings yearly, in cash or books, with life membership costing £5.²⁴ The rules reflect the aims which state, in part:

The design of this Institution is to increase the knowledge, refine the taste, rectify the judgement, and ameliorate the hearts of such as may be disposed to avail themselves of its facilities, by the establishment of a library, containing the most interesting, instructive, and valuable publications on Geography, History, Biography, Poetry, Natural and Moral Philosophy, and Christian Theology. No book will be admitted into the library, the general tendency of which is hostile to the doctrines of the Christian Revelation... The committee shall request the resident Wesleyan Missionary, or some other Minister, to preach a Sermon on the Sunday preceding the Annual meeting, on the advantages of reading, especially to the youth, as a means of improving the moral capacity, invigorating and guarding the moral principle, and elevating the moral and religious character.... No book shall be admitted into the library, except approved by a majority of the committee...²⁵

²² *Launceston Examiner* 4 March 1848.

²³ Sydney's earliest, the Australian Subscription Library, was founded in 1826. The Reverend Samuel Marsden 'had first conceived such a library [in Sydney] about 1808' but the venture failed to fully materialise and the collection of books accumulated for this purpose were confined to a restricted and exclusive readership. See Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, pp. 56-57. For Marsden see A. T. Yarwood, *ADB*, vol.2. pp.207-212.

²⁴ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, p.48.

²⁵ *Rules and Regulations of the Wesleyan Library, to which is annexed a catalogue of the Books contained therein*, Hobart Town: Andrew Bent, 1827.

The printed catalogue of 1844, which lists more than five hundred volumes, reveals compliance with the rules, but with religious works constituting the majority.²⁶ Not surprisingly, perhaps, absent are both novels and secular periodicals. An interesting inclusion is the work *No Fiction: a narrative founded on recent and interesting facts*, by Andrew Reid, published in 1819. While the remnants of the library survive in situ, unfortunately there is no borrowing data. Clearly, the Wesleyans combined intellectual improvement with pastoral ministry.

The Hobart Town Book Society was established in 1828, with James Ross as librarian. In 1830 Ross reported that the society possessed upward of 1200 volumes, including current and popular works, reviews, magazines and newspapers, supplied by London booksellers, and that the society had a membership of between 60 and 70 members, each paying an annual subscription of two guineas.²⁷ Webby states that the society attracted the 'town elite', and provided a more comprehensive range of literature than that of the Wesleyans, including many of the more popular novels of the day, including works by Jane and Anna Maria Porter, Benjamin Disraeli and James Fenimore Cooper.²⁸ Webby notes the absence of eighteenth-century works and suggests that many members possessed copies of their own.²⁹ The society filled the role of a subscription library, in which a range of books and periodicals were available to members, including fiction.

As in Britain, the worthiness of fiction was debated in the colony: in particular, women were accused of being attracted to the world of the imagination that novels offered.³⁰

²⁶ *Catalogue of Books in the Wesleyan Library, Melville Street, Hobart Town*, Hobart Town: William Pratt, 1844.

²⁷ James Ross, *Hobart Town Almanac*, 1831, pp. 99-100.

²⁸ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol. 1, p. 51.

²⁹ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 52.

³⁰ Such attitudes were not confined to British readers. Martyn Lyons has observed that in nineteenth century France, it was feared that women readers might be tempted 'by erotic desire and impossible romantic expectations'. Lyons observes that women 'were considered to be, by their very nature, emotionally vulnerable to romance fiction'. Certainly, such fears were linked to reading generally by the lower class, in the wake of democratic fervour that swept the nation following the 1789 Revolution. Martyn Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001, p. 11.

Here, the correspondence of Jane Williams, daughter of Alexander Reid of *Ratho*, Bothwell, with her husband Captain Williams, absent on military service in India, in 1832, is pertinent. Captain Williams, in behaviour such as described by Flint as 'paternalistic surveillance',³¹ asked of her reading: 'I hope there are not too many novels, & if there are many that you will promise me not to devote your time to such a paltry, worse than useless occupation'.³² Presumably receiving a satisfactory answer Captain Williams's reply is worthy of fuller reporting:

I am very glad to hear you have been reading useful Books. The others have a most prejudicial effect, except occasionally as a relaxation to the mind - and that can very seldom, for they create a false view of life which never can be realised, and excite the mind in a manner that is dangerous to our very best principles, and occasion a craving for those comforts we there see displayed as the only means of happiness in this world, which we well know to be false, for there is no happiness equal to that which springs from peace of mind - that peace of mind which passeth the understanding of man; and altho' we know that, yet we cannot prevent the mind from taking its tone from the books we read and the associates we mix with.³³

In addition to its paternalistic attitude, Captain Williams's reply reveals a fear of reading novels, the habit being a threat to personal wellbeing and Christian values.

In Hobart, Dr James Ross was a firm advocate of fiction, stating: 'We have heard it objected that the taste of the majority of the readers, and of the books are of a frivolous description. But to such an objection we attach no weight'.³⁴ Ross argued on two accounts. Firstly, that studious works were inappropriate following the exertion of daily toil, and secondly, he acknowledged the 'the force of genius' inherent in works of fiction.³⁵ Following a period of economic difficulty in the 1830s, when a portion of the books were sold, the society was reconstituted as the Hobart Public Library, of which little further was heard.³⁶

³¹ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.4.

³² P. L. Brown (ed.) *Clyde Company Papers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941-1971, vol. I, p.160.

³³ *ibid.*, p.163. For contemporary attitudes see also Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey: and Persuasion*, London: John Murray, 1818, vol. I, pp. 37-38, 48.

³⁴ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol. I, p.269.

³⁵ *loc.cit.*

³⁶ *ibid.*, vol. I, p.275.

Ross played a major role in the founding of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute in 1827, Australia's earliest such institution.³⁷ In Britain, mechanics' institutes 'aimed to provide technical and adult education to skilled workers' by the means of formal classes, often with an associated library and museum, in an attempt to direct members away from harmful recreational pursuits and as a means of self-improvement.³⁸ Petrow states that, in addition to the British model, moral enlightenment, as proposed by Roe, was a 'key factor' in the establishment of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute.³⁹

Webby, and later Petrow, have reported upon the Hobart Mechanics' Institute. Webby has emphasised its early struggle, stating that by 1832 the institute was still 'virtually non-existent'⁴⁰, and that by the 1840s it was concerned more about survival than the contents of its library.⁴¹ Petrow has reported on the institute's early attempts at success, and its failure for reasons including divisions within the membership, lack of resources and the emergence of rivals, including the library of the Royal Society and the Tasmanian Public Library.⁴²

A copy of *A Manual for mechanics' Institutions. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, published in London, in 1839, has survived from the collection of the Evandale Subscription Library.⁴³ Although there is no evidence concerning the volume's provenance or date of entry to the library, it is probable that it was added to the library sometime between 1857 and 1861, given its high library number and that it is not listed in the published catalogue of 1857. The existence

³⁷ Ross chaired the Hobart meeting of 20 March 1827 when the institute was reputedly founded. Petrow, 'The Life and Death of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute', *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, vol.40, no.1, March 1993, p.8.

³⁷ loc.cit.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.7.

³⁹ loc.cit.

⁴⁰ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.1, p.278.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.350.

⁴² Petrow, 'The Life and Death of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute'.

⁴³ Now held QVMAG library.

of this has gone unnoticed by historians. In addition to matters of procedure, this volume lists the books recommended for institute libraries.⁴⁴

Of the many thousand works recommended by the society, in standard categories of the period, only a select few are fiction, including works by Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, Washington Irving and Sir Walter Scott. The society's manual states:

From the lists of books read by different individuals at a Mechanics' Institution, it was manifest that there were several decided novel readers. Novel after novel appeared to be devoured, each in a few days; no other books are relished by such persons. This is the abuse of a library of a Mechanics' Institution.⁴⁵

The catalogue of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute, published in 1849, lists double the number of works recommended in the society's manual, including numerous authors not listed such as Marryatt, Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, J. F. Cooper and G. P. R. James.⁴⁶

The Reverend John Lillie, Presbyterian minister of St Andrew's Church, Hobart, and the colony's senior Presbyterian churchman, was elected President of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute in 1839, a position he held until 1855.⁴⁷ Lillie was a foundation vice-president of the Royal Society of Tasmania, and secretary in 1845-48; he helped to establish the Hobart High School and acted as its rector in 1850-51.⁴⁸ He is described by Gascoigne as a 'Tasmanian advocate for the virtues of science'.⁴⁹ Lillie was a colleague, friend, business associate, and regular correspondent of Robert Russell, immediately following his arrival in the colony in 1837, and in the years leading to the Evandale Library's founding. He achieved financial security outside of the church by investing spare funds, in sheep, with George Russell and his associates in Geelong.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *A Manual for Mechanics' Institutions*, London: Longman &c., 1839, p.vi.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.50.

⁴⁶ *Catalogue of the library of the Van Diemen's Land Mechanic's Institute*, Hobart Town: James Burnett, 1849.

⁴⁷ For Lillie see Michael Roe, 'Lillie, John (1806-1866)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.118-119.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.118

⁴⁹ John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.98.

⁵⁰ P. H. Brown (ed.), *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, London: Oxford University Press, 1935, pp.249-250.

Given the Hobart Mechanics' Institute's collection of fiction it is clear that it responded to local demand and the views of its officials, Ross and Lillie included. Given Lillie's seniority and his friendship with Russell, it could be expected that Lillie's association with the Mechanics' Institute was known to Russell and, given that the society's manual was held in the Evandale Library's collection, it is further to be expected that Russell was informed of the issues facing libraries concerning fiction.

In 1834, the Bothwell Literary Society was formed. It was the first such institution in colonial Australia. The society and its library are discussed at length in Chapter V.

The Reverend Dr William Browne established what was 'apparently indiscriminately [termed] the St. John's Lending Library, or the St. John's Theological Library', in Launceston, following his appointment as Anglican chaplain, in 1828.⁵¹ Evidence of the library comes from volumes once located at St John's Church, Launceston.⁵² The evidence suggest that the library comprised mostly theological works, including publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and works of an improving nature including social and natural history, logic, ethics, and moral philosophy. Peter Webb suggests that the library was established before the founding of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, in 1842, after which it went into decline. Furthermore, he states:

I believe the bulk of the library was got together by Dr Browne and that he actively encouraged his congregation - convict and free - to use it. For it seems clear to me it was intended for the use of the public; the evidence is not strong, but the inferences to be drawn from this remnant of the collection are plain enough'.⁵³

⁵¹ P. G. Webb, 'St John's Library: A Nineteenth Century attempt to improve the Common Man', A paper read to the Northern Branch of the Royal Society of Tasmania, on Friday, 5 March 1971, Launceston: Royal Society of Tasmania, Bulletin 10, October, 1975, p.3. For Brown see W. R. Barrett, 'Browne, William Henry (1800-1877)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.168-169.

⁵² Webb, 'St John's Library', p.3. In 1971 Peter Webb located 237 titles in 314 volumes. In July 2002 a further visit to St John's Church in the company of the writer failed to locate the books. It is probable that the books were removed during the restoration of the church building in the early 1980s. Their present whereabouts are unknown.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.8.

While Webb's conclusions are compelling, there is insufficient evidence to make stronger claims, and none to indicate the borrowers or loans.

From Browne's correspondence it is likely that he purchased books from Orger and Meryon. In 1852 the London bookseller acted as intermediary for correspondence between Browne in Tasmania and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the *Colonial Church Chronicle* in London. In July 1853 the *Cornwall Chronicle* reported:

A recent letter from a correspondent in England brought us the following enclosures:- Orger and Meryon, with their compliments to the Editor of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, beg to forward the enclosed at the request of their correspondent, Reverend Dr. Browne, of Launceston, Van Diemen's Land. 174, Fenchurch-street. Oct. 22. 1852'.⁵⁴

Browne complained of what he termed 'Romanizing' (sic) influences within the colonial church, and of the *Tasmanian Church Chronicle* over its reporting.⁵⁵ He was fiercely Evangelical and 'earned the displeasure of Bishop Nixon' over doctrinal matters.⁵⁶ Given Browne's enlistment of the bookseller's assistance in this manner, and the quantity of the Society's publications in the St John's library, it is likely that Orger and Meryon was also Browne's supplier of books.

The Launceston Book Society was established following a meeting held on 11 September 1840 when it was resolved that 'arrangements ought to be made for forming a Book Society and that intimation be therefore given to those who have already signified their wish to become members'.⁵⁷ The minutes were signed by the Reverend John West. Subsequent meetings confirm that books were ordered from Britain, that fines were imposed for not attending meetings, and that the Launceston Mechanics' Institute was formed from within its numbers, after which the society was disbanded. Following the founding of the institute it was resolved to dispose of the Society's books 'by competition

⁵⁴ loc.cit.

⁵⁵ *Cornwall Chronicle* 23 July 1853. The *Tasmanian Church Chronicle* began as a supplement to the *Hobart Town Courier*.

⁵⁶ Geoffrey Stephens, *The Anglican Church in Tasmania*, Hobart: Trustees of the Diocese, 1991, p.56.

⁵⁷ Launceston Library. LMSS 79/29.

among members' and the proceeds be divided among the thirteen financial subscribers.⁵⁸ The Launceston Book Society was an attempt to provide members with books for reading, after which they were to be sold within the membership, rather than kept to form a permanent library. In this respect it differed from the Launceston Library Society.

Referring to the Launceston Library Society, established in 1845, the *Launceston Examiner*, 30 May 1852, reported the formation of a library in Launceston some years previously, suggesting that 'scarcely a ship arrives from England direct, which does not bring an accession of standard works, a supply of works more valuable than those found in private circulating libraries.'⁵⁹ The Society's objectives were 'the establishment of a permanent collection of useful books, in every department of literature'.⁶⁰ William Henty, prominent Launcestonian and later parliamentarian, was the principal figure among the membership.⁶¹ Webby claims that the Society was 'the most liberal of the larger libraries founded in Australia before 1850 [in that] provision was made for an unlimited number of members, including ladies ... with new books selected by a ballot of members at quarterly meetings'.⁶² Books were purchased from Messrs Orger and Meryon of London.⁶³ In June 1846, it was resolved that 'all members of Murray's Home and Colonial Library [then published] be procured for the society'.⁶⁴

In July 1847, the Launceston Library Society published its collection of books and periodicals in the *Launceston Examiner* and invited new subscribers for a fee of one pound entry and one pound annually.⁶⁵ The list included *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh Review* and *Westminster Review*. Surviving volumes carry the stationer's label of Orger and Meryon.⁶⁶ For a time the society ran concurrently with the institute library. In 1856 it was agreed to transfer the books 'for the benefit of the

⁵⁸ loc.cit.

⁵⁹ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.360.

⁶⁰ *Rules of the Launceston Library Society. Established 1845*, Launceston, 1845.

⁶¹ For the Henty family see Marnie Bassett, 'Henty, Thomas (1775-1839) ...', *ADB*, vol.1, pp 531-534.

⁶² Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.361.

⁶³ *Minute book of the Launceston Library Society*.

⁶⁴ loc.cit.

⁶⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 1 July 1847.

public and that a claim be made upon this government to an annual grant of money to maintain it as a public library'.⁶⁷ Thereafter the collection merged with that of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute and was later absorbed into the Launceston Public Library. Although the society functioned as a subscription library, unfortunately both borrowing and membership records have not survived.

The Launceston Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1842. It was established with the object of instructing members in the 'principles of the arts' and in diffusing 'scientific, literary, and other useful information'.⁶⁸ The institute occupied various sites in the town before relocating to new and impressive premises in 1860. Petrow suggests that contributing to the institute's success was 'an imposing, even noble, building [which] gave the Launceston institute and its members confidence in a prosperous future'.⁶⁹ Consistent with the aims of such institutions the library favoured improving works for its book collection and reading room. In common with developments elsewhere, the proportion of fiction was progressively increased. By 1844 the stock had increased to almost 500 books and more than 100 magazines.⁷⁰ In November 1846 the *Launceston Examiner* reported a circulation of five thousand volumes the previous year.⁷¹ In July 1847 the institute advertised items missing from its reading room, including copies of the *Edinburgh Review*, *Mechanics' Magazine*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Chambers' Miscellany* and *Knight's Weekly*.⁷²

Members of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute debated 'the value of fiction and general literature'.⁷³ Early opponents of fiction in Tasmania included clergymen, Charles Price

⁶⁶ These periodicals are held in the Victorian and Edwardian Collection of the Launceston Library.

⁶⁷ *Minute book of the Launceston Library Society*, 8 August 1856.

⁶⁸ Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, Launceston: Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, 1998, pp 54-5. Also see *Manual for Mechanics' Institutions. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge*.

⁶⁹ Petrow, 'The Life and Death of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute', p.16. Hobart's institute located in temporary premises, suffered by having no such advantage.

⁷⁰ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.365;

⁷¹ *Launceston Examiner* 4 November 1846.

⁷² *Launceston Examiner* 10 July 1847.

⁷³ Stefan Petrow, 'Reading in Launceston: The case of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute 1842-1914', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, vol.22, no.3, 1998,

and R. K. Ewing. Born in London, Price arrived in Launceston in 1836 and founded a Congregational church and grammar school in Tamar Street where he maintained 'an effective ministry for fifty-five years'.⁷⁴ Price spoke of the 'bewitching influence of light and trashy literature [that] throws a false glare over society, excites a morbid imagination, and leads to the persuasion that starry phrases, bon mots, and caricatures are to be the food of the mind.'⁷⁵ Formerly an ordained Congregational minister, Ewing was inducted into the Presbyterian Church and appointed to St Andrew's Church, Launceston, in 1848 where he ministered for twenty years.⁷⁶ In a more judicious statement than Price, Ewing reported that novels, which were estimated to be one-fifth of the institute's collection, included many of 'an inferior kind' and suggested that more money should be spent on history and poetry.⁷⁷ Despite the different tone of their statements, both questioned the value and proportion of fiction in the collection.

The statements of Price and Ewing are in sympathy with those of the Reverend John Dunmore Lang, the prominent Presbyterian minister and political activist, in Sydney, when criticising the committee of the Australian Subscription Library, in 1844.⁷⁸ Lang is reported as laying charges of inefficient management based upon the poor quality of the books in the library:

The Catalogue of the Library exhibited a collection of the merest trash-novels and romances, exceeding in proportion works of sterling merit. He would not have objected to see a few works of the elite of the authorship of the class; but until the standard works of the English language had been placed upon the shelves of the library, it was the duty of the Committee to expend money in this description of works with a sparing hand indeed.⁷⁹

p. 157.

⁷⁴ G. L. Lockley, 'Price, Charles (1807-1891)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp. 351-1. For Price see also Ratcliff, *The Usefulness of John West*.

⁷⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 28 April 1850.

⁷⁶ J. Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Tasmania: Presbytery of Tasmania, 1935, pp.121-122.

⁷⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 14 June 1851.

⁷⁸ For Lang see D. W. A. Baker, *ADB*, vol.2, pp.76-83; Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-185*, Melbourne University Press, 1965.

⁷⁹ Reported by W. A. Duncan in his *Weekly Register* on 24 February 1844, quoted in Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.305.

Webby notes that despite Lang's protestations the library continued to acquire many works of fiction and that the 1845 *Addenda* shows an additional 326 volumes of popular novels.⁸⁰ It seems that Lang was fighting against the tide of popular demand.

In Launceston, those who disagreed with Price and Ewing included Frederick Maitland Innes and Dr William Paton.⁸¹ In 1847 Innes argued that the institute library should include works of 'general literature, especially history, the philosophy of mind, poetry and fiction, which [he suggested] cultivated "intelligence, taste, feeling, refinement"'.⁸² Innes maintained 'that reading should not be confined to the sciences, but [that] the Mechanics' Institute should also promote general literature, especially history, the philosophy of mind, poetry and fiction'.⁸³ While conceding the existence of 'faulty and pernicious novels and romances' within the fiction genre, Innes argued in favour of fiction on the grounds that at its best it presented 'vivid pictures of the state of real life which it is important for us to know something of, and of which we cannot learn anything so well as by this mode of writing', citing Bulwer Lytton's *Eugene Aram* and *Pelham*, and Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist* as good examples.⁸⁴ Clearly, there is correlation between Innes's attitude towards fiction as a means of human understanding and the sentiments of Ellery Channing: 'I know no wisdom but that which reveals man to himself, and which teaches him to regard all social institutions, and his whole life as the means of unfolding and exalting the spirit within him.'⁸⁵ Innes was elected to the Launceston Library Society on 4 July 1849.⁸⁶ At a meeting of the Society held 2 October 1849, he proposed the purchase of Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*.⁸⁷ In May 1850, he gave a lecture to members of the institute on '[t]he obligations entailed by the possession of knowledge'.⁸⁸ Sometime in the early 1850s, Innes settled on his wife's property, *Mona*

⁸⁰ loc.cit.

⁸¹ Petrow, 'Reading in Launceston: The case of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute 1842-1914', pp. 157-8

⁸² Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, p. 77.

⁸³ loc.cit.

⁸⁴ loc.cit.

⁸⁵ Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, p. 147.

⁸⁶ *Minute Book of the Launceston Library Society*, Local Studies Collection, Launceston Library.

⁸⁷ loc.cit.

⁸⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 22 May 1850.

Vale, at Evandale, where he became active in the affairs of the Evandale Library. In 1853 he was admitted to membership of the Royal Society of Tasmania.⁸⁹

A medical graduate of Edinburgh University, Dr Paton lived at Longford in northern Tasmania. He called for self-regulation by readers and discretion in acquisitions.⁹⁰ It is clear from the borrowing data that the issue was won by the advocates of fiction. Despite the Institute favouring 'improving works', evidence from newspaper reports reveals that in 1859 fiction accounted for 59 per cent of the Institute's loans.⁹¹ It is not surprising that the printed catalogue of 1858 reveals that the author best represented in the library (with 24 titles) was Walter Scott.⁹²

The institute also conducted lectures on scientific and literary matters. Dr James Kenworthy was an occasional lecturer on scientific matters and a committee member, before leaving the colony in 1856. Kenworthy's association with the institute coincided with his presidency of the Evandale Subscription Library. The ideals upon which the institute was founded were tailored towards artisans,⁹³ but it seems that it was also patronised by the town's commercial and professional community. Borrowing records have not survived but, in 1847, it was accused by the thorny editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle* of resembling 'a literary society principally adapted for the superior classes'.⁹⁴ The book stock was to form the nucleus of the town's public library.⁹⁵

Before their departure from the colony in 1843, Sir John Franklin and his wife, Jane, Lady Franklin, established a museum and library on the *Ancanthe* estate at Lenah Valley, on the

⁸⁹ *Report of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land for the year 1853*, Hobart, 1854.

⁹⁰ loc.cit.

⁹¹ loc.cit.

⁹² *ibid.*, p.159.

⁹³ Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, pp.9-11.

⁹⁴ *Cornwall Chronicle* 19 June 1847.

⁹⁵ Launceston's public library has operated under a variety of names: The Launceston Mechanics' Institute, The Launceston Public Library, The Northern Regional Library, and currently the Launceston Library. Many books and periodicals from the Mechanics' Institute and the Launceston Library Society are retained within the present collection. In an act of government vandalism the Mechanics' Institute building was demolished in 1971 and a new library building was erected on the Mechanics' Institute site of 1860.

outskirts of Hobart. *Ancanthe* was to be 'a temple of science, the home of a collection illustrative of Tasmania's natural history'.⁹⁶ The building was constructed to a neo-classical design; it was to house a scientific collection and a library. Bolger describes the venture thus:

Close to Hobart she [Jane, Lady Franklin] constructed a new-world Parthenon; this one not a temple to the deities but to her husband's gods. It was to be a natural history museum with simple pediment columned in brown stone, rising with Greek precision from a rough valley of shattered eucalypt, and bearing the name Ancanthe. Jane's vision was of a polis, a city of cultural achievement and learning, and this vision found some slight reflection of truth in this Athens of the Southern Ocean; where men educated in the English classics tradition formed a tight, elite community served by slaves and visited by traders; with leisure and isolation and time to contemplate the things of quality.⁹⁷

The foundation stone was laid 16 March 1842.⁹⁸

The rules required that books be of just three classes: those illustrative of Tasmania and its neighbouring colonies, works written by authors who were or had been inhabitants of Tasmania, and works printed and published in Tasmania.⁹⁹ In 1845 the library held 152 titles of donated volumes conforming to the strict criteria laid down. Following the Franklins' departure little was done to further their ideal. It is unlikely that the library achieved a wide readership.¹⁰⁰

The Franklins also inspired the founding of Christ College and its library, which was established at Bishopsbourne by the Church of England in 1846, after Franklin's recall to Britain. Christ College was modelled on the university colleges of Cambridge and Oxford in England. By 1848 the library contained 3000 donated volumes, devoted to science,

⁹⁶ Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin in Tasmania 1837-1843*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1949, p.195.

⁹⁷ Peter Bolger, *Hobart Town*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973, p.27.

⁹⁸ Clifford Craig, *The Engravers of Van Diemen's Land*, Launceston: THRA, 1961, p.11.

⁹⁹ *Tasmanian Journal*, volume 2, number 9, April 1845, pp.313-316: Quoted in *Catalogue of the Franklin Museum Library*, Hobart: Christ College, n.d. These are the same criteria as the Tasmaniana Library, State Library of Tasmania, adheres to today, in 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Remnants from the library are held in the rare books collection of the University Library in Hobart.

classics, theology and miscellaneous literature. The library was intended as a teaching library to be run in conjunction with the college.

The Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land established a library in Hobart following its founding in 1843. The library was regarded as an auxiliary, 'though an indispensable one'¹⁰¹, to the scientific collection. Michael Roe has described the society as 'the outstanding learned body in the [Australian] colonies'.¹⁰² The first book, Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Plants*, was purchased in 1846. In 1847 the University of Cambridge donated Bibles and books on divinity. By 1849 the library contained 250 volumes. The published catalogue of 1850 listed 329 books and pamphlets.¹⁰³ Although the society was founded under the patronage of Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, the scientific climate was nurtured by his predecessor, Sir John Franklin and his wife Jane, Lady Franklin. 'Complimentary copies of the first issue of the *Papers and Proceedings* in 1849 were sent to the major British institutions ... Thus began a system of exchange which immeasurably enriched the library'.¹⁰⁴ Gillian Winter states: 'It has been, and I think correctly, suggested that the library collection, made largely by exchange, is the most significant single achievement of the Royal Society and that it is the most eminent scientific collection in Australia'.¹⁰⁵ The library and scientific collections were housed in a number of locations before being located at the Tasmanian Museum (later the books were moved to the University Library in Hobart). At one time it was thought that the library might develop a wider readership, but upon the founding of the Tasmanian Public Library the society restricted its purchases of books and periodicals to scientific publications.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ J. Sommerville, *The Royal Society of Tasmania, 1843-1943*, Hobart: Govt. Printer, 1944, p.206.

¹⁰² Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, p.157.

¹⁰³ Sommerville, *The Royal Society of Tasmania, 1843-1943*, p.206.

¹⁰⁴ Gillian Winter, 'For the advancement of Science: the Royal Society of Tasmania 1843-1885', University of Tasmania, Honours Thesis, 1972.

¹⁰⁵ loc.cit.

¹⁰⁶ E.L.Picse, *The Foundation and Early Work of the Society*, Hobart: The Royal Society of Tasmania, 1913, pp.153-4.

It was at this period in the colony's development, in 1847, that the Evandale Library was founded. Before this, Bothwell had the only community-based library outside Launceston and Hobart. The Evandale Library is the subject of Chapter VII.

The Tasmanian Public Library was founded in Hobart in 1849. The library was 'originated' by the Lieutenant-Governor Sir William Denison.¹⁰⁷ The annual subscription was set at one pound; a 'donation' of books to the value of £10 constituted life membership.¹⁰⁸ In 1851, the library had thirty-four life members, one hundred and eighteen annual subscribers, and contained 3,500 books of which the majority were received from the estate of James Bicheno, the recently deceased former Tasmanian Colonial Secretary.¹⁰⁹ In January 1852, the library held almost 4000 volumes, few of which were fiction.¹¹⁰ Levett suggests that the library was 'essentially a municipal one serving the well-to-do of Hobart'.¹¹¹ Included among the membership was Launceston parliamentarian William Henty, sometime president of the Launceston Library Society.¹¹² Although termed 'public', the library was in essence a subscription library.

Although not strictly a community-based library, the library of the Tasmanian Parliament was patronised by elected members and government officials. The catalogue of 1860 reveals that, in addition to parliamentary speeches, reports and statistical material, the library contained books on law, agriculture, antiquities, arts and sciences, astronomy, atlases and maps, biography and correspondence, chemistry, classics, education, engineering and mechanics, geography and history, geology and mathematics.¹¹³ Novels were not included. In some respects it functioned as a private library. Where it differed

¹⁰⁷ *A catalogue of the Tasmanian Public Library and reading room... with the rules, regulations, and bye-laws and list of members*, Hobart, 1851.

¹⁰⁸ *loc.cit.*

¹⁰⁹ *loc.cit.*

¹¹⁰ John Levett, *The Tasmanian Public Library 1849-1869 - The rise and fall of a colonial institution*, Monash University: M.A. Thesis, 1984, p.63.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 56.

¹¹² *A catalogue of the Tasmanian Public Library and reading room... with the rules, regulations, and bye-laws and list of members*.

¹¹³ *A classified catalogue of the Parliamentary Library of Tasmania*, Tasmania, 1860. This publication is the earliest surviving record of the library's titles. See also Terry Newman, *History of the Tasmanian Parliamentary Library*, Hobart: Tasmanian Parliamentary Library, 1987.

was that its purpose was to serve a changing readership, and one whose greater role was in public service.

To conclude, at the foundation of the Evandale Subscription Library, in 1847, Hobart library subscribers were reliant mostly on either the Wesleyan Library, with its small collection of religious and non-fiction works, or the Hobart Mechanics Institute, whose library collection failed to live up to early expectations. The libraries of the Royal Society of Tasmania and the Tasmanian Parliament were restricted both in scope and membership. Other attempts had failed: they either faded away, with their collections lost to public use, or became the basis for further attempts at library provision. The establishment of the Tasmanian Public Library was still two years away. The situation was better in Launceston as a result of the Launceston Library Society's continued existence (although this was not to last) and the success of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute. In 1847, the Bothwell library was the only comparable institution outside the major towns of Launceston and Hobart.

3 Convict probation station libraries

By the middle of 1844 there were 6087 convict men in first-stage probation stations in the colony, each station with a school, a schoolmaster, a religious instructor and a library.¹¹⁴ Books and libraries were part of a rehabilitation process, not intended simply to occupy the prisoners' time. While the evidence confirms their use by convicts, it also indicates that prison officials applied the libraries to their own purposes.

On Norfolk Island, Alexander Maconochie, appointed commandant of the convict station in 1840, made special requests for books as a means of self-improvement and amelioration of the prisoners. According to Hughes, Maconochie 'asked for a copy of *Robinson Crusoe*, to instil "energy, hopefulness in difficulty, regard & affection for our brethren in

¹¹⁴ Ian Brand, *The Convict Probation System: van Diemen's Land 1839-1854*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1990, pp. 28-29.

savage life"... He wanted the convicts to read travel and exploration books ... because "the whole white race in this hemisphere wants softening towards its aboriginal inhabitants""¹¹⁵ Maconochie offers special insight into enlightened thinking in this regard. It is worthy of note that only recently had the remnants of the Tasmanian Aboriginal race been marooned in the middle of Bass Strait on Flinders Island.¹¹⁶ Given Scott's popularity in the colony it is not surprising that among the books sought by Maconochie were Scott's novels.

While books were made available for convict use, allowance was also made for their gaolers. Government regulations stated:

The officers of the station will be allowed the use of the books from the library; care being taken that no more than one volume be given out at a time to any individual, - that the book given out be not kept beyond a fixed period, - and that a sufficient supply be retained for the use of the convicts in the gangs. The officers will be responsible for the return in good order of the books which they borrow'.¹¹⁷

It seems that at the Port Arthur convict station books were chosen as much for the gaolers as the prisoners. In 1844, the Reverend Edward Durham, an Anglican, observed: 'As to the library ... I beg to say that the great majority of the works are better adapted for a Methodist preacher's library than for the instruction of prisoners'.¹¹⁸

While convict reading is beyond the scope of this study, convict and probation station libraries reveal two important facts. The first concerns the convicts. Surviving remnants reveal that in some instances books failed to receive regulation care, being torn, dirty, and with repetitious and somewhat immature handwriting within the margins.¹¹⁹ The books were clearly used for writing practice by the convicts. The second concerns prison officials. While the example of Alexander Maconochie, when on Norfolk Island, reiterates

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, London: Collins, 1978, p.506. For Maconochie's report see *Historical Records of Australia*, vol. xx, pp.535-537.

¹¹⁶ See N. J. B. Plomley, *Weep in Silence*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1987.

¹¹⁷ Brand, *The Convict Probation System: van Diemen's Land 1839-1854*, p.241.

¹¹⁸ Durham to the Comptroller General, 29 March 1844, TSA/MISC 62/1/A1087/1128. I am indebted to Julia Clark for this reference. For Durham see Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol.1, p.402.

that books were intended for convict use, surviving volumes from probation stations located on the Tasmanian mainland, support the Reverend Edward Durham's statement and suggest that titles were selected as much for use by prison officials as for convicts. While the colonial government provided books for convict rehabilitation, prison officials, who no doubt participated in book selection, most likely used the libraries as those elsewhere would use subscription libraries.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Held in the collection of the QVMAG, Launceston.

¹²⁰ Books located in the course of this study, now in the collection of the QVMAG, include: Robert Bloomfield, *The Banks of the Wye: A poem in four books*, London, 1823; Amelia Opie, *Lays for the Dead*, London, 1834; Henry Mowes, *The Minister of Andouse*, Edinburgh, 1839; Christopher Sutton, *Disce Mori: Learn to Die*, London, 1846; and *The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Reverend Robert Hall*, London, 1846.

Chapter V The Bothwell Literary Society

The Bothwell Literary Society established the first country community-based library in Tasmania and, possibly, Australia. This chapter discusses the society and its library. The importance of the society to this study is that there is little doubt that it provided the example that clarified Russell's ideas and that in a very practical sense the Evandale Library was modelled upon what he learned at Bothwell. Evidence for this proposition comes from three sources: firstly, from the society's meeting minutes held in the Archives Office of Tasmania;¹ secondly, from its rules and catalogue of books published in 1856;² thirdly, from a significant quantity of its surviving books now held in community premises at Bothwell.

The minutes reveal that the society was formed at a meeting at the police office, Bothwell, on 26 June 1834, with twelve males in attendance, with the intention of establishing a forum for discussion and formal debate. The Reverend James Garrett, Presbyterian minister at Bothwell, chaired the meeting and was elected president. Alfred Wheatley, the Chief Constable and son of a former librarian to the Royal Navy,³ was elected secretary. Philip Russell was elected treasurer. Others attending were J. H. Patterson, Dr Scott, A. Mc Dowall, Henry Anderson, F. Patterson, William Allardyce, N. J. Quick, Alexander Reid and Charles Schaw. The following rules were unanimously approved:

1. That this Society be denominated Bothwell Literary Society.
2. That the Officers of this Society consist of a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.
3. That the Subjects of discussion be of a Literary, Philosophical or a Moral nature - Politics and Theology to be excluded.
4. That the subjects for discussion be fixed at a previous meeting, when to secure discussion, the members will be required to take opposite sides of the question.

¹ *Minute Book of the Bothwell Literary Society 26 June 1834 - 8 October 1856*. AOT, N.S. 75/1.

² *An alphabetical classified Catalogue of the Library of the Bothwell Literary Society, with the rules*, Hobart Town: C. Best 1856.

³ P. L. Brown (ed.) *Clyde Company Papers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941-1971, vol.2, p.72.

5. That every member attend regularly and in case of absence shall pay a fine of not less than sixpence nor more than five shillings unless a reasonable excuse be offered. Such fines to constitute a portion of the funds of the Society.
6. That the Society meet every Thursday evening at the apartments of Mr Wheatley.
7. That any person subscribing to these Rules and paying the sum of one shilling shall become a member.

The subject set for debate at the next meeting was: 'Is knowledge conducive to happiness?' No mention was made of establishing a library at that time.

The Reverend James Garrett was born in 1790, the fourth son of a farming family from Wigtownshire, Scotland. He studied arts and theology at the University of Glasgow, was licensed and ministered in the Presbyterian Church, in Scotland. He emigrated to Hobart in 1828 where, for a time, he acted as tutor to the nephew of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur. Receiving a call from the Presbyterian community at Bothwell he was appointed in 1829.⁴ Heyer notes that 'Garrett had charge of a school at Bothwell [in 1828] before his induction'.⁵ In the 1850s, Garrett was a member of the Royal Society of Tasmania.⁶

Alexander Reid and Patrick Wood were leaders of the Scottish community that dominated European land settlement in the Bothwell region in the 1820s. They emigrated with their families, departing Leith in October 1821 on the *Castle Forbes*, carrying Scottish emigrants to Tasmania. The men were friends, and sought to establish rural holdings in the colony. Wood was born in 1783, in Fifeshire, Scotland, a retired military officer, with wealth but little agricultural experience.⁷ Reid was the third son of a landed proprietor near Edinburgh.⁸ Philip Russell, aged 24, accompanied them on the voyage, having been engaged by Wood to manage his proposed agricultural interests in the colony. Philip was the brother of the Reverend Robert Russell who later joined him for a time at Bothwell, before being appointed to the church at Evandale, where he founded the Evandale Subscription Library. Another

⁴ J. Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Tasmania: Presbytery of Tasmania, 1935, p.244-5. For Garrett see also Julie Carington Smith, 'Garrett, James (1793?-1874)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.428-429.

⁵ Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, p.30.

⁶ *Report of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land for the year 1851*, Hobart 1852.

⁷ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.1, p.4.

brother, George, aged 19, joined Philip in Tasmania in 1831, where he farmed under Philip's supervision. George moved to Port Philip in 1836, as manager of the Clyde Company, a pastoral enterprise formed in Scotland which included Patrick Wood and Philip Russell as shareholders.

The second meeting of the society brought a change to the original plan to establish a discussion and debating group. The meeting, held on 7 June 1834, resolved that 'Members of the Society and other Gentlemen throughout the district be solicited for subscriptions for the purpose of forming a Library'. Those that put their names forward were Alexander Reid, Archibald Mc Dowall, Robert Barr, Philip Russell, Thomas Axford, J. F. Sharland, George Nicholas, Patrick Wood, Jonathan Patterson, William Allardyce, George Russell, John Tod [sic], H. Howells, Jonathan Thompson and the Reverend James Garrett. Mary Ramsay correctly states that the second meeting brought 'a change of emphasis'.⁹ While the first meeting forecast a forum for discussion and debate, the second approved the formation of a library. No reasons were given.

The July meeting is interesting on two counts. Firstly, at this time, Wood was absent from the colony; having prospered, he returned to Britain with his family in February 1834, to renew acquaintances, intending to stay away two years.¹⁰ Secondly, in addition to Philip Russell, the first subscribers included George, his brother, who had joined him in the colony three years earlier. Presumably Wood's name was included by prior arrangement. If so, it must be assumed that the proposal to form a library was discussed before Wood's departure, and that he was more influential in the process than he has been credited with.

The minutes provide rare information concerning the library's progress. At a meeting on 16 March 1836, it was reported that books 'voted at the last general meeting [titles not listed] had arrived in Hobart Town and would probably be in Bothwell at the end

⁸ loc.cit.

⁹ Mary Ramsay, 'The Bothwell Literary Society and its library', unpublished paper presented to THRA, at TMAG, Hobart. n.d., p.1. I am especially indebted to Mary Ramsay of *Ratho*, Bothwell, for matters concerning Bothwell and the Bothwell Literary Society.

¹⁰ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.1, p.186.

of the week'. Upon the motion of Garrett, Phineas Moss, the police clerk at Bothwell, an English Jew, and one of the founders of the Mechanics' Institution at Bath, England, was nominated to membership of the society.¹¹ Moss offered to take charge of the books upon arrival. On 21 March 1836 a further set of rules, agreed to by the committee, were considered and approved (see Appendix B). They stated that fees were to be set at one pound entrance and one pound annual subscription, and ladies were eligible for membership. No doubt the fee increased from the one shilling (set at the July 1834 meeting when a discussion group was intended) was a result of the added cost of buying books. Moss was admitted to membership and formally appointed librarian, reporting that 'the books had not yet arrived but that he had received a small parcel of magazines and newspapers which were ordered to be entered in the library'. Moss reported to the meeting on 6 April 1836 that 'the books had arrived ... when it was agreed that they should be immediately circulated'. Three weeks later Philip Russell was reconfirmed as treasurer.

Despite the change in emphasis following the first meeting, it is clear that members intended the library to function within a wider cultural sphere. At the meeting of 4 May 1836 it was confirmed that £30 had been collected and transmitted to London to purchase books; these volumes forming the nucleus of the library collection of 'upwards' of seventy five volumes of general literature and history and a selection of magazines and newspapers. In addition, however, a museum was intended. Mr Quick presented a preserved zoological specimen to 'the museum'. At the November meeting Quick's donation of a preserved parrot from New South Wales was acknowledged. At the meeting of 17 August 1836 it was agreed that 'a sum not exceeding £10 per annum may be appropriated towards the purchase of apparatus at the discretion of the Committee'. The First Anniversary Report, dated 6 September 1836, confirms 'donations to the amount of £25 for the express purpose of furnishing the Society with an air pump and other necessary apparatus' being acquired by the society.

¹¹ For Moss see also J.S. Levi and G.F.J Bergman, *Australian Genesis. Jewish Convicts and Settlers 1788-1850*, Melbourne: Rigby, 1974, pp. 268-269; Peter and Ann Elias (eds.), *A Few From Afar. Jewish lives in Tasmania from 1804*, Hobart: Hobart Hebrew Congregation, 2003.

The report of 6 September 1836 shows that lectures were part of the scope of the society. There were two lectures by the Reverend James Garrett: *The Atmosphere- its component parts and peculiar properties* and *On the infinite variety which characterises the material creation*. Robert Barr delivered two lectures: *On the advantages of reading History, over Fiction, in the communication of truth* and *On the necessity of British Subjects studying the History of England*. Mr Moss gave two lectures: *On the advantages of Scientific Knowledge* and *On Optics*. Dr Sharland's lecture was titled *On Botany*. The report thanked the speakers and claimed success for the series. Particularly noteworthy are the closing remarks signed by Garrett on behalf of the committee and quoted here at length:

Your Committee cannot conclude their Report without adverting to the incalculable advantages derived from the Cultivation of Literary and Scientific Subjects, and would beg leave especially to urge upon the attention of the younger branches of the Community who have hitherto attended the Lectures, the propriety of devoting a proportion of their time, particularly in the evenings to reading and the Cultivation of their minds, as far as their resources with regard to Books will afford them opportunity - let the young Gentlemen especially remember, that they were not born merely to inherit their father's fortunes, but also to fill those stations in Society which shall be left open to them, when their fathers are no more, and how possibly can they do either with credit to themselves or advantage to Society, considering the disadvantages which are felt in every part of the Colony from the want of a proper Seminary of Classical Literature: unless they endeavour by every means in their power to supply, in relation to themselves, the lack of such a desideratum by their own individual exertions and be it ever remembered that it is as only by connecting the discoveries of Literature and Science with the discoveries of revelation and making the former subservient to the latter, and reducing the whole to a practical bearing on our moral destinies - that the grand results of literary and scientific knowledge are to be gained. [signed] J. Garrett, Secretary.¹²

Garrett makes a number of points in this address: Firstly, he emphasises the cultivating and moral value of books and learning. Secondly, he gives equal recognition to the discoveries of literature and science. Thirdly, he indicates that these discoveries are 'subservient' to Christian revelation. In this way he accommodates the advances of science and reason associated with Enlightenment, within the Scottish tradition of Christian belief.

¹² *Minute Book of the Bothwell Literary Society 26 June 1834 - 8 October 1856*. AOT, N.S. 75/1.

The minutes of 4 May 1836, record the donation by Alexander Reid of 'twelve volumes on various subjects (see Catalogue)', which confirms that appropriate records were being kept. The minutes also state that twelve volumes, being the works of Hannah More, were received from Nathaniel Quick, in lieu of his entrance money for the year. At the following meeting (18 May 1836) Phineas Moss donated the *Miscellany of Natural History* in two volumes. Moss also moved, seconded by Garrett, that Lord Brougham's *Natural Theology* and the *Arcana of Science* for 1836, be purchased. Brougham, a Scot by background and an Edinburgh graduate was, among many other things, a great champion of universal education, and a founder of London University and the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge. While the minutes list the books voted for purchase and record an increasing number of book donations, neither the manuscript catalogue nor financial accounts from the period have survived.

The society's minutes reveal measures taken for the selection and care of bindings. At the meeting of 6 September 1837, on the recommendation of the committee, it was agreed that all books ordered from England be 'uniformly' half-leather bound. A number of reasons can be given for this practice. Glaister suggests that the nineteenth-century vogue for 'half-bound' books was due to the realisation that 'the effect on the shelves of a gentleman's library was the same as that of full-bound books at less cost'.¹³ While Bothwell settlers displayed their social and material ambitions in establishing fine colonial estates, it is clear that they also practised thrift. In his major study of bookbinding history, Bernard Middleton acknowledges the practical and economic advantages of bindings constructed with leather spines and corners for durability and appearance, and cloth or paper sides for economy, when cloth became a bookbinding substitute in the 1820s.¹⁴ The library's care of books is noted in the society's minutes of 17 August 1836, which stated that members 'requiring books and sending servants for the same shall provide a cover for preserving them'.¹⁵ While the

¹³ Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, London: The British Library, 1996, p.213.

¹⁴ Bernard Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique*, London: Holland Press, 1988, pp.117-164. See also Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, p.379.

¹⁵ An inspection of surviving library volumes, by the author, in January 1999, revealed that books bound in cloth and paper are almost as plentiful as leather bindings.

library committee was undoubtedly conscious of appearance, practicality and cost were equal factors when buying books.

During his time in Britain, Wood assisted with the acquisition of books for the society. The Second Anniversary Report of the society, dated 6 September 1837, records that the library contained 366 volumes, excluding periodicals and newspapers, of which 178 had been presented, including 156 by Wood. Mary Ramsay notes that '[n]ot all these books were new and they have not all been identified'.¹⁶ An examination of volumes acknowledged as part of Wood's donation¹⁷ revealed that they included: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 1814); James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1820); William Guthrie, *A General History of Scotland* (London, 1768), as well as books by William Robertson, Henry Fielding and James Mill.¹⁸ Wood's donation of books arrived in the colony late in 1836.¹⁹ Three years after the society's inception, the books despatched by Wood from Britain made up almost half the library's collection. While his role in the society's formation is not fully explained, it is clear that his commitment to the library was vital to its early success.

The report of 6 September 1837 named the colony's Governor, Sir John Franklin, as the society's Patron, with Franklin stating that: 'under such auspices your Society must flourish, and with its increasingly valuable library, become extensively useful throughout the entire population of the Colony'. In a further expression of pride and satisfaction, the committee advised an increase in the membership (details not given), enabling the purchase of more books from London. Franklin's official patronage is noteworthy given his founding, with his wife, of the library at *Ancanthe*, considering that library was devoted to books of science, human achievement and learning.

Wood sailed from London on the *Royal George*, arriving in Hobart on 5 February 1837, accompanied by Robert Russell, who had been engaged as tutor to his two

¹⁶ Ramsay, 'The Bothwell Literary Society and its library', p.3.

¹⁷ By the author, in January 1999.

¹⁸ Noted by the writer, at Bothwell, during an inspection of surviving volumes. January 1999.

¹⁹ The *Hobart Town Courier* 18 November 1836 reported the books as 'just landed from the *Drummore*'. See also Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol. 2, p.419.

sons.²⁰ Robert's engagement by Wood followed that of his brother Philip, who had accompanied Wood from Britain some years earlier to manage his proposed agricultural estates. While there are no details of what transpired on the voyage taken by Robert (or indeed by Philip), it is likely that there would have been much opportunity for conversation. Following the death of his wife, Wood returned to Scotland in February 1838.²¹ Before his departure he was elected an honorary life member of the society.

The Third Anniversary Report of the society, dated 5 September 1838, announced the arrival of 'certain apparatus' including the air pump and a set of astronomical slides. The report also confirmed the continuance of a lecture series similar to the earlier one. There were three lectures by Garrett: *That volcanoes, earthquakes and with the terrible ravages they produce did not exist in the primeval state of the Globe*, *On Matter and Motion - Introductory* and *On Astronomy*, and two by Moss: *On Pyromonies* and *On Pneumatics*. The committee expressed regret that the series was interrupted by 'the alarm occasioned by bushrangers' and the inclemency of the weather during the winter season. The report noted that few additions were made to the library during the year but acknowledged donations, including: Stark's *Elements of Natural History*, *The Farmers Magazine*, and *True Tales of Irish Peasantry*, from Robert Barr, and *A Lecture on the advantages of the general dissemination of knowledge*, by its author, Frederick Maitland Innes, journalist and future politician. The report concluded:

[T]he library now consists of 345 vols exclusive of periodicals comprising works in every department of literature, which being in continual circulation, must necessarily enlarge intellectual capacity, exert a salutary influence upon the moral elements of our nation and promote and extend the general improvement of society at large.

At this time, therefore, the society's activities comprised a museum, a lecture forum, and a well used library consisting of both books and periodicals.

²⁰ AOT, M.B. 2/39/2-3.p.91. P. H. Brown (ed.), *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, London: Oxford University Press, 1935.,p.57.

²¹ Wood returned to Scotland with his children, following the death of his wife during childbirth, sailing on the *Auriga* from Hobart Town on 12 Feb. 1838. Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.2, p.57.

The Bothwell library was established in a manner that was paralleled later at Evandale. The police office initially provided library premises, government officials were among the earliest library officers and patrons, and the collection was commenced with donated volumes. The rules of June 1834 state that the society was to meet at the apartments of Alfred Wheatley, the Chief District Constable, at the police office. The first books were reported as arriving at Bothwell in April 1836. Phineas Moss, who had been appointed librarian the previous month, was also clerk to Major Schaw, the police magistrate at Bothwell and a member of the society from its inaugural meeting, 26 June 1834. The minutes of 7 June 1837 report that the librarian was instructed to 'order shelves to be erected for the accommodation of the library'. Wood's donated volumes had arrived in December the previous year, probably filling all the available space.

The example of the Reverend James Garrett at Bothwell is consistent with Donald Carisbrooke's observation of migrants to mainland Australia at this time. Carisbrooke suggests that many immigrants, 'particularly the Scots, were ... determined to preserve their culture and literary heritage'.²² He cites the example of James Harrison who established the *Australia Felix Monthly Magazine* in 1849 in which he stated: 'This new country of ours must be moulded to our minds: not our minds to the country'.²³ Carisbrooke suggests that 'in the towns immigrants were at the forefront in the establishment of movements for self improvement, such as the mechanics' institutes, which were "like an oasis in the wilderness"'.²⁴ When Garrett and his fellow Scots established the Bothwell Literary Society in 1834 it must have seemed such an oasis.

In 1840, the Reverend James Garrett moved from the district and was succeeded in his ministry by the Reverend John Robertson, from Scotland. Heyer gives few details of Robertson or his incumbency beyond the fact that he ran a Sunday school with six teachers and 50 scholars, was unmarried, and had private means.²⁵ However, Bothwell

²² Donald Carisbrooke, 'Immigrants in the Bush', *The Push from the Bush*, vol.5, 1979, p 32.

²³ loc.cit. Quoted from *Australia Felix Monthly Magazine*, vol.1, June 1849, p.42.

²⁴ loc.cit. The term 'like an oasis in the wilderness' quoted from D. McKenzie, *The Emigrants' Guide: or, Ten Years' Practical Experience in Australia*, London, 1845, pp.40-1.

²⁵ Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, p.106

Literary Society data show that Robertson was ‘on the committee of the society for more than twenty years’.²⁶ When John Mitchel, the Irish political exile, was confined to the district, he remarked, in 1852: ‘Indeed, Bothwell has a very tolerable public library, such library as no village of similar population in Ireland ever had. Besides that, there is a Presbyterian clergyman here, a Scotsman, who is quite literary, and has many books’.²⁷ Mitchel was an educated man, and the son of a Presbyterian minister.²⁸ His statement is interesting on a number of counts. Firstly, in his favourable judgment on the library. Secondly, that he termed it ‘public’, even though it was subject to membership qualifications (probably waived in his case²⁹), suggesting that it was by no means exclusive. Thirdly, his remarks indicate that Robertson shared with Garrett his attitude to books.

It seems, however, that Garrett’s departure resulted in a decline in the society’s leadership; it certainly resulted in a lapse in procedures. During the 1840s the rule that required persons seeking membership to be elected by ballot, led to controversy when police magistrate Schaw instigated the blackballing of a re-offending emancipist. The event concerned ‘one Henry Mylam Cockerill who had been a convict clerk with a further colonial conviction for forgery’.³⁰ Ramsay cites the event as possibly why a number of pages were removed from the early minute book.

In 1856, the library moved to the newly erected school building, containing the public school, the master’s residence, and the library, with the schoolmaster as the librarian.³¹ At this time, in 1857, the society received a government grant of £50 towards books and expenses.³² The earliest surviving record of the library collection is the published catalogue of 1856. The copy held by the Archives Office of Tasmania has additions

²⁶ Ramsay, ‘The Bothwell Literary Society and its library’, p.3. Ramsay states that when Robertson ‘returned to Scotland in 1864 the library acquired 84 of his books at a cost of 8 pounds 18 shilling and 9 pence’.

²⁷ William Dillon, *The Life of John Mitchel*, London: Kegan, Paul, Tench & Co., 1888, vol.1, p.340.

²⁸ For Mitchel see G. Rude, ‘Mitchell, John (1815-1875)’, *ADB*, vol.2, pp.234-235.

²⁹ Given his notoriety it is likely that Rule XVIII was enacted allowing ‘strangers visiting the township or neighbourhood to the free use of the Library during their temporary residence’. See Appendix C.

³⁰ Ramsay, ‘The Bothwell Literary Society and its library’, p.1.

³¹ *ibid.*, p.3. For the Bothwell schoolhouse see Brendan Lennard, ‘The State School Building, Market Street, Bothwell’, *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, vol.35, no.2, June 1988, pp.79-86.

³² Estimates of Expenditure, Journals of the House of Assembly (with Appendices) for 1857.

noted up to 1860.³³ The catalogue shows that the rules of 1836 were still largely in force, though amended (see Appendixes B and C). No mention is made of female members in the 1856 rules; perhaps the 1836 provision that ‘the subscriptions of ladies be received’ was, by 1856, considered unnecessary, with no distinction practised between male and female subscribers. It is likely that in some cases females borrowed on the subscription of male members of their household as, it will be demonstrated, was the case in the Evandale Library. In 1856, the loan period was extended. This was probably possible because of the larger book stock. The new rule stated that books would be ‘issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 12 to 2 o’clock. Periodicals and *new books* (all books to be accounted *new* until twelve months in the library) shall be returned within three weeks, and other books within six weeks’.

The catalogue lists 553 titles, by subject and number: in many cases these were multi-volume works. (For categories and proportions see Table 2.) Despite the limited holding under *Theology, Polemics, Church History &c.* the category is placed first in the catalogue (ahead, for example, of *Agriculture*), and exhibits variety in its content, including: *History of the Reformation* by Merle D’Aubigné, William Paley’s *Natural Theology*, *God in Disease* by J.F. Duncan M.D. and sermons by John Wesley. For a community based upon farming, the titles listed under *Agriculture* are surprisingly few, and include: *The Book of the Farm* by Henry Stephens, twenty numbers of the *Farmer’s Magazine*, the *Journal of Agriculture*, and *Observations on Live Stock* by G. Cully. The extent to which subscribers held personal copies of books of agriculture as well as devotion and vocational instruction - as, indeed, books generally - is unknown.

Not surprisingly for the period, the limited range of titles under *Geology* includes works by Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Roderick Murchison. *Natural History, Botany, Physiology* contains, in particular, volumes on mammalia, ornithology and entomology. Of the titles listed under *Cyclopaedias, Dictionaries, &c.* the 16 volumes of *Penny Cyclopaedia* make up half the number. *Science, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Physical Geography* contains titles as diverse as *Alphabet of Angling* and Boyle’s *Hydrostatic Paradoxes*. Titles listed under *History*,

³³ AOT, CSO 1/158/5113.

Antiquities, Mythology, Topography and Voyages, Travels, &c. include *Beauties of England and Wales* in 26 volumes; titles on the lives of eminent persons; on exploration; and on maritime and military achievement. Noteworthy is the inclusion of: Bischoff's *History of Van Diemen's Land*. The extant volume contains a notation indicating that the volume was purchased on 31 July 1839, and subsequently rebound. West's *History of Tasmania* (presumably the 1852 Launceston imprint, cloth bound); William Westgarth's *Australia Felix*; John Stokes' *Discoveries in Australia* (upon inspection, found to be a full cloth binding in dilapidated condition with no donor identification, thereby suggesting library purchase); John Dunmore Lang's *History of New South Wales* (upon inspection, found to have been purchased together with the Bischoff text, and cloth bound with paper labels); and Count Strzelecki's *New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, are titles of colonial interest.

Fortunately, despite further relocations in recent decades, the library remains largely intact in community premises in Bothwell.³⁴ An inspection of surviving volumes has revealed a half-leather bound copy of Wentworth's *Statistical, Historical and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (London, 1820), which contains a library inscription acknowledging its donation by Alexander Reid in 1835, and carrying an earlier inscription 'Alex Reid, 1821'. This suggests that the volume was originally a private purchase, made in Britain before his departure and soon after that edition's publication. There is no ready explanation as to why the title is not listed in the catalogue. First published in London in 1819, the book sought to present the advantages the Australian colonies offered for emigration and, in Wentworth's opinion, their superiority over the United States of America. The book became so popular in Britain that a second edition was published within a year. In the text Wentworth proposes: 'Van Diemen's Land has not so discouraging and repulsive an appearance from the coast as New Holland. Many fine tracts of land are found on the borders of the sea, and the interior is almost invariably possessed of a soil admirably adapted to all the purposes of civilised man'.³⁵ Clearly, in this instance, the text takes the added step of promoting emigration specifically to Tasmania. The extent

³⁴ The whereabouts of the zoological specimens and scientific apparatus is unknown.

³⁵ W.C. Wentworth, *A Statistical, Historical and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, Adelaide: Griffin Press, 1978, p.117

to which Reid may have consulted the volume and taken account of its contents before his departure and, indeed, upon his arrival, is not known. Certainly the act of donation suggests a degree of acceptance and recommendation. It is also possible that the volume was no longer useful to its donor or that it was out of date for Reid's purpose.

Titles listed under *Fiction, Novels, Tales, Romances* constitute the single largest category, with 108 titles (in 168 volumes). Novelists chiefly represented are: Walter Scott with 24 titles, Bulwer Lytton with 11, J. F. Cooper with 10, John Galt with 6, Charles Dickens and Frederick Marryat each with 5, and William Thackeray with 4. Also included are Henry Fielding's *Works* in 10 volumes and titles by Samuel Warren, Benjamin Disraeli, Charles Kingsley and Maria Edgeworth.

Of the remaining categories, *Moral and Mental Philosophy, Criticisms, Essays, Letters, and Miscellaneous Literature* contains 35 titles (in 92 volumes) and includes: Washington Irving's *Works*, 10 volumes; Joseph Addison's *Works*, 6 volumes; Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 6 volumes; Hannah More's *Works*, 14 volumes and Adam Smith's *Works*, 5 volumes. The category *Poetry and Drama* includes: Robert Burns's *Poetical Works*, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Lord Byron's *Poetical Works* and William Shakespeare's *Poems and Sonnets*. Again, in the absence of borrowing records, the extent to which particular titles were borrowed remains unknown.

The listing for *Periodicals, Reviews, Magazines, &c.* is deceptive, given that the 25 titles are represented by a multitude of volumes (in some instances unbound). The range of titles is eclectic, including: *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Family Friend, Athenaeum, Edinburgh Review, Hogg's Instructor, Army List, Printing Machine, Quarterly Review, Westminster Review* and *Navy List*. Some volumes are listed as 'missing', suggesting copies were not returned by subscribers. Finally, the catalogue notes the holding of '35 detached numbers of the Library of Useful Knowledge, embracing a great variety of subjects' together with '[a] large assortment of Miscellaneous Pamphlets and detached numbers of various Periodicals'. It is not surprising that most were of British origin, considering that the minutes confirm that

books were either purchased with funds transmitted to Britain or donated by British settlers, such as the donation of Patrick Wood.

Initially, books were obtained from three sources: by donation, in lieu of subscription fees, and from unnamed London booksellers. Evidence of where and when books were obtained is taken from the society's minutes and surviving volumes with written inscriptions and booksellers' stamps and labels.³⁶ With the advent of Walch and Son, George Rolwegan and William Westcott as booksellers in Hobart in the 1840s, the society made substantial purchases locally. Interestingly, a number from Westcott have evidence of originating from Mudie's Select Library in London, presumably supplied second-hand by Westcott.³⁷ While most of the surviving volumes give little indication of the supplier, five contain evidence of coming from Orger and Meryon.³⁸ There is nothing to suggest, however, that they were a major supplier or among the unnamed London booksellers listed in the early minutes. Given publication and library entry dates, it is likely that this business was the result of the bookseller's marketing push of the 1840s and 1850s. The indications are that Walch and Son were the major supplier in the 1850s and later.

After an absence of three years Captain and Mrs Wood and their children arrived back in Hobart on 5 February 1837, accompanied by Robert Russell, and returned to their home, *Dennistoun* at Bothwell. James Ross, in the *Hobart Town Almanack*, describes the Clyde region at this time:

Having surmounted the Denhill the traveller descends into a fine plain called the Square, where a tract conducts to Dennistoun, the hospitable mansion of Capt. Wood, passing Fordell, belonging to Mr Barr. The main road continues through a fine grazing country to the township of Bothwell...[45 miles from Hobart] the residence of an officer in the commission of the peace, with a detachment of troops. Several streets are already laid out, and a number of

³⁶ Booksellers' identification is from both paper labels affixed to inside boards and blind stamping to flyleaves.

³⁷ For Mudie Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*, Devon: David and Charles, 1970.

³⁸ Lord Brougham, *Historical Sketches of Statesmen*, London: Charles Knight, 1845, vol.1; Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*, London: Longman &c., 1850; M. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the years 1844-5-6*, London: National Illustrated Library, n.d., vol.1. (entered the library in June 1856); Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Friend*, London: William Pickering, 1850, vols 1&2 (entered the library in 1854).

buildings erected belonging to mechanics and others...Near the town on the opposite bank of the river is Ratho, the mansion of Mr Alexander Reid, J. P.³⁹

At Bothwell, Robert Russell was reunited with his brother Philip, farmer, and treasurer of the Bothwell Literary Society. Robert lived with Philip, riding to Wood's home at *Dennistoun* each morning after breakfast to attend to his teaching duties.⁴⁰

Robert adapted readily to life in Tasmania. The period is recorded in letters between Robert and Philip at Bothwell and George at Port Philip.⁴¹ The communication between the brothers supplies much of the detail concerning Robert's life in the colony and is confirmation of the way in which his life had been, and continued to be, conducted within the family circle. Soon, Robert was preaching at St Andrew's Church in Hobart. Philip wrote to George: '[T]he Governor was to be present; they consider [Robert] a great gun, and are sorry that he was not appointed to the Hobart Town Presbyterian Church'.⁴² The congregation was awaiting the arrival of the Reverend John Lillie, the newly appointed minister from Edinburgh. There is little doubt that Robert's role as tutor to Wood's sons was understood to be a temporary measure, and also that Robert accepted the interim position at Hobart with Wood's blessing.

It seems, therefore, that the initial reason for the Bothwell library's founding was to further intellectual enquiry, the second was to provide books for recreational reading. This is apparent from the very start with the founders' desire to establish a forum for serious debate. The first discussion topic is noteworthy: 'Is knowledge conducive to happiness'. A recent examination of the surviving books confirms documentary evidence that suggests a genuine endeavour was made to provide subscribers with books and periodicals, in whatever form, either by means of donation or purchase, to accomplish these aims. Importance was given, firstly, to content, then cost, with many volumes of modest manufacture. In keeping with Wood's donation, some three-quarters of the library collection was non-fiction.

³⁹ *Hobart Town Almanack*, Hobart Town, 1830, p.83.

⁴⁰ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol. 2, p.71.

⁴¹ Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*.

⁴² Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol. 2, p.74-75.

It is noteworthy that surviving volumes include fewer novels than the 1856 catalogue would indicate, which suggests that these were either much read and discarded in poor condition, less valued by later generations, or not returned. While the library no doubt supported the values of Patrick Wood and encouraged works of intellectual content, its collection of novels was in keeping with the Evandale Library (see Chapter VII).

Reasons can be given for the society later favouring the Hobart booksellers. Firstly, because of Bothwell's proximity to Hobart and its commercial and social networks. Secondly, given the further evidence of Westcott's 1849 catalogue, his stock of new and second-hand books offered both range and economy. Thirdly, it is likely that James Walch, a retired British military officer, having served in India, gained favour with influential society members on the grounds of his status and experiences.

Library membership was likely to have been influenced by literacy. The gap in the Bothwell data is the lack of subscriber records, therefore the extent to which the library was patronised by the wider community is unknown.⁴³ Literacy figures for Bothwell are not available but evidence for Evandale reveals that a number of the Presbyterian church community were illiterate (see Chapter VI). Given the social, economic and demographic similarities, there is no reason to suppose that Bothwell was significantly different.

Doubtless affecting library membership was available leisure time for reading. In his study of industrial, nineteenth-century Britain, Hugh Cunningham has argued that in the view of the employer class: 'Leisure meant free non-obligated time, and for the mass of the people such time was illegitimate, it represented idleness'.⁴⁴ Because the colony was reliant upon a subordinate workforce, there are parallels with the industrial society that Cunningham examined. It follows that at Bothwell, those of lower status, given the demands of their employment, had less time and opportunity to read books.

⁴³ Of a later period, the Issue Book for years 1862-1888 has survived. AOT. NS1193/1.

⁴⁴ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980, p.12. His argument also goes towards explaining why some subscribers favoured books of self-improvement and intellectual content, rather than novels which they associated with idleness.

Some applications for library membership may also have been rejected. Certainly there was some discretion in the rules (amended in 1852) which state that 'any person desirous of becoming a member of the Society must be proposed by a member and elected by ballot of a majority of the Society at the next meeting' (see Appendices B and C). Persons of lower social status may have experienced discrimination. Others may have felt intimidated given that books were kept in the police office. Many would not have been able to afford the cost of membership. Equally, many, of all classes, would simply have been uninterested in lectures and reading.

While Wood's role in the decision to form the library can only be surmised, given his absence at the time it occurred, his role in providing the library with books from Britain was clearly vital to its development. Through his donations, Wood made a further major contribution to library provision in Tasmania. It was in Wood's company, and at his expense, that Robert Russell arrived in the colony. While there is no data to prove that Robert Russell borrowed from the library, he was certainly eligible to do so. Given his association with members and officials, and the time he spent with Wood on the voyage from Britain, there is every reason to suppose he was a borrower. Notwithstanding Wood's importance, and that of Phineas Moss, the Reverend James Garrett was no less a force, given his role in the society and recognition of the intellectual and moral benefits of books.

Chapter VI Evandale

1 District and settlement

The township of Evandale is situated beside the South Esk River, some twenty kilometres from Launceston and five from Perth. Successful land grantees and purchasers were mostly of English or Scottish origin, eager to establish pastoral estates in a manner generally denied them in Britain.¹ The land on which they settled had for many centuries been occupied by the Aboriginal race that they supplanted. At the time of European settlement, the countryside surrounding Evandale was amongst the most prized agricultural land in the colony, having been cleared and regenerated by fire for many generations, revealing vast tracts of potential farmland.²

For this study, this chapter bears special relevance to Kirsop's suggestion that 'the cultural life of the towns on the road between Hobart and Launceston is often easier to reconstruct both in broad lines and even in detail than that of much larger centres on the mainland'.³

The Evandale township was located in the administrative district of Morven. The name was probably chosen in honour of G. W. Evans, Deputy Surveyor of Lands for the colony 1812-1825. Evans was responsible for surveying much of the district. In 1822 he described the region from its southerly approach:

The soil of these plains is not exceeded by any hitherto described: the land is abundantly covered with grasses, and diversified by gently rising hills and verdant valleys. Towards the north-west the country continues level, and

¹ Land settlement was the result of government policies whereby the island's pastoral potential was recognised for its economic benefit and contribution to prison practices providing employment for passholders and ticket-of-leave convicts. See Sharon Morgan, *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

² For the Aborigines' use of fire see Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, Ringwood: Penguin, 1982, pp.108-9.

³ Wallace Kirsop, 'Books and Readers in Colonial Tasmania', Michael Roe (ed.), *The Flow of Culture: Tasmanian Studies*, Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1987, p.105.

communicates with the New Plains, which are not so extensive as Henrietta Plains, but of an equally good quality.⁴

Evans then reported on the progress of the settlement:

Here several settlers have established themselves; and the traveller may be lodged, and procure accommodation, at the house of Mr Gibson, an industrious grazier. Proceeding onward two miles, he has to cross the South Esk, on the banks of which are many cultivators, who occupy some of the finest corn-country ever seen.⁵

David Gibson was a convict who, upon receiving his pardon, became a forerunner of future Scottish settlers in the district.⁶ He was born in Perth, Scotland, c.1780, convicted and transported for life, and arrived in the colony in 1804, aboard the *Calcutta*, following David Collins's failed Port Phillip settlement.⁷ Gibson became an inspector of stock before receiving his pardon in 1813. In 1811, Governor Macquarie described the plains upon which Gibson settled as 'by far the richest and most beautiful' he had seen in the colony.⁸ During his second tour, in May 1821, when staying overnight at Gibson's farm, Macquarie described Gibson's house as: 'a most comfortable one indeed; and where we found abundance of everything'.⁹

Lieutenant David Rose was among the district's earliest free settlers. Rose, a friend of Macquarie's and a fellow Scot, came to the colony with a military contingent. He arrived in Sydney in 1810 and was immediately transferred to the settlement at Port Dalrymple at the mouth of the River Tamar.¹⁰ There he was made an inspector of government herds and livestock, an appointment similar to that of David Gibson. While still in government service he was granted land on the North Esk River at Evandale which, upon his retirement, he farmed and increased by both grant and

⁴ G. W. Evans, *A Geographical, Historical, and Topographical Description of Van Diemen's Land*, London: John Souter, 1822; facsimile reprint, Melbourne: Heinemann, 1967, p.77.

⁵ loc.cit.

⁶ For Gibson see M. Gibson, 'Gibson, David (1780?-1858)': *ADB*, vol.1, pp.439-440; G.T.Stilwell, 'Notes compiled for the Association's excursion', September 1963, *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, October 1964, vol.12, no.1, pp.33-35.

⁷ Also on board the *Calcutta* was John Pascoe Fawkner, age 11, who accompanied his father, a transported convict, to the colony, and who in 1825 attempted to establish a circulating library in Launceston.

⁸ *Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales, Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1822*, Sydney: Public Library of New South Wales, 1956, p.66.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.181.

¹⁰ For Rose see *ibid.* p.67; 'Rose, David (d.1826)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.393-394.

purchase. He named his property *Corra Lynn*. Upon his death, in 1826, *Corra Lynn* was bequeathed to his nephew, Alexander Rose. Alexander Rose, like Gibson, was to become one of the earliest benefactors of the Evandale Library and supporters of Robert Russell.

Other early settlers included Kennedy Murray who, like Gibson, was of both convict and Scottish origins. Murray was born c.1764 in Scotland and convicted in 1786. He was transported to New South Wales and, in 1796 was sent to Norfolk Island, where he established a liaison with Anne White, a convict woman. A son, Kennedy Murray junior, was born in 1799, Murray senior returned to New South Wales following the expiry of his sentence in 1802. His date of arrival in Tasmania is unclear. Murray junior arrived in Tasmania in 1813, and in 1818, with the support of James Cox of *Clarendon*, made an application to Governor Macquarie for a land grant. Murray junior's initial grant of 34 acres was the first of a number he received, initially from Macquarie and subsequently from Governor Arthur. Here he built the house he named *Prosperous* (Illustration 13).¹¹ In 1831 Murray junior, with his wife and seven children, ran 50 head of cattle and 1,200 sheep. Murray senior spent much of his latter years in the company of John Glover at *Patterdale* until the artist's death in 1849.¹² The elder Kennedy Murray died 18 June 1853, at *Prosperous*.¹³ The Murray family achieved social acceptance and financial independence at Evandale.

Free settlement in the 1820s brought many Scottish emigrants to the district. Allan Mackinnon, formerly of Skye, Scotland emigrated to Tasmania in 1822.¹⁴ He arrived in the colony in the *Castle Forbes* in March 1822, together with the Alexander Reid, Captain Wood and Philip Russell, who settled at Bothwell. Mackinnon was a member of the 'less wealthy, but well connected' branch of a landed family.¹⁵ On the voyage out from Scotland he 'travelled steerage'¹⁶ In 1833, he married Jessie McLean of

¹¹ See M. J. Maddock, *Kennedy Murray, The first hundred years or so.....*, Evandale History Society, 1992.

¹² *ibid.*, p.4

¹³ *Cornwall Chronicle* 25 June 1853

¹⁴ Sometimes given as McKinnon. This study adopts the name Mackinnon.

¹⁵ David S. Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia 1788 - 1850*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967, p.85.

¹⁶ P. L. Brown (ed.) *Clyde Company Papers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941-1971, vol.5, p.623.

Taliska, Evandale. Initially, having no patron or letters of preferment, he met with difficulty in obtaining land in the colony. By 1838 he had acquired land at Evandale and built the house he named *Dalness*, equipped with books and furniture brought from Scotland.¹⁷ Mackinnon was among those who later petitioned Russell to take up his clerical appointment at Evandale and became an active library supporter.

Members of the Ralston family also arrived as free settlers. Robert Ralston was born in Wigton, Scotland, in 1756, and arrived in the colony in 1824 aboard his vessel the *Amity*, accompanied by his second wife Elizabeth, sons, Matthew and John, and six daughters. Following the sale of the *Amity*, the family embarked upon commercial ventures in Hobart and Launceston as bakers and merchants. They then established the pastoral estates of *Logan* and *Hampden* near Evandale. Matthew, the elder brother, received the grant of *Hampden* in his own right. The family were in residence at *Logan* by 1828. Following Robert's death, in 1837, his widow Elizabeth Ralston remained at *Logan*, possibly in the company of an unmarried daughter. John Ralston took possession of the *Logan* homestead upon the death of his mother.¹⁸ In 1840 the family were joined by Robert Hunter, a grandson of Robert Ralston from his first marriage. Robert Hunter was born in Scotland, in 1807, the eldest son of parents who emigrated to North America taking him with them.¹⁹ Having lived abroad from childhood he may not have benefited from a Scottish education. In Tasmania he became a flour-miller and proprietor of the Evandale Steam Mill and the New River Mill at Perth. Together, the extended family conducted an active and diverse pastoral enterprise.

Donald Cameron senior was born in Edinburgh 1780, attended the Edinburgh High School, and graduated M.D. from the University of Aberdeen. Following service in the Royal Navy and a period in private medical practice, Dr Cameron emigrated with his wife and five children to New South Wales, arriving in 1821, after which he relocated

¹⁷ In discussion with Donald Mackinnon at *Dalness* 29 November 1996.

¹⁸ In discussion with Professor Geoffrey Sharman, a Ralston descendant.

¹⁹ Robert Hunter was the son of William and Hannah Hunter who were married in Scotland in 1803. Hannah (born 1784) was the daughter of Robert Ralston and his first wife, Anne Grier (died 1795). Robert Ralston, his second wife Elizabeth (nee Bryce), their two sons and six daughters emigrated to Tasmania on their vessel the *Amity*. Ralston and his family eventually settled at Evandale where they became substantial landowners. I am indebted to Professor Geoffrey Sharman, a descendant of Robert Ralston, for information concerning the Ralston and Hunter families.

to Tasmania. It is likely that he practised medicine in Launceston before taking up residence at *Fordon*. By 1823 the family had settled at *Fordon*, a 1,000-acre land grant on the River Nile near Evandale, to which they added more land by purchase.

Andrew Barclay was born in Fifeshire, Scotland in 1759, arriving in the colony in 1816, after having spent his life at sea.²⁰ At Evandale, Barclay established farms on land granted to him and purchased by him, from where he supplied meat to the government commissariat stores. He also grew wheat, barley and potatoes, and was the recipient of rams from Macarthur's flock, in a government attempt to improve the quality of wool in the colony. Upon his death, in September 1839, Barclay's property, including the estates of *Trafalgar*, *Cambock* and *Camperdown*, was bequeathed to his only daughter, Mary, the wife of Dr James Kenworthy.²¹ While Bothwell land settlement was dominated by Scottish emigration, at Evandale, the Scots were joined by a number of noteworthy Englishmen, including Dr Kenworthy. Kenworthy was born in 1807, and arrived in the colony about 1833, from Liverpool, residing for a period with his brother Lieutenant William Kenworthy, then Inspector of Public Works at Launceston.²² Soon after Barclay's death, the Kenworthys took up residence at *Cambock*, where Dr Kenworthy continued to practise medicine.

The celebrated English landscape artist, John Glover, arrived in Evandale in 1832, accompanied by his wife and eldest son, John Richardson Glover. John Glover was born in 1767 in Leicestershire, England, the son of a tenant farmer.²³ Following his

²⁰ See also Andrew Barclay, *Life of Andrew Barclay of Cambock, near Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, written from his own dictation at Cambock, February 19, 1836 to Thomas Scott*, Edinburgh: Thomas Grant, 1854.

²¹ Mrs Kenworthy was the only child of Captain Andrew Barclay of *Cambock*, Evandale and his wife Mary (nee Smallshaw), a convict woman. Mrs Kenworthy was born in Launceston 4 December 1820. She was educated at 'Mrs Clarke's fashionable seminary "Ellinthorp Hall" near Ross'. G.T. Stilwell, *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, Oct. 1964, vol. 12, No. 1, p. 37. She married James Ryley Kenworthy at *Cambock* 14 April 1837. Her parents both died in 1839. Maddock notes that Kenworthy was practising medicine in Launceston in 1838. Maureen Maddock, *The Harts and souls of Trafalgar*, Evandale: Evandale History Society, 1994, p. 26.

²² J. R. Kenworthy's obituary, *Launceston Examiner* 28 October 1873.

²³ For Glover see Bernard Smith, 'Glover, John (1767-1849)', *ADB*, vol. 1, pp. 455-456; Joan Kerr, (ed.), *The Dictionary of Australian Artists*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 302-305; John McPhee, *The Art of John Glover*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1980; Peter Chapman, 'John Glover's migration to Tasmania', *Art Bulletin of Tasmania*, Hobart: TMAG, 1985, pp. 23-33.

marriage in 1794, he moved to Lichfield where he taught drawing.²⁴ In Lichfield he was accepted into polite society and became acquainted with poet and local literary celebrity Anna Seward.²⁵ She became his patron 'helping to secure commissions and introducing him to others of her literary circle'.²⁶ Glover moved to London in 1805 where he continued to paint and sell from his own picture gallery. In 1830, accompanied by his wife and eldest son, he sailed for Tasmania to join other sons then resident in the colony. Their ship entered the Tamar River on 18 February 1831, Glover's 64th birthday, en route to Hobart.

Among Glover's luggage was a number of books, including volume one of Charles Lyell's newly published *Principles of Geology*, inscribed 'John Glover from Lady Guilford, Sept 1st, 1830', the eve of his departure for the colony. His copy of volume two carries the inscription 'John Glover Esqr from Lady Guilford, June 29, 1832', probably despatched from England soon after publication. Lyell's *Principles of Geology* was a controversial publication creating a division between science and religion.²⁷ Glover became a firm friend of Robert Russell, later appointing him co-executor of his estate. Evidence of Glover's collection suggest that he acquired further books while residing in the colony.

Another early English settler, the Reverend John Youl, was the colony's first northern chaplain and minister of St. John's Church of England, Launceston. Youl was granted land south of Evandale which he named *Symmons Plains*. Following his death, in 1827, the farming estate was owned by his family including James, the elder son, who was chiefly responsible for the introduction of fresh water trout and salmon into the

²⁴ Among his pupils was Henry Curzon Allport who, like members of his family, later settled in the colonies. For Allport see Kerr, *The Dictionary of Australian Artists*, pp.12-16; Henry Allport, 'Allport, Joseph (1800-1877)', *ADB*, vol.1, pp.9-10, vol.3, pp.28-29.

²⁵ For Seward see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, London: Harper Collins, 1997, pp.573-612.

²⁶ McPhee, *The Art of John Glover*, p.4. While Lichfield is celebrated for its cathedral library, there is no evidence that Glover was a borrower. However, Kaufman notes that the Reverend Thomas Seward, Prebendary of the Cathedral, and father of Anna Seward, was a borrower. Paul Kaufman, 'Readers and Their Reading in Eighteenth-Century Lichfield', *The Library*, Fifth series, vol.28, p.113. I am indebted to Pauline Hawkins of the Lichfield Cathedral Library who advised (February 2002) that Glover's name does not appear in the borrowing records.

²⁷ John W. Cunliffe, *Leaders of the Victorian Revolution*, New York: Kennikat, 1969, p.7. Before leaving England, Glover's London gallery was patronised by many prominent citizens. For the Guilford family see *Burke's Peerage*, London: Harrison & Sons, 1905, pp.734-736.

colony, for which he received a knighthood.²⁸ A younger son, also John, did not marry and lived at *Symmons Plains* where he engaged in farming. The Reverend John Youl's life was devoted to clerical duties. His land grant, and rams obtained from Macarthur's flock in New South Wales, enabled his sons to become successful pastoralists in the district.²⁹ Another noteworthy English settler, of course, was James Cox of *Clarendon*, who was first granted land south of Evandale in 1817.

Following land settlement, in 1836 a proposed government scheme to supply Launceston with water from the South Esk River at Evandale increased the population. This led to growth around the convict station and the centralisation of facilities in the township of Evandale.³⁰ Residents petitioned the government to give them adequate police protection, claiming 'that their assigned servants were becoming insubordinate, because the distances they had to travel to lay complaints before the magistrate led to much being overlooked that ought to be reported'.³¹ Little is known of the convict workers on the water scheme but, in 1837, a resident police magistrate was appointed as a result of the increased convict presence.

The man appointed was John Sinclair, former shipowner, whaler and member of the Port Philip Association. Sinclair resided at the pastoral estate of *Clairville*, a short distance north of Evandale. His former business associates included the Henty family of Portland Bay and Henry Reed and William Effingham Lawrence of Launceston.³² In January 1836, Sinclair and Reed sold their whaling interests at Portland Bay to James Henty and associates.³³ Sinclair was living at Evandale before 1829.³⁴ He was appointed police magistrate at Evandale in March 1837.³⁵

²⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 11 April 1854.

²⁹ For Youl see G. H. Stancombe, 'Youl, John (1773-1827)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.632-633. Also Lucy Frost (ed.), *The Journal of Annie Baxter Dawbin*, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1998, pp., xxi, xlvii, 564. Less is known of the younger John Youl but family records show him to have been the second son of the Reverend John Youl who died 28 October 1871.

³⁰ Simon Harris, *A Magnificent Failure: Governor Arthur's Water Scheme for Launceston from the South Esk at Evandale 1835-7*, Hobart, 1998, pp., 4-6.

³¹ Wayn Index, AOT.

³² Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.2, p.76n.; A.G.L. Shaw, *A History of the Port Philip District*, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1996, p.50; Lynette Peel (ed.), *The Henty Journals*, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1996, p. 23.

³³ Hudson Fysh, *Henry Reed, Van Diemen's Land Pioneer*, Hobart: Cat and Fiddle Press, 1973, p. 62.

³⁴ Henry Widowson, *Present State of Van Diemen's Land*, London, 1829. p.129.

³⁵ Harris, *A Magnificent Failure*, p.5.

The water scheme was abandoned in December 1837. At this time the district comprised mainly landowners, both emancipist and free-settler, bond and free farm workers and their families, and those performing administrative and commercial tasks. In 1842, the Morven district comprised 1968 inhabitants.³⁶ Of these, 1403 were males of whom 959 were 'free' with the remainder under bond as either ticket-of-leave holders or passholders in government employment or private assignment. Of the 565 females, 67 were under bond, with the majority having been either born in the colony, or having arrived as free emigrants. The census listed 61 landed proprietors, merchants, officials of rank and professional people; 8 shopkeepers and other retail dealers; 113 mechanics and artificers; 46 shepherds and others caring for sheep; 780 gardeners, stockmen, and persons employed in agriculture; 117 domestic servants and 843 others, probably children. The district contained 228 houses of which only 44 were of stone or brick. Compared to the district's population of 1,968, Launceston's population was 8,181, Hobart's was 15,061, and the colony's, 57,420. At the time of the census, the district held a population almost one quarter that of Launceston.

2 Robert Russell: beginnings and traditions

In 1838 Robert Russell received a call to minister to the Presbyterian community at Evandale, following the members' application to the colonial government (made under the Church Act) on behalf of 91 members of the Church of Scotland, for assistance towards the erection of a place of worship at Evandale. Government agreement was conveyed in correspondence to the Reverend John Lillie of Hobart.³⁷ Until the time of Russell's arrival, the community met for worship at the homes of local members.

The petitioners were diverse in status, age and education. Signatories to the application for Robert's appointment included landowners David Gibson, Allan

³⁶*The Van Diemen's Land Census of the Year 1842*. By 1813 settlement in the colony extended to twenty-two official districts including Morven. Morgan argues that by 1813 all twenty two districts contained European settlement, even though some were not actually signed until 1815. Morgan, *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania*, p.16.

³⁷ Montagu to Lillie 19th October 1838. See copies of correspondence held Evandale History Society.

Mackinnon, John Ralston, Kennedy Murray, Donald Cameron, Andrew Barclay, John Sinclair and members of their families. Twenty six of the petitioners were between six and fourteen years of age. Five of the petitioners could not write and made their mark: Ann McDonald, Marion Dunscomb, William McNaire, H. McLeod and Prideaux Watson.³⁸ Ann McDonald was the wife of Roderick McDonald who emigrated as servant to Major McLeod of *Talisker* and *Glendessary*, then farmed his own grant, *Glen Gary Farm* (100 acres) near Evandale. Previously he had served 14 years in the Breadalbane Fencibles and the Argyleshire Militia. The couple had 12 children.³⁹ It is probable that the five petitioners were of convict origins. All adult, literate, surviving petitioners became borrowers of the Evandale Library.⁴⁰

Robert Russell's credentials for clerical employment, in a country parish with strong Scottish connections, were beyond doubt. He was born in the parish of Kinglassie, near Kirkcaldy, Scotland, in October 1808, into a family that for generations had been tenant farmers in the east of Fife.⁴¹ Robert's father, Philip, had, the previous year, moved from *Banchory* farm near Kinghorn to take up the lease of *Clunie Mains* (Illustration 3), between Kinglassie and Kirkcaldy.⁴² Robert was the eldest child of Philip's second marriage to Anne Carstairs, a cousin, with whom Philip had six children. His first wife, Isabel, also a cousin, with whom he had seven children, had died in 1807.⁴³ Robert's brother, George, suggests that all the money Philip Russell saved farming *Banchory* was lost on *Clunie Mains*, it being poorer land and taken at too high a rent: 'Thus my father was never in a position to put any of his sons on farms, which was one reason for their settling in the colonies'.⁴⁴ Given the large-scale emigration of Scots during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which was a result of changing social and economic circumstances at home, including what has been

³⁸ A photocopy of the Petition is held by the Evandale History Society.

³⁹ I am indebted to Maureen Maddock for this information.

⁴⁰ Their loans are listed in Table 25.

⁴¹ Robert S. Duff (ed.), *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*, Edinburgh, 1883, p. x.

⁴² P. H. Brown (ed.), *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, London: Oxford University Press, 1935, p.37

⁴³ The relationships are described in *ibid*, pp. 4 -17.

⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.37; Philip Russell junior sailed for Tasmania in 1821, George Russell in 1830, William Russell in 1839, Alexander Russell in 1841.

loosely termed the Clearances,⁴⁵ it is likely that the expectation of freehold land made the Australian colonies seem especially attractive. Philip Russell senior died in 1833 at the age of 67.

Anne Russell, Robert's mother, regularly gathered her children around her on Sunday evenings, reading to them from the Scriptures.⁴⁶ Robert's younger brother, George, suggests it was through their mother's influence that Robert entered the ministry. George also suggests that it was their mother who emphasised the importance of education and knowledge and instilled in them the principles of truthfulness, purposeful activity and thrift.⁴⁷ Anne Russell would have been mindful of the many practical advantages of a vocation in the ministry of the Scottish Church. Given favourable circumstances '[t]he position of [a] parish minister was considered secure, attractive, responsible, and offered an excellent opportunity for local leadership.'⁴⁸ Anne Russell died in 1826, when Robert was 18 years of age.

Robert's early childhood was spent at *Chunie Mains*, four miles from the coastal town of Kirkcaldy, and an equal distance from Kinglassie. Robert later attended the parish school at Elie, residing with his maternal grandmother. In 1821 he briefly attended the borough school at Kirkcaldy. Here, he shared lodgings with George and their older half-brother John. Robert and George went home each Saturday afternoon and returned on Monday morning.⁴⁹ George recounts that Robert attended a 'higher branch' of the school.⁵⁰ Such schools invariably possessed a teacher of Greek, Latin, and mathematics, who was able to prepare pupils for university at minimal cost to their parents.⁵¹

⁴⁵ See T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830*, London: Fontana, 1998; also M. Lynch, *Scotland, A New History*, London: Pimlico, 1997; A more graphic account is given in John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

⁴⁶ Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, p.36-37.

⁴⁷ loc.cit.

⁴⁸ Ann-Mari Jordens *The Stenhouse Circle: Literary Life in mid-Nineteenth Century Sydney*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979, p.12. Jordens recounts a Scottish situation with parallels to those surrounding Robert Russell.

⁴⁹ John Russell was slightly crippled and remained in Scotland, supported by his brothers. Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, p., 28.

⁵⁰ loc.cit.

⁵¹ In particular see David K. & Charles J. Guthrie, *Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D. D. and Memoir*, London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1877, p. 34.

Evidence is not available concerning the family's reading habits, apart from reading of the Bible. Books for borrowing were available in the district. Elie had a library, founded c.1800, of which little is known.⁵² Alexander Anderson suggests 'all that can be said with certainty is that the [present] library has been in existence continuously since 1800 or shortly thereafter'.⁵³ Of the 'the older stock, there are no less than seven first editions of Scott on the shelves, together with a number of Victorian first editions'.⁵⁴ A subscription library was founded in Kirkcaldy in 1800, which later contained 10,000 volumes.⁵⁵ The library, accommodated in a rented room within the Assembly Rooms, was 'the largest one of the subscription type in the county'.⁵⁶ As tenant farmers the Russell family would have qualified for membership. Kinglassie is known to have been similarly provided for, although by a smaller institution: 'There is a small library in the parish, the subscription to which is moderate'.⁵⁷ Given Anne Russell's ambitions for her son, it is likely that Robert would have been exposed to books and learning from an early age. It is equally likely, given the scale of the communities, that the family would have been aware of, if not borrowers from, subscription libraries in the region. As the family's fortunes are known to have diminished while at *Chunie Mains*, library borrowing would have been an attractive alternative to book purchase. It is also probable that the family exchanged books amongst themselves and friends.

Robert moved to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1821 to attend the old High School. This was the major secondary school in the city before the establishment of the Edinburgh Academy in 1824. Robert distinguished himself in the study of Greek in preparation for the ministry. Robert's Greek Bible, probably acquired at this time, has survived and is now held privately in Evandale. Robert entered the University of Edinburgh, at about

⁵² Kaufman, 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', p. 260.

⁵³ Alexander Anderson, *The Old Libraries of Fife*, Kirkcaldy: Fife County Library, 1953, p.9.

⁵⁴ loc.cit.

⁵⁵ John C. Crawford, 'Historical models of library provision: the example of Scotland', Ph.D thesis, Glasgow Caledonian University, 1993, p.62.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *The Old Libraries of Fife*, p.8.

⁵⁷ John M. Leighton, *History of the County of Fife*, 3 vols, Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1840, p.192. At the time of writing the Fife Council maintains a village library at Kinglassie, with limited opening hours, to serve the rural and colliery communities of the region.

14 years of age, then a common practice in Scotland.⁵⁸ Students often did not bother with the formality of graduation but would attend various classes and, if necessary for future employment purposes, obtain their certificates from individual professors.⁵⁹ While details concerning his candidature and curriculum are incomplete, Robert matriculated in Arts at Edinburgh in 1823 and in second year Arts in 1824.⁶⁰

In 1825 Robert Russell moved to St Andrews University and attended the Ethics class of Dr Thomas Chalmers.⁶¹ Chalmers held the chair of Moral Philosophy at St Andrews from 1823 to 1828 and was the most controversial Scottish Churchman of his day. He had, as one reason for taking the position at St Andrews, the conviction that he could best serve his Church through the training of its ministers.⁶² Robert matriculated from St Andrews in the session of 1825-6.

Robert is not listed as a Divinity student, either at the University of Edinburgh or St Andrews, but his brother George remembers visiting him when he was a Divinity student in Edinburgh in March 1830, and accompanying him to the lectures of Dr Chalmers. George particularly remembered Chalmers because of his earnest and forceful delivery.⁶³ Chalmers held the chair of Theology at Edinburgh from 1828 to 1843, having moved there from St Andrews. Robert won the 'favourable regard' of

⁵⁸ Refer to evidence given by Professor James Pillians, Professor of Humanities in the University of Edinburgh, in which Pillians stated that students entered his junior class at 'about fourteen and a half' years of age: *Evidence, oral and documentary, taken and received by The Commissioners appointed by his Majesty George IV., July 23rd, 1826; and re-appointed by his Majesty William IV., October 12th 1830; for visiting the Universities of Scotland*. Vol.1, London: University of Edinburgh, 1837, pp. 428-446.

⁵⁹ In evidence to the Commissioners, Pillians stated that his students were not issued with certificates indiscriminately, but strictly based upon attendance, behaviour and proficiency. *ibid*, p.436.

⁶⁰ University of Edinburgh matriculation records confirm Robert Russell's candidature at a fee of ten shillings for each of 1823 (student number 567) and 1824 (student number 1150): *University of Edinburgh Matriculation Register 1816-1828*. For access to Robert Russell's academic record and details concerning student conditions at Edinburgh I am indebted to Arnott T. Wilson, University Archivist, University of Edinburgh.

⁶¹ For details concerning Robert Russell's academic record and student conditions at St Andrews, I am indebted to Dr. Norman H. Reid, Keeper of Manuscripts, St Andrews University Library.

⁶² David Keir, *The House of Collins: The Story of a Scottish Family of Publishers from 1789 to the Present Day*, London: Collins, 1952, p.66.

⁶³ Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, p., 38. Upon his death George Russell possessed 12 of the works of Thomas Chalmers in the library at *Golf Hill*, near Geelong. P. L. Brown, 'George Russell's library. Books listed at Golf Hill, Friday 4 June 1954', unpublished document, Clyde Company Deposit, Australian Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Chalmers by his 'ability and enthusiasm', Chalmers being 'the most important influence' of his student life'.⁶⁴

Robert was licensed, by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, into the Church of Scotland on 27 September 1836,⁶⁵ just before his 28th birthday. At that time he also became tutor to a family in Argyllshire.⁶⁶ Although the family's identity is not recorded, such appointments often assisted in obtaining the patronage of landed gentlemen, and also acquainted prospective parish ministers with the habits and manners of those they were likely to encounter in their profession.⁶⁷

Robert was engaged by Captain Patrick Wood as tutor to his two sons, to accompany the Wood family who were returning to their home, *Dennistoun* at Bothwell, in Tasmania. Doubtless he was encouraged by his two brothers, associates of Wood, who were farming in the Australian colonies. Robert's engagement followed that of his brother Philip, who had accompanied Wood from Britain some years earlier to manage his proposed agricultural estates.⁶⁸ The party sailed from London on the *Royal George*, arriving in Hobart on 5 February 1837.⁶⁹ At Bothwell, Robert was reunited with Philip, by this stage the treasurer of the Bothwell Literary Society. Robert lived with Philip, riding to Wood's home at *Dennistoun* each morning after breakfast to attend to his teaching duties.⁷⁰ The period is recorded in letters between Robert and Philip at Bothwell and George at Port Philip.⁷¹ The communication between the brothers supplies much of the detail concerning Robert's life in the colony and is confirmation of the way in which his life had been, and continued to be, conducted within the family circle.

⁶⁴ Duff, *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*, p. xi.

⁶⁵ Hew Scott, *Fasti ecclesiae scoticae*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928, vol., viii, p.602; J. Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Tasmania: Presbytery of Tasmania, 1935, p.135.

⁶⁶ Duff, *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*, p. xi.

⁶⁷ See Guthrie, *Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie*, p.45.

⁶⁸ Philip Russell sailed for Tasmania in 1821, George Russell in 1830.

⁶⁹ AOT, M.B. 2/39/2-3, p.91. Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, p.57.

⁷⁰ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, op.cit., vol. 2, p.71.

⁷¹ Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*.

Soon, Robert was preaching at St Andrew's Church in Hobart. Philip wrote to George: '[T]he Governor was to be present; they consider [Robert] a great gun, and are sorry that he was not appointed to the Hobart Town Presbyterian Church'.⁷² The congregation was awaiting the arrival of the Reverend John Lillie, the newly appointed minister from Edinburgh. There is little doubt that Robert's role as tutor to Wood's sons was understood to be a temporary measure, and that Robert accepted the interim position at Hobart with Wood's blessing.

It is clear that his residence in Tasmania was dependent upon him receiving a clerical appointment. On 15 October 1837, Philip wrote: 'Robert was at Launceston last week on a preaching expedition: he seems to give great satisfaction where ever he goes, and I have no doubt will very soon get a kirk; if you wish him for Geelong you must apply soon - he seems to have a wish to join you there'.⁷³ On 15 February 1838 Philip wrote that Robert was to preach 'on Sunday next' at Perth.⁷⁴ On 22 March, Philip wrote (in this instance directly to Robert): 'I met Mr Macklanchn [Maclanachan] the other day: he said that the Perth people had a Meeting, and he believed they were unanimous, but he did not seem quite sure about it'.⁷⁵ On 4 July, Philip wrote: 'I believe [Robert] will shortly proceed to Evandale; they have got £400 subscribed to build a church for him'.⁷⁶ From the brothers' correspondence (which, unfortunately, mentions the matter no further) it would seem that, apart from Geelong, Robert was being considered by the Presbyterian community at Perth before being invited to Evandale. The Evandale community had acted promptly to secure his appointment.

The construction of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church at Evandale commenced following Robert's appointment. The church and manse were financed by private subscription and matching funds provided by the colonial government, in compliance with the Church Act. On 9 August 1838, Philip wrote that subscriptions had risen to £600, suggesting that 'the government have to give as much'.⁷⁷ On 27 December, Philip wrote from Bothwell: 'Robert left this yesterday for Evandale: he now remains

⁷² Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol. 2, p.74-75.

⁷³ *ibid.*, vol.2, p. 102.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.136.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.145. Possibly James Maclanachan, of *Ballochyle*.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.155.

there, having received the appointment from the Governor, with salary &c.’⁷⁸ Robert was ordained in Scots Church, Launceston on 14 February 1839. Tenders for building the church were advertised on 28 March 1839.⁷⁹ The foundation stone was laid by April 1839.⁸⁰

Contrary to the commonly held view that Russell obtained architectural plans from Scotland,⁸¹ it is likely that the plans were prepared in the colony under Russell’s instructions.⁸² While the neo-Gothic style favoured by high-church Anglicans was not much liked by staunch Presbyterians, the neo-classical design (Illustration 6) was undoubtedly chosen because of Robert’s familiarity with the style from his period in Edinburgh.⁸³

In circumstances that parallel those of Russell in Evandale, Coltheart and Bridges suggest that Governor Macquarie, during his schooling in Edinburgh, ‘would have seen the beginnings of Edinburgh’s New Town, with its explicit connection to the ideas of order, rationality, and social relationships’ which led to his planning Sydney’s

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.161.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.181.

⁷⁹ *The Launceston Advertiser* 28 March 1839.

⁸⁰ Correspondence: Russell to Dixon, April 1839, copy held EHS, Evandale.

⁸¹ *Priceless Heritage, Historical Buildings of Tasmania*, Tasmania: National Trust of Australia, 1971, p.115.

⁸² The plans do not appear to have survived, but see correspondence from the Reverend John Lillie dated 7 February 1839 to the Colonial Secretary submitting the ‘plans and specifications of a Church in connection with the Church of Scotland, to be erected at Evandale’; also Russell’s account for expenditure by the building committee, to the Colonial Government dated 3 July 1839, which includes: ‘To prepare plans and specifications &c. £5. 5s.’. CSO 5/146. Of Sydney, Coltheart and Bridges state that Mrs Macquarie brought pattern books for such designs from Britain. See Lenore Coltheart and Peter Bridges, ‘The Elephant’s Bed? Scottish Enlightenment Ideas and the Foundations of New South Wales’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, no 68, 2001, p.29. The Evandale church pre-dates John West’s St John’s Square Independent Chapel (later Milton Hall), also of neo-classic design, which was commenced in September 1841. See John West, *The History of Tasmania*, Launceston: Henry Dowling, 1852. Similarly, The Evandale church predates *Ancanthe*, founded by the Franklins, commenced in 1842 (see discussion Chapter II). In October 1841, Jane, Lady Franklin, writing to her sister, Mrs Simpkinson, in Britain, acknowledged receiving ‘the architectural books you sent me’. George Mackaness (ed.), *Some private correspondence of Sir John and Lady Jane Franklin (Tasmania, 1837/1845) with introduction, notes and commentary by George Mackaness*, Sydney: Ford, 1947, p.35. When designing *Ancanthe* it is likely that the Franklins used such books, sent from Britain. At Evandale, there is no evidence of the use of pattern books sent from Britain.

⁸³ Such a situation was not unusual. When the Reverend F. H. Cox built the Anglican church of St. John the Baptist, at Buckland, completed in 1848 and now considered among the most prized small country churches in Tasmania, the design replicated the one at Cookham Dean, England, the home of the Reverend F. H. Cox. Geoffrey Stephens, *The Anglican Church in Tasmania*, Hobart: Trustees of the Diocese, 1991, p.71.

public building following ‘Scots architects [who] produced new kinds of buildings which expressed enlightenment ideas in a visual and symbolic manner’.⁸⁴ The authors suggest that buildings ‘like the general hospital, the Hyde Park barracks, St. James’, St Matthew’s church at Windsor and the orphan school at Rydalmere would have been recognised in Edinburgh for what they were - manifestations of Enlightenment principles of civic order.’⁸⁵

Gascoigne gives support to such an argument suggesting that at Windsor Macquarie ‘would have learned in his native Scotland how architecture and town planning could promote civic virtue, as it had in Edinburgh thanks to the well-ordered construction of the New Town’.⁸⁶ Gascoigne prefaces his study with a visual image of St. Matthew’s Church, Windsor, built to neo-classical design, which he suggests ‘stands as an architectural embodiment of the Europeans who took possession of the Australian continent in the decades following the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788’.⁸⁷ Furthermore, he suggests that the church, ‘on its slight rise surrounded by fertile green fields and, by Australian standards, a deep river must have seemed like a little piece of Britain transplanted to the Antipodes’.⁸⁸ Clearly the same may be said of Russell’s church and manse, sited on pasture gently rising from the South Esk River at Evandale (Illustration 1).

On 22 May 1839, Philip Russell wrote to his brother George declaring that ‘Robert ... is very busy with his kirk building: they have not succee[d]ed in getting any contract low enough, and are to build it with Government men which they have got on loan’.⁸⁹ Correspondence from Robert Russell to the Director-General of Roads, dated 31 March 1839, reveals that the church was constructed with bricks originally intended for the incomplete Launceston to Evandale government water scheme.⁹⁰ On 5

⁸⁴ Coltheart and Bridges, ‘The Elephant’s Bed? Scottish Enlightenment Ideas and the Foundations of New South Wales’, p. 20.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.31.

⁸⁶ John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p.x.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.ix.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.x.

⁸⁹ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.2, p. 217.

⁹⁰ CSO 5/146, AOT. This discovery, made by the writer, is now the subject of further research by members of the Evandale History Society.

September 1840 the Church was formally opened in the presence of the Reverend John Lillie, of Hobart, who gave the sermon. The *Launceston Advertiser* reported: 'The greatest credit is due to the Reverend Mr Russell for his assiduity and perseverance in superintending the erection of the Chapel, which has been built entirely under his direction. The building itself is as ornamental as it is useful. Mr Russell will preach his first sermon in the new Church on Sunday next'.⁹¹ The manse was situated a short distance from the church; of modest brick construction, elegant in design, and sufficient to accommodate the servants and occasional guests of its bachelor pastor (Illustration 7).⁹² Completion of the manse was delayed due to lack of funds, with Robert occupying it in the spring of 1841.⁹³

During this period Robert resided some time at *Pleasant Banks*, the home of David Gibson, the former convict, who headed the list of church petitioners.⁹⁴ At *Pleasant Banks*, and later at the manse, he was accompanied by Thomas Day, a Jamaican convict servant provided by the government. Day was born to slave parents in Spanish Town, Jamaica's capital, but absconded to England where slavery was illegal. There, he worked in domestic service, but fell into bad company, offended, and in 1821 was transported to Tasmania where 'he was then, with brief interludes, a prisoner until 1845'.⁹⁵ Day's life in the colony was marked by anti-social behaviour, criminal offence, and further convictions. He was also assigned to non-conformist clerics who attempted his redemption, including the Reverend Benjamin Carvosso, who was instrumental in founding the Wesleyan Library in Hobart. Ian Duffield suggests that Carvosso was prompted to help Day, who was then awaiting execution, having experienced "shuddering horror" at the sight of chained prisoners' upon his arrival in Hobart.⁹⁶ While assigned to Russell, Day 'became exceptionally unruly'⁹⁷ stealing

⁹¹ *Launceston Advertiser* 24 September 1840

⁹² I am indebted to Jill and Harry Atherton, the present owners, for inviting me to examine the property.

⁹³ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.3, p.122.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, vol.2, pp. 237, 334. Sometime between August 1839 and March 1840 Robert rented a cottage belonging to Dr. Kenworthy. Otherwise, Russell resided at *Pleasant Banks*.

⁹⁵ Ian Duffield, 'Daylight on Convict Lived Experience; The History of a Pious Negro Servant', *Exiles of Empire*, Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Studies, vol.6, No.2, 1999, p.35.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.39.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.46.

from David Gibson (but not Russell, it seems) before being returned to the Port Arthur convict station.

Duffield explains Day's behaviour under Russell by suggesting that Day sought to 'challenge any notion that he was a humbly submissive clerical "trophy", to be exhibited as a useful, docile, well-trained black gelding'.⁹⁸ It is unfortunate that Duffield makes no attempt to discuss Day's 'blackness' as a motive for his employment by Russell or others of the clergy. It is likely, from what is known of Russell, that the latter was attempting rehabilitation, and that Duffield's focus on slavery and convictism has led him to overlook the obvious concerning Russell.

At the same time as the church and manse, Robert built two chapels in outlying districts. The farming districts that they served were populated by landowning families and their farm workers, both bond and free. In October 1840, Robert wrote to his brother, George: 'I am now engaged building two Chapels of Ease - one at the Nile, the other at the Whitehills, about 14 and 9 miles distant from Evandale respectively, each of which will cost about £250 and contain about 120 people. These I intend converting into schools during the week, and preaching in upon alternate Sundays'.⁹⁹ Maddock states that, as in England, where 'it was the custom that farm workers were housed in a village on the estate ... the village of Lymington ... was established to house the many labourers', who worked on the *Clarendon* estate.¹⁰⁰ In such cases children were mostly 'too far from a township to attend week-day school, and the parents too poor to board them away from home'.¹⁰¹ Church records indicate that landed proprietors and those with the means to travel worshipped in Evandale. There is little doubt that the two chapels were built to serve rural workers and to meet the educational needs of their children, in addition to their religious instruction.

The building of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Evandale occurred simultaneously with the construction of a new church for the Anglican community. The Anglican church, also named St. Andrew's, was built with government assistance

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.43.

⁹⁹ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.2, p.391.

¹⁰⁰ M. J. Maddock, *Clarendon and its People*, Launceston: Regal Press, 1996, p.5.

following a petition by residents, who included James Cox, Dr James Kenworthy and Kennedy Murray junior.¹⁰² The Anglican community first held services at Evandale in a barn. The first schoolroom chapel of brick was built in 1837. A church was begun in 1841 and dedicated in April 1844.¹⁰³ Kennedy Murray junior, Mungo Summerville and George Collins gave nine acres of land on which the church and parsonage were built. The Reverend George Wilkinson was brought from England, under the patronage of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge¹⁰⁴ and was the resident minister between 1841 and 1852. Born in 1807,¹⁰⁵ he was just a year older than Russell.

At the time of Robert Russell's arrival at Evandale, the Roman Catholic community was without a church building or resident priest, and was led by members of the laity.¹⁰⁶ The majority of the 450 Roman Catholics listed in the census of 1842 were engaged as farm labourers.¹⁰⁷ Southerwood suggests that during the 1840s and 1850s the district held 'a big number of Catholic passholders and ticket of leave men'; in 1845, there being so many Catholics in the region, Bishop Willson requested that the government 'provide a priest there out of Colonial revenue'.¹⁰⁸ The request was refused. Evandale's first Catholic Church was not opened until 1863.

Evandale had no resident Wesleyan minister during the term of Russell's ministry. The Wesleyan community was part of the Launceston Circuit. Before the building of a chapel in the town,¹⁰⁹ the Wesleyans conducted a home church at *Harland Rise*, the estate of prominent Launceston lawyer John Ward Gleadow. Regular services were

¹⁰¹ *Annual Report of the V.D.L. Sunday School Union*, Hobart, 1851, p.9.

¹⁰² See correspondence in CSO 5/146. The plans and specifications for the second church, designed by James Blackburn, have survived and are held in the Archives Office of Tasmania. PWD 266/1262-73. The building was demolished in 1871 due to unsatisfactory foundations, and a third church built.

¹⁰³ Stephens, *The Anglican Church in Tasmania*, p.46.

¹⁰⁴ W. R. Barrett, *History of the Church of England in Tasmania*, Hobart: Mercury Press, 1942, p.6.

¹⁰⁵ Stephens, *The Anglican Church in Tasmania*, p.258. Stephens notes that Wilkinson was made deacon in 1831 and priest in 1833, in England. He died in 1875.

¹⁰⁶ Names listed in W. T. Southerwood, *Planting a Faith in Tasmania. The Country Parishes*, Tasmania, [n.d.], pp.189-193.

¹⁰⁷ *The Van Diemen's Land Census of the Year 1842*.

¹⁰⁸ Southerwood, *Planting a Faith in Tasmania. The Country Parishes*, p.191.

¹⁰⁹ The exact dating of the chapel is uncertain. The town's surviving Wesleyan chapel is dated c.1836. Dugan states that 'a new chapel was built at Evandale in 1846'. C. C. Dugan, *A Century of Tasmanian Methodism 1820-1920*, Hobart, 1946, p.65.

held at *Harland Rise* at least by 1839.¹¹⁰ The Evandale chapel was built with the assistance of Gleadow and the wealthy Launceston merchant Henry Reed. Although few details of the community are known, when the Wesleyan Circuit was created at Longford in 1848, 'the cause was commenced by three members, who had gone [there] from Evandale'.¹¹¹

Robert Russell's church was opened in 1840. The new Anglican church building, opened in 1844. According to the 1842 census, denominational percentages were: Church of England 78 per cent, Roman Catholic 9 per cent, Church of Scotland 8 per cent and 'other' 5 per cent. The building of Robert Russell's church represented, therefore, a significant commitment considering the size of its congregation.

In 1842 a chapel was built at Deddington, in the vicinity of John Glover's estate of *Patterdale*, on land donated by Robert Pitcairn of *Nile Farm* (Illustration 9). John Richardson Glover was a trustee of the Deddington Chapel, and his father was buried in the church grounds on 9 December 1849. Built and financed by local settlers, its purpose was to provide a place of Christian worship to be managed by independent trustees and open to Protestant clergymen of all persuasions, but particularly Russell's congregation.¹¹²

In 1846 the Reverend Robert Russell contemplated marriage. The marriage did not proceed, probably due to resistance both from within the Church and from members of the Russell family. On 21 December 1846, William Russell wrote from Bothwell to George Russell at *Golf Hill*:

[Robert] purposes taking to himself a wife - has he informed you of his intentions? If not, who do you think is the object of his affections? none else than our sister Sophia! ... they appear both to be satisfied that there is nothing incorrect or blameworthy in the connection, and that it is neither immoral or unscriptural ... but as it seems of a doubtful nature, and contrary to the

¹¹⁰ R. D. Pretyman, *A Chronicle of Methodism in Van Diemen's Land 1820-1840*, Melbourne: Aldersgate Press, 1970, p.118.

¹¹¹ Dugan, *A Century of Tasmanian Methodism*, p.66

¹¹² For the Deddington Chapel see notes compiled by Mary Walker (1955) in the Launceston Library based upon her reading of the earliest minute book. The book has for some years been mislaid.

standards of the Scotch Church and - to call it the least - the prejudices of Scotchmen, it had better not taken place.¹¹³

A short time later, on 11 March 1847, Alexander Reid, of *Ratho*, Bothwell, writing to his daughter, Mrs Williams, stated: 'Mr Robinson says that Mr Lillie goes to Evandale to announce from the Pulpit the decided resignation of Mr Russell, & that the latter has written him *a very bitter Letter*'.¹¹⁴ There is no reason to suggest that the cause was other than Robert's intended marriage. The Reverend John Robertson was the Presbyterian minister at Bothwell from 1843 to 1862. There is no evidence to indicate towards whom Robert felt bitter - Lillie or Robertson or who may have raised objections to the proposed marriage, which clearly led him to tender his resignation, but the matter was resolved in favour of the Church, in that Russell neither resigned his clerical position nor married.

Doubtless, also, Russell's Evandale church congregation fought to retain his services. Heyer states that, in 1847:

another effort was then made by the Launceston congregation [of St Andrew's Church] to call the Reverend Robert Russell of Evandale, but in view of the demonstration by his people when they heard of the proposal, coupled with the state of Mr Russell's health at the time, the Call was not adhered to.¹¹⁵

Clearly, this was not the first attempt to entice Russell from Evandale, but even if he were willing, for which we have no evidence, his congregation was not prepared to let him go. As desirable as the thought of marriage may have been to Russell in his 38th year, and as attractive as the idea of a larger parish, in Launceston, he chose to remain with his Evandale congregation. The Evandale Library was founded soon afterwards.

3 Matters of economic, social and political significance

Robert Russell's arrival at Evandale coincided with an economic recession in the Australian colonies. Following the end of convict transportation to New South Wales, in 1840, depressed conditions led to commercial failures and unemployment. The

¹¹³ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.4, pp.148-9. Robert's intended wife was Sophia Russell (nee Jennings) the widow of his brother Philip.

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.4, p.180.

situation brought about 'ruinously low prices' for agricultural produce and caused many thousands of labourers to be unemployed and vagrant.¹¹⁶ In Tasmania, surplus farm produce arriving from New South Wales, and import duties imposed upon Tasmanian produce entering that colony, further depressed local markets.¹¹⁷ In addition, the end of transportation to New South Wales in 1840 led to increased numbers of convicts being sent to Tasmania. Lloyd Robson states that '[a]t the depth of the depression there were about 5000 ticket-of-leave men wandering about [Tasmania], about 4000 holders of conditional pardons and another 7000 who had passes from the probation system, which permitted them to work for the settlers - only the settlers did not need their labour'.¹¹⁸ The *Cornwall Chronicle* reported conditions in Evandale in 1848: 'This beautiful little township is improving although the general depression of the times makes the place dull; still the people very wisely do not despair, but live in hope'.¹¹⁹

Evandale landowners were prominent in the movement to end transportation to Tasmania, a movement led from Launceston.¹²⁰ The issue was fought on moral and economic grounds. Captain James Crear of *Clyne Vale*, Evandale, was among the more vocal anti-transportationists. Crear was a long time resident of the district. Formerly of Leith, Scotland, and the British Navy, Crear was granted land alongside the South Esk River, at Evandale, when he visited the colony in 1824, as master of the *Triton*. In 1831 he settled permanently at *Clyne Vale*, arriving with his wife and four children, on board the *Drummore*. George Russell was a fellow passenger on the *Drummore*, coming to join his brother Philip at Bothwell.¹²¹ The *Colonial Times* noted that the cargo included books,¹²² but it did not name the owner of them.

¹¹⁵ Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, p.121.

¹¹⁶ Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983, vol.1, p.415.

¹¹⁷ loc.cit.

¹¹⁸ ibid., p.416. See also Manning Clark, *A History of Australia*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991, vol.3, p.190.

¹¹⁹ *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 October 1848.

¹²⁰ For a contemporary account see West, *The History of Tasmania*.

¹²¹ Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, pp. 41-42, 49, 410; Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia*, p.102.

¹²² *Colonial Times* 4 March 1831, quoted in Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, p.49.

Given the familial and Scottish bonds and mutual acquaintances within colonial society, it is probable that Crear and Robert Russell became acquainted during his days at Bothwell.¹²³ Crear called for the cessation of transportation on a number of grounds. Firstly, it involved inhumanity to convicts, whom he described as 'our fellow men [and worthy] of our sympathy and commiseration.' Secondly, it led them into vice. Thirdly, it failed to rehabilitate them. Fourthly, both the assignment system where convicts were assigned as farm workers, and the probation system that replaced it in 1839, were inefficient and ineffectual both in their management and economic outcome.¹²⁴ Crear cited his objection to the assignment system as a reason that had deterred him from settling in the colony with his family when granted land in 1824.¹²⁵

Another prominent landowner, James Cox, of *Clarendon*, was reported in the *Launceston Examiner* in April 1847, as stating: 'Unless transportation altogether cease to this island, the moral, religious, and political character of the colony will be ruined.'¹²⁶ While Cox was a landowner of some note, as an active member of the Church of England, at Evandale, his public comments can be expected to have followed his religious conviction and private conscience.

Those fearing the economic consequences of the cessation of transportation included John Sinclair, who gave his conditional support to abolition but stated that he would 'oppose any measure calculated to retard the development of [the colony's] agricultural and economic resources'.¹²⁷ Sinclair is mostly known for his commercial and whaling interests. As such, it is not surprising that he counselled caution based on economic grounds.

Although the anti-transportation debate was argued on moral and economic issues, doubtlessly many sought its end as a means of achieving respectability and establishing

¹²³ The journey from Leith to Hobart took seven and a half months. Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*. p.49. George Russell acknowledged time spent with the Crears on the voyage. *ibid.*, p.42.

¹²⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 24 April 1847.

¹²⁵ *loc.cit.* For the probation system see Ian Brand, *The Convict Probation System: Van Diemen's Land 1839-1854*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1990.

¹²⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 10 April 1847.

¹²⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 15 October 1851.

an order of behaviour to match Britain's. In 1848, Mrs Collett, of *Ringside*, Evandale, advertised for 'a respectable Free woman as Housemaid, and to wait at table'.¹²⁸ Similarly, Allan MacKinnon, of *Dalness*, sought the services of 'a Governess, competent to teach music, together with the usual branches of an English education'.¹²⁹ While Collett sought the services of free rather than convict labour for her household, Mackinnon desired superior education for his children.

One can compare the Evandale township in 1847 with Bothwell at the time of the literary society's founding in the previous decade. The similarities included rural economies: administrative and social structures based upon land grants and convict workers. Both districts were the beneficiaries of Scottish emigration, which led to communities being ministered by pastors trained in the Scottish tradition of education and self-improvement. A noteworthy difference was the presence in Evandale of the Englishmen who played an important role. Nevertheless, for Russell, the situation must have seemed akin to that described by Carisbrook, where Scottish immigrants, in mainland Australia, 'determined to preserve their culture and literary heritage', founded institutions of self improvement.¹³⁰ Such was the case when the Reverend Garrett and fellow Scots established the Bothwell Literary Society.

In the years leading to the cessation of convict transportation¹³¹ and the beginning of representative government, Evandale's progressiveness and solidarity was apparent in many ways. In January 1847, the *Cornwall Chronicle* advised that a meeting of subscribers to the annual Evandale race meeting was shortly to take place.¹³² The race meeting of 1848 was described in the newspaper:

Mr. Peck has trenched out the course on a flat which has been ploughed and laid down with English grass. The course comprises upwards of 150 acres and is within a quarter of a mile of the township; upwards of sixty pounds to commence with has been subscribed by a few of the right sort, who are resolved that this pretty and improving place shall not be behind in the sporting department.¹³³

¹²⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 26 January 1848.

¹²⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 1 April 1848.

¹³⁰ Donald Carisbrooke, 'Immigrants in the Bush', *The Push from the Bush*, vol.5, 1979, p 32.

¹³¹ Transportation ceased with the arrival of the last convict ship at Hobart on 26 May 1853.

¹³² *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 January 1847.

¹³³ *Cornwall Chronicle* 18 October 1848.

In June 1848, the *Launceston Examiner* reported that it was discovered a few days ago, that the township of Evandale had never been gazetted', and that the omission was now rectified by the colonial government.¹³⁴ In October 1848, a public meeting was called to 'consult on the propriety of petitioning the Governor in Council to pass a road Act' for the Evandale district. Signatories included Dr Kenworthy, Jocelyn B. Thomas and James Cox.¹³⁵ Both were clearly marks of community awareness.

In an act of social (and religious) conviction, a teetotal meeting was held in Evandale, in September 1849: 'The Reverend Mr. Wilkinson addressed the audience...Mr. Soden spoke in confirmation...eight persons signed the pledge.'¹³⁶

There is evidence, in 1853, of the Evandale Ploughing Association conducting trials on the property of Joseph Kirkby,¹³⁷ and later, in 1858, of a meeting of the Morven Rifle Corps, of which Allan Mackinnon, George Gleadow Jocelyn Thomas and Dr Wigan were members.¹³⁸ When such activities first commenced we cannot be sure.

Evandale may already have had a number of shops drawing people in from neighbouring farms; certainly concern for the condition of the roads suggests that settlers were commuting to the township for commercial and recreational purposes. By 1855, for example, there is evidence (discussed in Chapter VII) that John Bryan was running a butcher's shop with broad community support. The Scots in Evandale doubtless came together (as they had when seeking Russell's clerical appointment) to maintain their culture and links with the old country. Their solidarity and public-mindedness would be displayed over the next decade when news of the famine in Scotland led Presbyterians and Anglicans alike to contribute towards the famine relief fund.

On 31 August 1850, the *Cornwall Chronicle* reported:

¹³⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 3 June 1848.

¹³⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 4 October 1848.

¹³⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 12 September 1849.

¹³⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 16 August 1853.

¹³⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 7 September 1857.

On Tuesday morning next, the township of Evandale will be enlivened by a concert ... the principal families in that district patronise the undertaking ... there cannot exist a doubt but that the inhabitants of that locality will avail themselves of the opportunity of enjoying a musical treat.¹³⁹

The report recognises the township as a receptive, congenial and mature community. Clearly, conditions were right for a library such as was established in their midst.

¹³⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 31 August 1850.

Chapter VII The Evandale Subscription Library

1 Laying the foundations and establishing procedures

The library's founding was brought to public attention in 1847 by a notice in the *Launceston Examiner* requesting 'subscribers to the Evandale Library... to meet at the police office, Evandale, on Wednesday, the 14th July ... for the revisal of the rules, the appointment of office bearers and the selection of books'¹ (Illustration 12). It is clear that rules were already established and that books were to be purchased in addition to those acquired by donation. Membership was likely to come from within the Evandale district but the newspaper notice gave widespread publicity to the proposal.

The Evandale initiative was welcomed by William Henty, the president of the Launceston Library Society, when speaking to the Society's annual general meeting in September 1847:

At Hobart Town I am not aware that any public or permanent library exists. It is, however, a great gratification to learn that at Evandale, through the exertions of the Reverend R. Russell, an institution has been established with an excellent list of subscribers and the best prospects.²

Henty's statement was not strictly correct, given that the Wesleyan Library was founded in 1825, the Hobart Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1827, and the Royal Society of Tasmania established a library following its founding in 1843. It does, though confirm the perceived inadequacy of library provision in Hobart at this time.³ Of the period, Webby notes: 'As in the previous decades, no Australian library, in the

¹ *Launceston Examiner* 10 July 1847. In the absence of minutes of committee meetings and apart from the published Rules of 1857 (as amended in 1852), evidence of the committee's activities is from newspapers, almanacs, government reports and correspondence.

² *Launceston Examiner* 25 September 1847.

³ Henty was similarly disparaging of the Australian Subscription Library, in Sydney, suggesting that when he visited it, in 1842, 'its management was very defective. The books were not numbered, so that registration was almost impossible, and that [he] considered it a natural result when informed by the librarian that there were 500 volumes deficient'. *Launceston Examiner* 25 September 1847. The following month, Henty was refuted by an anonymous contributor, 'Rusticus', from Bothwell, who suggested that earlier deficiencies had since been corrected. *Launceston Examiner*, 13 October 1847.

eighteen-forties was “public” in the sense understood today. Many, like the Australian Subscription Library, continued to severely restrict their membership, while all invoked some kind of payment’.⁴ More importantly though, Henty voiced his approval of Russell’s venture: he probably saw parallels with his own institution, both in ideals and the commitment of members.

Within twelve months the Evandale Library was well established. The entry in Wood’s *Almanac* is among the earliest confirmation of its operation at that time:

Evandale Subscription Library: est. July 1847. - Chair, J. R. Kenworthy, Esq., Sec., Reverend R. Russell; Lib., Mr J. S. Martin. This library consists of upwards of 50 subscribers. In addition to one pound entrance money, there is an ann[ual] subs[cription] of one pound; a committee of twelve members together with the chairman, secr[etary], and libr[arian], are elected at the ann[ual] gen[eral] meeting on the 2nd Wed. in July each year. The property of the library is vested in trustees for the use and benefit of the subscribers; the general object of the originators of this institution is to encourage a taste for reading and to provide works which are calculated to exercise a beneficial influence on the morals of the community. The library the 1st year consisted of 500 books.⁵

Since the entry was probably supplied by the library committee itself, the statement of aims is good evidence as to the intended role of the library. The emphasis on the ‘morals of the community’ as well as the encouragement of reading is therefore instructive. Clearly, the library was established on a separate footing to the circulating libraries of Deane in Hobart and Dowling in Launceston, which were primarily commercial ventures. Furthermore, while the Evandale Library was an initiative in accord with the Mechanics’ Institute, given that both encouraged community improvement, its circumstances were different in that Mechanics’ Institutes were established to benefit, in particular, workers and artisans. The Evandale Library provided no such assurance.

Wood’s entry also confirms that the chairman of the July meeting, Dr Kenworthy, had become the founding president. On the day on which the Evandale Library was founded, the *Launceston Examiner* gave notice of a lecture on Electrotypes to be

⁴ Elizabeth Anne Webby, ‘Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century’, Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971, vol.2, p.301. For Webby’s discussion see pp. 301-312.

⁵ James Wood, *The Tasmanian Royal Kalender, Colonial Register, and Almanac*, 1849, p.110.

presented at the Mechanics' Institute the following week by Dr Kenworthy.⁶ The lecture was one of a number given by him to members of the institute. Kenworthy was vice-president of the institute from October 1851 and president from October 1853 until October 1855.⁷ He was a driving force in both bodies.

While Kenworthy may have provided leadership, John Saffrey Martin made a major contribution through the efficient operation of the library. His origins are unknown. Martin was in his 28th year at the time of his appointment. He was responsible for the book stock and for recording acquisitions and loans. Throughout his time at Evandale, he was active in community affairs: there was seldom a public notice for the region that did not include his name. Martin was at Evandale before the census of 1 January 1842 for which he was authorised to officiate. In 1845 he married Ann Murray the second daughter of Kennedy Murray junior.⁸ The marriage ceremony was performed by George Wilkinson, the Church of England minister at Evandale. Martin was a member, and at times, churchwarden of the Church of England at Evandale. Kennedy Murray junior was also an Anglican but changed to the Presbyterian Church, after a disagreement over a burial plot.⁹ The police office building in which Martin was employed was Murray's property.¹⁰ In 1852 Martin was secretary to the Evandale Benevolent Society and Murray was treasurer.¹¹ In 1853, he was spokesman for the trustees of the Evandale Road District.¹² Also in 1853 Martin and F. M. Innes were elected to membership of the Royal Society of Tasmania, probably at the instigation of Dr Kenworthy, who was elected the previous year, the only Evandale member at that time. In 1855 Martin was treasurer of the Patriotic Fund which was established to assist Crimean war victims and their families.¹³ In 1856 he was a committee member

⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 14 July 1847.

⁷ Stefan Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, Launceston: Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, 1998, p.150; *Launceston Examiner* 3 January 1856.

⁸ *Cornwall Chronicle* 30 April 1845.

⁹ *Cornwall Chronicle* 26 April 1854; See M. J. Maddock, *Kennedy Murray, The first hundred years or so...*, Evandale History Society, 1992, p.7.

¹⁰ A watercolour image in the collection of the Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart by convict artist C. T. Costantini, signed and dated 1852, carries the title inscribed by the artist in ink below the image: 'Police Office Property of Mr Ky. Murray of Evandale'.

¹¹ *Launceston Examiner* 7 August 1852.

¹² *Launceston Examiner* 23 April 1853.

¹³ *Launceston Examiner* 12 April 1855.

of the Evandale Bible Society.¹⁴ That year he attended Morven Mutual Protection Society meetings.¹⁵ While there is evidence that librarians received some remuneration,¹⁶ details of Martin's salary are not known.¹⁷ Whether he was paid, or the position was considered to be an extension of his employment as a government clerk, is uncertain. Martin drowned on 10 July 1858, aged 38 years, after which his widow ran a private boarding school in Evandale. There is no evidence to suggest that Martin accumulated pastoral land or wealth. While Kenworthy's role as president was undoubtedly the result of enlightened beliefs, Martin's role as librarian was consistent with his familial and community associations and public service.

Apart from the details in *Wood's Almanack*, little is known of the composition of the original committee. On the occasion, later, when the library again moved premises, in 1885, the *Launceston Examiner* reported that William Gibson was a committeeman at its original meeting, and that a motion moved by Russell was seconded by Jocelyn B. Thomas.¹⁸ William Gibson was the son of David Gibson of *Pleasant Banks*. He was 27 years of age in 1847. The claim concerning Gibson is curious, given evidence of his failure to borrow. He borrowed only once, in March 1860. Perhaps he thought that the library would be more interesting to him than it proved, and the bookstock failed to arouse his interest. Jocelyn B. Thomas, who resided at *Everton*, was the eldest son of Jocelyn H. C. Thomas who was Colonial Treasurer under Governor Arthur.¹⁹ The family was granted, and acquired, various properties in the colony, including land at Evandale. Jocelyn B. Thomas was living at *Riversdale*, at Evandale, in 1835.²⁰ The remaining library committee members are unknown.

¹⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 22 May 1856.

¹⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 20 November 1856.

¹⁶ The matter of remuneration is uncertain. In 1861, the library in a report to government, made mention of past salary payments but without details. AOT. CSD 1/158/5113.

¹⁷ In a newspaper report of a community presentation to William Hepburn Kidd, in 1856, he was referred to as the 'honorary librarian': *Launceston Examiner* 10 March 1860. If the report is correct then the payments in the 1861 report were made to Martin.

¹⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 25 July 1885.

¹⁹ For the Thomas family see H. R. Thomas, 'Thomas, Jocelyn Henry Connor (1780-1862).....', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.516-518. For Thomas senior see Peter Chapman (ed.), *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985.

²⁰ P. L. Brown, (ed.), *Clyde Company Papers*, London: Oxford University Press, 1952, vol. 2, pp.459-460.

The published catalogue of 1857 provides the earliest evidence of procedures adopted by the library (see Appendix A). The rules drew heavily on the founding rules of Bothwell's library. They also seem to have taken account of the controversy generated there over membership, arising from the blackballing of a re-offending emancipist. Although at Bothwell applicants for membership were required to be formally proposed and elected by a ballot of a majority of members, at Evandale the power of admitting new members was vested in the office-bearers. Committee minutes for the period have not survived, so the extent to which the office-bearers may have exercised their discretionary power to exclude applicants remains unknown.

A further difference was that while Bothwell's library was founded as part of a literary society that broadened its scope, at least initially, to include a series of lectures and a scientific museum, Evandale had no such ambitions. Bothwell appears to have been limited by the availability of speakers. It is likely that Evandale chose to confine its activities because of its proximity to Launceston and the activities of the Mechanics' Institute. Kenworthy, in particular, was committed to the latter's activities. By 1847, Evandale enjoyed a daily passenger coach service leaving the *Royal Oak* at 9 a.m. and returning from Launceston at 3 p.m.²¹ Furthermore, it was not uncommon for Evandale residents to attend evening functions in Launceston.²² In contrast, the extra distance and poor road conditions between Bothwell and the capital made it more than a convenient day visit.

2 Donors and donations

The library was established with books and periodicals donated by members of the Evandale community and their friends. The evidence is recorded in the *Catalogue* which lists the donation of 144 titles, comprising 281 volumes by 25 individuals. Donations contributed to the character of the library by establishing the type of books to be made available, particularly before books arrived from Britain.

²¹ *Launceston Examiner* 17 July 1847.

²² John Richardson Glover, writing to his niece from *Patterdale* on 13 December 1855, stated : 'I heard Miska Hausa the violinist at Launceston on Tuesday 27th, and again at Evandale on the Thursday evening, and was much gratified at both places'. Mitchell Library: ML Doc.864.

The donations contributed to all library categories (see Table 21). The greatest number were *Magazines, Essays and Letters* (72 volumes); followed by *Fiction and Poetry* (47 volumes); *History* (27); *Biography* (25); *Encyclopaedias, Libraries &c.* (25); *Moral and Natural Philosophy* (24); *Theology* (17); *Voyages and Travels* (15); *Miscellaneous* (12); *Arts and Sciences* (11); and *Agriculture and Botany* 6 volumes. It is noteworthy that *Fiction and Poetry* comprised 16.8 per cent of donations compared with 21 per cent of the collection in 1861, when it had increased tenfold.

Almost half the donations (45 per cent) came from three sources: Robert Russell, John and Sarah Glover, and Dr James and Mrs Mary Kenworthy. Donors and the number of their donations are noted in Table 19. Given evidence of the dates that books were first borrowed from the library, it is probable that most of the donations were given to the library within the first twelve months of its foundation.

Not surprisingly, Robert Russell was among the library's major donors, giving 22 titles in 30 volumes. Given his role as the library's founder, his donations can be expected to provide an indication of the role that he envisaged for the library. His books contributed to eight of the eleven categories and represented a greater range than other donors: *Fiction and Poetry* (3); *Moral and Natural Philosophy* (2); *Theology* (3); *History* (1); *Biography* (4); *Voyages and Travels* (6); *Magazines, Essays and Letters* (2); and *Miscellaneous*, 1 title. Categories he did not contribute to were: *Encyclopaedias, Libraries, &c.*; *Agriculture and Botany*; and *Arts and Sciences*. Perhaps he needed to keep the works that he owned in the first category for the preparation of sermons, and did not collect in the other two categories. Russell's titles are listed in Table 20.

Of his donations, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*, a novel by Hannah More, was first published in 1809: 'a collection of social sketches and precepts, strung together on the thread of the hero's search for a young woman who shall possess the qualities stipulated for by his departed parents'.²³ The novel *Devereux* was one of a number in

²³ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1973. p.179.

the library by Bulwer Lytton, including *Zanoni*, *Rienzi* and *The Disowned* all subsequently acquired, and *Eugene Aram*, donated by Mrs Kenworthy. Included were two works of Australian discovery: W. H. Breton's *Excursions in New South Wales* and A. Russell's *Tour through the Australian Colonies*. Only one other corresponding work was donated. *Voyages and Travels*, with six titles, was the most prominent category among Russell's donation. Clearly Russell envisaged a broad collection policy for the library.

Dr Kenworthy, the library's founding president, was the donor of 25 titles, in 32 volumes. Mrs Kenworthy donated nine single-volume titles. Dr Kenworthy's donation consisted of works of reference, science, theology and English literature. The titles he gave were William Nicholson's *British Encyclopaedia* in 7 volumes, *Mechanics' Magazine*, *Plan of London*, *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, its *Classified Index*, and the nineteen-volume library *British Prose Writers* which included Thomas Fitzosborne's *Letters*, Oliver Goldsmith's *Essays* and Lady Russell's *Letters*. While these books indicate diverse interests, it is likely that he owned *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, and its *Classified Index*, for reference, possibly as a means for making future acquisitions.²⁴ Their publication date also suggests that these were later donations, possibly upon his return to England in 1856.

In contrast to her husband, Mrs Kenworthy donated only fiction. This comprised: *The Pilot*, *The Spy*, *The Pioneers*, *Last of the Mohicans*, *The Bravo*, *Lionel Lincoln* and *The Water Witch*, all by J. F. Cooper; and *The Last Days of Pompeii* and *Eugene Aram* by Bulwer Lytton. There is no reason to suggest that Mrs Kenworthy's donation of fiction and her husband's donation of non-fiction was other than a reflection of their interests, given that both donations entered the library under similar circumstances during her husband's presidency.

F. M. Innes, a former journalist, donated Homer's *Illiad and Odyssey*, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, by Thomas Evans, a work of fiction; *The Memoirs of Thos. Spencer*, by Thomas Raffles; Philip Doddridge's *The Rise and Progress of Religion*; and William

Mann's *Six Years Residence in the Australian Provinces*; William Mann was the founder and editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle* upon which Innes worked briefly as joint editor.²⁵ The gift was probably the result of Innes's association with the author.

John Glover was the library's largest single donor, giving 17 titles in 46 volumes; a further number were donated by his widow, probably soon after his death. Glover's donations and those known to have been owned by him are noted in Tables 22 and 23 and Appendices D and E. It is not surprising that Glover should have donated books to the library presided over by Kenworthy, given that he and the Kenworthys were well acquainted, and it is to be expected that he understood Kenworthy's reasoning and motives.²⁶ Glover's donated books comprised works on travel, literature, religion, history, education and farming. In addition to reflecting his life as an artist, they indicate the breadth of his mind and interests.

Mrs Sarah Glover donated the *Works and Life of Samuel Johnson* by Sir John Hawkins, in ten volumes. Born in Lichfield, Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) was among the most famous literary figures of his time. He was also well acquainted with Glover's patron Anna Seward, being 'distantly related and moving in similar social circles'.²⁷ Although Johnson had left to continue his literary career in London in 1737, he was forever to be associated with Lichfield. When the Glovers arrived in Lichfield in 1794, Dr Johnson had been dead ten years but his reputation lived on.

²⁴ *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, London: Thomas Hodgson, 1851. Evandale's copy is held at the QVMAG.

²⁵ E. Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1952, pp.178, 280. Mann had left the colony by this time; the title was published in London in 1839 and prefaced stating that it was written on board ship during Mann's return to Britain.

²⁶ It was Glover's habit to maintain sketchbooks, many of which were the basis of his major works. One sketchbook held in the collection of the Tasmanian Art Gallery, Hobart, begun 22 March 1832 (ten days after his arrival at *Patterdale*), contains four images connected with Mrs Kenworthy. The first image captioned 'At Capt Barclays' is a bush scene with figures. The second is 'Ben Lomond from Capt Barclays Garden'. The third is 'Captain Barclay and Family', a domestic scene which includes the figure of a youthful girl, clearly Mrs Kenworthy (an only child), probably before her marriage. There is a possibility that the image was drawn when George Augustus Robinson called on Glover in January 1834 and found him away 'from home at Captain Barclay's on the North Esk, painting the portraits of the family'. N. L. B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, Hobart: THRA, 1966, p.832. The fourth image is of buildings at *Cambock* and surroundings. For the Barclay and Kenworthy families see correspondence in the files of the EHS.

²⁷ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, London: Harper Collins, 1997, p.585.

Other than Mrs Glover and Mrs Kenworthy, Miss Dickson and Miss Miles were the only women donors. Nothing is known of either of them. Miss Dickson donated *Self Control*, probably the novel by Mary Brunton, and the *Trials of Margaret Lyndsay* by John Wilson, both fiction. Miss Miles donated *Ten Thousand a Year*, a novel by Samuel Warren, that met with much acclaim in Britain. The titles donated by Miss Miles and Mrs Kenworthy were much borrowed. With the exception of Mrs Glover, the women donated only fiction, which possibly they had read and did not want to re-read.

The chief donors included Evandale police magistrate Robert Wales, whose contribution consisted of 13 titles in 28 volumes. Wales arrived in the colony in 1823, and before his Evandale appointment, was employed as clerk in the law courts and magistracy at Launceston. He was on the literary staff of the *Launceston Advertiser* during John Pascoe Fawkner's ownership.²⁸ As the police magistrate, Wales held a position of authority in the district. Furthermore, the library was first located within his place of employment. Wales donated *The Hermit in London*, by Captain Felix McDonough; *The Works of Peter Pindar*; three novels by James Fenimore Cooper: *Eve Effingham*, *Borderers* and *Water Witch*; Walter Scott's *Waverley*; David Burns's *Poetry*; Thomas Trant's *Two Years in Ava*; *Modern Europe*, an unidentified set in 6 vols; *Chemical Essays*; and titles listed as 'British Essayists': *Guardian*, *Rambler* and *Observer*.²⁹ Scott's *Waverley* was distinctive in that it was duplicated in the library collection, thereby further confirming the popularity of its author.

Other donors included Alexander Rose who donated the first title listed in the *Catalogue*: Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, in 18 vols, published 1830. Rose resided at *Corra Lym*, the pastoral estate he inherited from his uncle Lieut David Rose who was among the district's earliest settlers. Given that David Rose died in 1826, the volumes (published in 1830) were clearly acquired by Alexander, rather than an unwanted part of his late uncle's estate, which adds to the spirit in which the

²⁸ E. Morris Miller, *Australian Literature from its beginnings to 1935*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1940, vol. I, p.213.

²⁹ All were listed as books. Titles sub-catalogued 'British Essayists', many although published as periodical publications, are discussed in this study as books. None were subscribed in parts.

gift was made. Being works mostly used for reference purposes, it must be assumed that he considered their greatest value would be with the Evandale Library.

James Crear made just one donation to the library: James Horsburgh's *India Sailing Directory*. Given his acquaintance with George Russell, and probably Robert Russell, it is likely that he responded to Robert's invitation to donate to the library (rather than an indication of an interest in reading). His gift suggests that his interest rested with his past career.

Charles Henry Huxtable was the brother of Dr William Huxtable who practised medicine at Evandale in 1847 and in Hobart, before returning, in 1855, to take up the practice of Dr Kenworthy at Evandale.³⁰ In Hobart, Dr William Huxtable was a member of the Royal Society.³¹ Charles Huxtable donated Thomas Hamilton's *Annals of the Peninsular Campaign*; *The Life of Wellington*; *Sir Joshua Reynolds*; *Travels through Switzerland*; *Mooriana*, by John Moore; *Memoirs of Napoleon*; and *Sports and Pastimes of England*, by Joseph Strutt. It is probable that his donation was because of his brother's association with the establishment of the library.

George Wilkinson was the Church of England minister at Evandale. He donated seven titles to the library: Charles Jerram's *Tribute of Parental Affection*; *Poems*, by Wm. Cowper; *Loyalty: a Poem*, by Miss Colthurst; *Missions of United Brethren in North America*, catalogued History; John Witherspoon's *Treatises on Justification and Regeneration*; *The Physician*; and *The Deity of Christ*. In 1850 Wilkinson advertised for a tutor 'to assist him in the education of his own children [and] a limited number of pupils (not exceeding four) to be treated in all respects as members of his own family'.³² Wilkinson's titles reflect his Christian faith, his vocation, and a literary interest. His commitment to education was an added reason for supporting the library.

³⁰ *Wood's Almanack* 1848.

³¹ *Report of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land for the year 1853*, Hobart, 1854.

³² *Launceston Examiner* 6 November 1850.

John Richard Salmon was District Assistant Surgeon for Perth and the South Esk area and a Justice of the Peace.³³ Salmon resided at *Cleggin*, Evandale. His donation comprised: *The Pastor's Fireside*, a novel, by Jane Porter; *Roche Blanche*, a romance, written by her sister, Anna Maria Porter; and eight titles listed as 'British Essayists': *Adventurer*, *World*, *Connoisseur*, *Idler*, *Mirror*, *Lounger*, *Olla Podrida* and *Winter Evenings*.³⁴ Of these, the *Connoisseur* published early works by William Cowper, the *World* included Horace Walpole as a contributor, and the *Adventurer* included works by Samuel Johnson.³⁵ It is not entirely surprising that Dr Salmon's gift was confined to the works of essayists and novelists: it is probable that he retained those scientific and medical works that he would certainly have possessed, in his personal library.

The Reverend Alexander Cairnduff was a Presbyterian minister who in 1847 was licensed to do religious duties in Launceston and the northern midlands, possibly living at Campbell Town for a time, from where he assisted Robert Russell at Evandale.³⁶ In 1849 he was in Hobart where he became a member of the Royal Society.³⁷ He did not become a library subscriber. While at Evandale he donated *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry* to the library, clearly a work in keeping with his Royal Society membership.

The library received donations from a number of donors whose identity remains unknown: Mr Blake, Mr Barnett, Mr Wild and Mr Pooler. Mr Blake may have been Robert Blake who, by October 1847, had acquired the Launceston bookselling business of Samuel Tegg, and might have hoped for some purchases from the library.³⁸

Books donated by John Sinclair, of *Clairville*, former whaler and member of the Port Philip Association, were: *Sir Roland*, a romance set in the twelfth century; *Resources of the British Empire*; *Memoirs of Napoleon*, by Fauvelet de Bourrienne; *The Life and*

³³ G. W. Elliston, *The Hobart Town Almanack*, 1838; *Woods Almanack*, 1848.

³⁴ These titles complement the gift of Robert Wales, and completed the titles sub-catalogued 'British Essayists'.

³⁵ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, pp.8, 190, 899.

³⁶ J. Heyer, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Tasmania: Presbytery of Tasmania, 1935, pp.66, 113, 121.

³⁷ *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land*, vol.2, part 2, Jan 1853, p.315.

³⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 2 October 1847. Robert Blake previously managed Tegg's Launceston enterprise during Tegg's absence in Britain, with Tegg continuing to supply the business with stock from London after Blake assumed proprietorship.

Remains of Henry Kirke White; John Franklin's *Second Expedition*; and *Victories of British Armies*, which was one of a number of titles, both fiction and non-fiction, written on military matters by Irish novelist William Hamilton Maxwell, including *The Bivouac* and *Stories of Waterloo*, both held by the library. Sinclair's gift could be expected to appeal to borrowers, given that Sir John Franklin had, in 1843, completed his term as Tasmania's Lieutenant-Governor; and that Maxwell had served in the Peninsula and at Waterloo: a number of Peninsular veterans had retired to the colony.³⁹

There is a link between Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Bishop Conybeare's *Defence of Revealed Religion*, both donated by Jocelyn Bartholomew Thomas. Lyell was professor of Geology at King's College, London 1831-3 and president of the Geological Society 1835-6 and 1849-50.⁴⁰ When published in the 1830s, Lyell's *Principles of Geology* revolutionised prevailing ideas concerning the nature and age of the Earth. Conybeare's *Defence of Revealed Religion*, published in 1732, was described by William Warburton (author of *The Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*) as 'one of the best-reasoned books in the world'.⁴¹ Conybeare's grandsons were both regarded equally as clerics and geologists: John Josias Conybeare's work was published by the Geological Society (and elsewhere) before his early death in 1824; William John Conybeare became a member of the Geological Society in 1821 and a fellow of the Royal Society in 1832.⁴² Although published a century apart, Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Conybeare's *Defence of Revealed Religion* were both works of importance when Creation was coming under challenge from evolutionists.

Of the remaining donors, John Ralston donated John Locke's *Works*; Robert Cameron donated *Ancient History* by William Rutherford, and *Rome*; Matthew Ralston donated *New Monthly Magazine*; and Allan Mackinnon donated *Bentley's Miscellany*. Of the donors whose identity remains undiscovered, Mr Blake donated *Natural Arrangements of British Plants*; Mr Barnett donated *History of Earth and Animated Nature*; Mr

³⁹ See Chapman, *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*.

⁴⁰ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, pp.497-8.

⁴¹ *DNB*, vol.XII, pp.60-1.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp 61-2.

Wild⁴³ donated *Memoirs of his own times* by Mathieu Dumas; and Mr Pooler donated: R. B. Sheridan's *Dramatic Works and Life*; *Italy*; Jules Michelet's *Roman Republic*, and his *French Revolution*; also *Reading of the Bible* and *Michael Armstrong*.

With the exception of the *London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851* and its *Classified Index*, there is no evidence of donations made beyond the initial gifts. This is surprising in that it will be shown later in this chapter that, in the mid-1850s, the library received government funds following a lapse in purchasing, which suggests that funds were short. Possibly further donations were made but unrecorded, being entered into the *Catalogue* in the same manner as purchases. Also, it is probable that owners were less inclined to part with books once the library was established on a financial footing.

Even though in future years the collection increased substantially through the purchase of books, the categories altered little in proportion to each other. This suggests that the donors were representative of the membership and responsive to its wants, and that the donations were given and received in good faith. The example of Dr and Mrs Kenworthy and Robert Russell is compelling: Dr Kenworthy donated only non-fiction, Mrs Kenworthy donated only fiction, and Robert Russell donated both. Given that Dr Kenworthy and Robert Russell were leading officials of the library, it is plain that the library accepted such diversity as representative of the community. Personal details of a number of the donors remains in doubt, which suggests they were of similarly diverse status. While it is not surprising that the popular novels were held privately, it is noteworthy that donors held works of intellectual and literary substance and, given the value that colonists placed on books, that they were prepared to share them.

They gave what they believed would be within the collection's scope. While they might have given books that they might well have not wished to read, or consult, again, such donations should not be undervalued. It is probable that most of the books that were donated came to the colony as shipboard reading, accompanied luggage or were sent from out Britain. In a statement that echoes the colonist, James Ross, when

⁴³ John Richardson Glover mentions a Mr Wild living 'at Pitcairn's large house' [*Nile Farm*] sometime prior to 1836. ML AG 35/1-13.

recommending the need for 'a small collection of good standard works'⁴⁴ when emigrating, Bill Bell states

The thousands of books, tracts, letters, and newspapers that made their way to the colonies in the nineteenth century provided vital connections with familiar social values, serving for many to organise an otherwise unpredictable environment into recognisable patterns under strange skies.⁴⁵

It is argued in this study that the transmission of known values, and the need to come to terms with a new and often unpredictable environment, contributed towards the motives upon which the library was founded.

3 Books and booksellers

Following the receipt of donated volumes, the library ordered books from Britain. Evidence of shipments is provided in newspaper reports in which the library advised subscribers of new books arriving, a practice that also promoted the library. It was probably also thought cheaper, quicker and more effective to advise members in this way. While the *Catalogue* gives a general entry for volumes in its collection, evidence of the approximate date that titles were received is obtained from the library records, that identify the date on which each title was first borrowed.⁴⁶ Although it is not known how long titles were in the library before being borrowed, a date of borrowing confirms the presence at that time.

Among the first books purchased were 38 volumes of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, produced by prominent London publisher John Murray (Table 7).⁴⁷ The library, which included George Borrow's *Bible in Spain*, Herman Melville's *Omoo* and Charles Darwin's *Voyage of a Naturalist*, confirmed Murray's reluctance to publish poetry and fiction. The library appeared after the Copyright Bill of 1842, which offered protection to publishers and authors in England and her colonies, where foreign and

⁴⁴James Ross, *The Settler in van Diemen's Land*, Melbourne: Marsh Walsh, 1975, p.41.

⁴⁵ Bill Bell, 'Bound for Australia: Shipboard reading in the nineteenth century', Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Journeys through the Market*, Kent: St Paul Bibliographies; New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1999, p. 138.

⁴⁶ 281 volumes were donated: loans for the period ending December 1848 reveal a further 212 titles: *Wood's Almanac* 1849 states (p.11) that the collection was 500 volumes at the close of 1848.

⁴⁷ For *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* see Graeme Johanson, *Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972*, Wellington: Elibank Press, 2000, pp.211-253 and appendices.

American publishers frequently marketed cheap reprints. *The London Catalogue of Books* lists the Murray library in 47 volumes with titles individually priced.⁴⁸ Included in the library was Louisa Anne Meredith's *Residence in New South Wales 1839-44*. Meredith was the author of numerous books on colonial life and manners and was living in Tasmania at the time of the Evandale Library's founding.⁴⁹

Murray's Home and Colonial Library was foremost among the genre termed colonial editions, created by British publishers, which aimed to 'provide British emigrants with the literary fruits of their civilisation'.⁵⁰ Johanson states that in 'the nineteenth century the geographical breadth of the British Empire was a constant source of pride for Britons'.⁵¹ He further suggests that 'British publishers confessed to believing that British trade and British values would inexorably follow the display of British books world-wide'.⁵² For colonial readers, *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* could be expected to represent both British values and the reach of the Empire.⁵³

From the very beginning, *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* was a standard purchase for northern libraries, with Orger and Meryon being a supplier. At the inaugural meeting of the Launceston Library Society, held 17 July 1845, an order of books to the value of £25 was agreed. The bookselling firm chosen was Orger and Meryon of London. In June 1846, the Society resolved to purchase all numbers of the Murray's library published by that time.⁵⁴ In 1847 the Launceston Library Society reported having received twenty of the volumes.⁵⁵ Many extant volumes of the library from Evandale carry the bookseller's label of Orger and Meryon (Illustration 18).⁵⁶

⁴⁸ *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, p.395.

⁴⁹ See Vivien Rae Ellis, *Louisa Anne Meredith, A Tigress in Exile*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1979.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.217.

⁵¹ Graeme Johanson, *Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972*, Wellington: Elibank Press, 2000, p.18.

⁵² *ibid.*, pp.2-3.

⁵³ Twenty-nine surviving volumes from the Evandale Library are held in the QVMAG library at Launceston.

⁵⁴ *Minute Book of the Launceston Library Society*.

⁵⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 25 August 1847.

⁵⁶ Some Orger and Meryon volumes carry similarly worded blind stamping on the flyleaves rather than labels affixed to board papers.

Murray's historian, George Paston, suggests that *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* contained 'useful and entertaining volumes (at 2/6d. each) which would contain nothing offensive to morals or good taste, and would appeal, it was hoped, to heads of families, clergymen, school-teachers and employers of labour'.⁵⁷ The Evandale purchase clearly suggests acceptance of the principles and values upon which the Murray library was conceived.

Evandale's other major purchase was the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, a 43-volume library based upon the affairs of man and nature. The most popular title at Evandale was *Elgin and Phegaleian Marbles* (see Table 8). In contrast to *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* the volumes were generously illustrated. The volumes were sold separately at 2s. or £4 the set.⁵⁸ Surviving volumes from Evandale indicate that the Library was produced by various London publishers, in particular M. A. Nattali of Covent Garden and Charles Knight of Pall Mall East; the volumes have publication dates from 1830 to 1847 and are uniformly bound in quarter leather - they also carry the bookseller's stamp of Orger and Meryon.⁵⁹ Volumes from the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* and *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* were recorded as being borrowed during the library's first year which confirms their early purchase by the library.

It is revealing that Evandale copies of both the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* and *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* carry the bookseller's label of Orger & Meryon.⁶⁰ On 20 October 1847, the *Launceston Examiner* reported:

Messrs. Orger & Meryon, Booksellers, stationers, and General Agents, 174 Fenchurch Street, London, beg to offer their services to parties in this and the neighbouring colonies for the supply of Books, Magazines, Newspapers, and every other publication, selected both from new and second-hand catalogues... Orger & Meryon are now landing about 40 parcels Books and Magazines.⁶¹

⁵⁷ George Paston, *At John Murray's 1843-1892*, London: John Murray, 1932, p.39. *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851* lists some volumes at 6s.

⁵⁸ *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, p.335.

⁵⁹ Of the Evandale volumes 30 are held in the QVMAG library.

⁶⁰ Orger and Meryon's earliest probable date, as bookbinders, in London is 1834. See Charles Ramsden, *London Bookbinders 1780-1840*, London: Batsford, 1987, p.111. In the course of this enquiry attempts have been made to locate business records or information concerning other activities of Orger and Meryon but without success.

⁶¹ *Launceston Examiner* 20 October 1847.

Significantly, the Launceston Mechanics' Institute announced in the *Launceston Examiner* the same day: 'the gratifying fact that 100 volumes of selected books had that day been landed from the *Renown*'.⁶² Considering the earlier report, it is likely these books were received from Orger & Meryon. Evandale's patronage of Orger and Meryon followed an established pattern of bookbuying in the colony.

Significant, too, are the bindings of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, in both instances half-leather with marbled paper boards, rather than the economical cloth bindings (a method recently adopted in Britain) or the more traditional and prestigious full leather. While both sets of books were manufactured economically and marketed accordingly, the method of their binding achieved the benefits of durability. In the course of this study many volumes have been examined. Many full cloth bindings have deteriorated quite badly. Many full leather bindings have fared little better. Surviving volumes of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* (from the Evandale Library and now in the QMAG library) show that, despite the lapse of time and considerable use, the bindings have suffered less damage than full cloth or leather, except for worn paper boards. While the Evandale Library undoubtedly ordered books for their contents rather than their covers, it should be noted from the volumes that have survived that the library purchased books that offered both physical durability and financial economy.

Books catalogued *Moral and Natural Philosophy*, purchased at this time (see Table 4) included James Mackintosh's *Miscellaneous Works*, John Kidd's *On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man*, William Whewell's *Astronomy and General Physics*, Thomas Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, Joseph Crooke's *Priests, Women and Families* and William Brown's *Oscillations of the Barometer*. All the titles were recently published in Britain. Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) wrote copiously on philosophical and historical subjects (including a three-volume *History of England*). *Miscellaneous Works* was published in 1846, the same year as *Priests, Women and Families* and Milner's *Gallery of Nature*. The titles: *On the Adaptation of*

⁶²loc.cit.

External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man and Astronomy and General Physics, were from the *Bridgewater Treatises*, a library of texts, financed by bequest, demonstrating Creationist principles.⁶³

Two titles catalogued *Agriculture and Botany* were acquired: Charlotte Elizabeth's *Chapters on Flowers*, and *A Series of Letters on the Improved Mode in the Cultivation and Management of Flax*, published in London in 1846 by James Hill Dickson. *Chapters on Flowers* was first borrowed in September 1848 by Kennedy Murray senior, then immediately afterwards by the library president, Dr Kenworthy. Kenworthy was likely to have been involved in the decision for its purchase. Still more interesting is Dickson's work on the cultivation of flax. Von Stieglitz states that soon after the Thomas family were granted *Everton*, in the 1820s, they 'imported and grew flax, hoping to start that industry in the colony, but without success'. Von Stieglitz suggests that this was probably the 'first recorded instance of flax-growing in Tasmania'.⁶⁴ Although there is no evidence to support Von Stieglitz's statement, or confirmation that Jocelyn Thomas was party to the acquisition of Dickson's recently published work, Thomas is known to have borrowed the title from the library on a number of occasions. The successful growing of flax was a pious hope when NSW and then Port Phillip were settled.⁶⁵ It is not surprising that Tasmanian farmers should have tried to accomplish this objective.

Only one title catalogued *Theology* appears to have been purchased during the period: Alexander Vinet's *Vital Christianity: essays and discourses on the religions of man and the religion of God*, published 1845, translated with an introduction by Robert Turnbull, pastor of the Harvard Street Church, Boston. Merle D'Aubigné, author of the *History of the Reformation*, spoke of Vinet 'as the *Chalmers of Switzerland*'.⁶⁶

⁶³ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p.113.

⁶⁴ Karl Von Stieglitz, *Days and Ways in Old Evandale*, Launceston: Telegraph Printery, 1946, p.12. Von Stieglitz is probably incorrect: Sharon Morgan argues that flax was first grown at New Town, near Hobart, in 1816. Sharon Morgan, *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.86.

⁶⁵ D. J. Mulvaney and J. Peter White (eds.), *Australians*, Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987, vol.1, pp.396-397.

⁶⁶ Alexander Vinet, *Vital Christianity: essays and discourses on the religions of man and the religion of God*, translated with an introduction by Robert Turnbull, London and Glasgow: Collins, 1845, p.viii.

Like Chalmers, under whom Robert Russell had studied, Vinet's theology was evangelical. Turnbull states that in their writings, both 'develop with equal power the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, and in their several spheres have done much to promote evangelical religion among the higher and more intelligent circles of society'.⁶⁷ Given Russell's association with Chalmers, he may have been responsible for the purchase: he certainly borrowed, if not read it.⁶⁸

Publisher's advertising material included on the flyleaves of books suggest that it may have influenced the library committee to select further works from the same source. Titles catalogued *History* included *Narrative of the Burmese War* by J. J. Snodgrass, *Ireland* by Miss Corner, *History of the French Revolution* by L. Adolphe Thiers, *China and India* by Miss Corner, *Manual of Ancient History* and *Manual of Modern History* by William Taylor, *Italy, Past and Present* by Luigi Mariotti, *A Journal of the disasters in Afghanistan* by Lady Sale; *History of the Reformation* by Merle D'Aubigné (a title Maria Medland Wedge was reading, in 1844, at her home, *Leighlands*, near Perth in Tasmania), *The Spanish Conscript* by Jane Strickland, and *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* by Scottish historian William Robertson (which accompanied others of Robertson's works donated to the library by John Glover and Robert Russell). Of these titles, three have survived, showing that the Robertson volume was published in 1809, Snodgrass's *Burmese War* was published in 1827, and Sale's *A Journal of the disasters in Afghanistan* was published in 1843 and all carry the bookseller's label of Orger and Meryon.⁶⁹ Titles catalogued *Biography* included: *Life of Lord Eldon* by Horace Twiss, *English Martyrology* and *Personal Recollections* by Charlotte Elizabeth and *Martyrs of Science* by David Brewster. Of these, the *Life of Lord Eldon*, published by John Murray in 1846, carries the label of Orger and Meryon.⁷⁰ Charlotte Elizabeth was a most productive author who wrote *English Martyrology* in 1837 and *Personal Recollections* in 1841.⁷¹ *Martyrs of Science*, on the lives of Galileo, Tycho Brahe and Kepler was published in 1841. Orger and Meryon's advertising confirms that they

⁶⁷ loc.cit.

⁶⁸ See discussion IV.

⁶⁹ Held QVMAG library.

⁷⁰ loc.cit.

⁷¹ Charlotte Elizabeth (Phelan, later Tonna) is discussed in Chapter VIII.

offered for sale both new and secondhand books in the colonies. Given the publication dates of surviving copies, it is likely that purchases of secondhand books or back stock were made from Orger and Meryon.

It was not unusual for booksellers in Britain to market secondhand books to libraries as well as new publications. In her study of the early years of the Leeds Library, Robinson has observed: 'The Ogle-Robinson bookshop was associated with the library from the outset and was probably [its] main supplier of books. By 1817, secondhand books were also being bought and the "catalogues of sales" are specifically mentioned'⁷² Orger and Meryon were following accepted practice.

At Evandale, the purchase of poetry and fiction was monopolised by the *Waverley Novels* and *Bray's Novels*. Scott's *Waverley Novels* in 48 volumes was the most popular library of fiction marketed in the colonies during the nineteenth century.⁷³

Bray's Novels were the work of the English novelist, Anna Eliza Bray, who wrote historical romances in the style of Scott. *Bray's Novels*, in 10 volumes, were acquired by the library before September 1848. The titles were first published individually, commencing with *De Foix* in 1826, and collectively, in 1845-46. Evandale acquired the collected edition.⁷⁴ There is no evidence to indicate that *Bray's Novels* were popular elsewhere in the colony and, there is no explanation as to why they should have been among the library's earliest purchases. Nevertheless, the data reveals that *Bray's Novels* were second only in popularity to the *Waverley Novels* at Evandale. It will be shown in Chapter VIII that the popularity of *Bray's Novels* was: their affinity with Scott's works; marketing procedures; library practices; and that they were embraced by a circle of women readers as a result of family loans.

4 A worthy enterprise

The Evandale Library met with immediate success. Books were received, catalogued and located in the police office. Subscribers first borrowed in February 1848. By the

⁷² Elaine Robinson, 'The Leeds Library in 1817', *A Very Good Public Library*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Allenholme Press, 2001, p.39.

⁷³ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.2.

end of the year, 882 books had been issued (Table 16). Of these, 40 per cent were purchased books. The following year, borrowing almost doubled with subscribers borrowing 1525 books, many had not previously been borrowed, which suggests the receipt of further books from Britain. In February 1850, the library closed for one week to allow for the painting of the library room and the inspection and rearrangement of the books in accordance with the catalogue.⁷⁵

By the 1850s the library had about 40 financial members (Table 18). Borrowing activity and subscription fees led to the further purchasing of books. In 1850 library usage increased to a record 1767 loans. In November 1850, the library announced the arrival of the *Potentate* from Britain with 'nearly 100 volumes' of new books and their immediate availability for issue.⁷⁶ The data shows that total library loans for the November increased by 25 per cent compared to the previous month, which supports the argument, proposed in Chapter VIII, that variations to borrowing were aligned to shipments rather than to seasons, and that yearly borrowing was similarly effected.

Again, the library sought to inform subscribers through the *Launceston Examiner*. The report was signed by Robert Russell in his capacity as library secretary. Obviously, Russell considered his position as a community, rather than a clerical, commitment.

In 1850 library subscribers united to form the Evandale Benevolent Society. It was reported in the *Launceston Examiner* that 'paupers which here lately flocked to the northern side has been too much for Launceston, and many in consequence wandering about the district of Evandale, begging about from farm to farm, to the great alarm of farmers' wives'.⁷⁷ The society's aims were to provide assistance to the needy. The society's office bearers were Dr Kenworthy, Chairman; Robert Hunter, Treasurer and J. R. Martin, Secretary.⁷⁸ Its managing committee for 1851 were all library subscribers: George Wilkinson, Robert Russell, Dr Kenworthy, J. R. Martin, Charles

⁷⁴ Both the *Waverley Novels* and *Bray's Novels* were listed in the 1857 published catalogue under sub-headings as collected editions.

⁷⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 2 February 1850.

⁷⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 6 November 1850.

⁷⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 2 January 1850.

⁷⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 23 January 1850.

Light, John Morrison, Robert Hunter, John Bryant and Fred. Sargent.⁷⁹ The 1851 society's annual meeting was held in the library.⁸⁰ Clearly, while the library provided the society with a meeting place, its members were leading the way in addressing social and economic issues facing the district.

When books were recalled for their annual catalogue inspection, the high rate of borrowing had taken its toll on the bindings and members were advised of the necessity of 'repairing dilapidated volumes'.⁸¹ The period had been successful for the library with strong membership, substantial loans and regular shipments of new books from Britain. The *Launceston Examiner* reported: 'The Evandale Subscription Library is becoming a valuable institution to the district: and it would be well if this example were followed by other villages and country towns'.⁸²

Distressed economic conditions in Tasmania, however, were exacerbated by the discovery of gold at Bathurst in New South Wales, in 1851. The cessation of convict transportation to Tasmania was accompanied by the migration of labour to the goldfields of mainland Australia. Robson states:

Between March 1851 and October 1852, the adult male population of Van Diemen's Land dropped in number by about 33 per cent...Land under cultivation fell...a decrease of 18 per cent. Inflation meant higher wages...The Australian colonies had never known such movement of population before.⁸³

The depression ended for mainland colonies as a result of gold discoveries; it was some years before conditions improved in Tasmania.⁸⁴ Henry Reynolds has observed: 'The aftermath of transportation was more prolonged in Tasmania.'⁸⁵

⁷⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 22 January 1851.

⁸⁰ *Launceston Examiner* 11 January 1851.

⁸¹ *Launceston Examiner* 20 September 1851.

⁸² loc.cit.

⁸³ Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2 vols, 1983, vol. I, p.467.

⁸⁴ In northern Tasmania, it was not until the discovery of tin at Mt Bischoff, in 1871, and of gold at Beaconsfield, in 1877, that the economy finally lifted. The impact of these discoveries upon the economy, particularly of Launceston, is yet to be fully documented. See Keith Adkins, 'Story of a Boom', *We Were There*, supplement to *The Examiner*, 12 March 1992.

⁸⁵ Henry Reynolds, 'Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute', *The Tasmanian Gentry 1856-1875*, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 15, no.3, Dec. 1969, pp.61-72.

During the anti-transportation debate in Tasmania, the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1851 was proclaimed, allowing for an enlarged, partly elected rather than wholly appointed, Legislative Council. Elections were held, and contested mostly on the issue of transportation (Illustration 15).⁸⁶ Following the proclamation the *Launceston Examiner* reported:

Evandale Demonstration. Tuesday, the 18th instant, being the first day appointed to celebrate the arrival of the new Bill, the interesting township of Evandale became a scene of bustle and cheerfulness... The company seemed desirous to do justice to their repast, and were greatly encouraged by the band playing "Oh the roast beef of old England"... The Chairman next gave "Our new constitution"... Dr Kenworthy then proposed "The Australian Colonies"... Almost every window in the township was brilliantly lighted up, and flags waving in the wind from many houses; everything seemed to show that it was indeed a day's rejoicing with the people of Evandale...⁸⁷

James Cox's supporters called upon him publicly to nominate for Parliament: 'Sir ... we respectfully beg that you will allow your friends to nominate you for the district of Morven ... For upwards of a quarter of a century [you have been] the untiring opponent of transportation ... the friend of all classes - the advocate of religious, commercial, and civil freedom'.⁸⁸ The election was fought on the issue of transportation. Cox was opposed by John Sinclair. Sinclair had been Police Magistrate at Evandale, and was associated with the whaling industry and with land settlement in Victoria. In August 1851 the *Launceston Examiner* reported a meeting at Evandale at which Cox 'opposed ... other than the immediate cessation of transportation [with] Sinclair declaring himself in favour of abolition, but that it should be very gradual, or the consequences to the community would be most disastrous'.⁸⁹ In October, Sinclair was called upon to agree to his candidature. His proposers suggested: 'In your integrity and ability we have every confidence, we seek, therefore to bind you by no political restrictions'.⁹⁰ Two weeks later the *Launceston Examiner* published a full page notice by Theodore Bartley of *Kerry Lodge* in which he concluded:

⁸⁶ For self-government see W. A. Townsley, *The Struggle for Self-Government in Tasmania*, Hobart: Government Printing Office, 1977; W. A. Townsley, *From Colony to Statehood 1803-1945*, Hobart: St. David's Park Publishing, 1991; Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol. 1, chapter 24.

⁸⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 26 January 1851.

⁸⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 1 January 1851.

⁸⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 20 August 1851.

⁹⁰ *Launceston Examiner* 15 October 1851.

Leave Mr Sinclair to employ his DEAR convict labour, and avail himself of the exertions of the half-paid convict mechanics *so long as he can get them*, and come forth prepared to GIVE THE LABORER THE FULL AMOUNT OF HIS HIRE, *and to pay the free mechanic and artizan those wages to which their skill and industry fairly entitles them, and then and then only can you expect to prosper*'.⁹¹

James Cox was elected the member for Morven. The *Launceston Examiner* described him as 'a man distinguished by public spirit, honourable conduct, and patriotic exertion, beyond most of his fellow colonists'.⁹² While it would seem that Cox, and not Sinclair, enjoyed the support of the newspaper's editor, clearly the issue caused strong divisions among Evandale residents.

In August 1852 it was reported that members of the Evandale Benevolent Society 'who have omitted to pay their subscriptions ... for the year 1851, are respectfully requested to pay the same into the hands of the treasurer, Mr. Kennedy Murray, at their earliest convenience, to discharge the liabilities incurred by the said society'.⁹³ It seems that some members were overdue with their subscriptions. The example of the society suggests that the community was experiencing hardship at all levels.

Robert Russell experienced poor health in the winter of 1852. Emma Glover, writing to her future husband, Henry Button, on 22 June 1852, wrote: 'Mr Russell is going to Port Phillip early next week, I think. Poor man, he looks very ill indeed ... He intends to stay about three months with his brother'.⁹⁴ During this period, library meetings were sometimes held at locations other than the library. In the winter of 1852, the *Launceston Examiner* advertised a library meeting to be held at Williatt's Inn.⁹⁵ John Williatt was the proprietor of the *Patriot King Inn*, at Evandale, and a library subscriber. The notice was signed by Dr Kenworthy rather than by Russell as was past practice. It is probable that Russell's absence also led to the change in venue. It can only be assumed that Russell was instrumental in meetings usually being held in the

⁹¹ *Launceston Examiner* 29 October 1851. Emphasis as published.

⁹² *Launceston Examiner* 29 October 1851.

⁹³ *Launceston Examiner* 7 August 1852.

⁹⁴ Henry Button, *Memories of fifty years of courtship and wedded life 1847-1897*, Launceston: Examiner Office, 1899, pp.194-195. Emma Glover was the daughter of Henry Glover and the granddaughter of John Glover, of Patterdale.

⁹⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 21 July 1852.

library, rather than the inn: while inns were customarily social meeting places, Russell would doubtless have sought to differentiate them from the role and purpose of the library.

After its earlier success, and coinciding with Russell's absence, the library encountered difficulties. In 1852, it raised subscription fees 'to one pound five shillings, but it was later reduced to one pound.'⁹⁶ The exact date of the reduction is not known. The rise in fees was resisted by the members - in 1852, the library lost five members. it also suspended ordering books from Britain at this time. Research has failed to locate newspaper notices concerning new additions to the library for 1852 or 1853. Borrowing dropped accordingly, from 1172 loans in 1851, to 449 loans in 1852, and 324 in 1853 (Table 16). Given that the colony was experiencing financial, social and political disruption at many levels at this time, it is not suggested that Russell's absence from the colony was the sole reason for reduced library use, but it is too much of a coincidence to suggest that it did not contribute towards the result.⁹⁷ Loans failed to increase until 1855, when 566 loans were made. It is no coincidence that, following notice of the receipt of an unspecified number of books in December 1854,⁹⁸ the library issued 71 books in January 1855, compared with 28 in the previous January (Table 17). Borrowing patterns are discussed more fully in Chapter VIII.

The suspension of library purchasing is supported by evidence of the years in which books were first borrowed from the library. Table 5 reveals that in 1848 there were 253 books borrowed for the first time; in 1849 there were 187 books; in 1850 there were 117 books; and in 1851 there were 101 books. These were years in which the *Launceston Examiner* announced new arrivals. Thereafter, the number of books borrowed for the first time reduced significantly: 1852 (55 books), 1853 (20 books), 1854 (45 books). Following the notice of books due from Britain at the end of 1854, the library experienced an increase to 129 books borrowed for the first time in 1855. Borrowing declined again in 1856, to 76 books. 1857 (36 books) was probably affected by the relocation of the library. Thereafter, numbers stabilised: 1858 (93

⁹⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 25 July 1885.

⁹⁷ In similarly uncharacteristic circumstances, at Bothwell, the Reverend Garrett's departure coincided with problems over membership, see discussion Chapter V.

books), 1859 (156), 1860 (130) and 1861 (107) which suggests that overseas shipments were received in those years. As time passed the likelihood of books being borrowed for the first time decreased, as this segment became a smaller percentage of the total stock. The likelihood, however, also increased that books borrowed for the first time were of recent arrival.

The downturn in book purchasing was accompanied by the cancellation of periodical subscriptions. Immediately following its inception, the library subscribed to a range of periodicals from Britain. The *Catalogue* dates the receipt of periodicals, in parts, alongside their date of publication. By the end of 1851 the library was no longer receiving *Bentley's Miscellany*, *Gardener's Chronicle*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Christian Lady's Magazine*, *Quarterly Review*, *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* and *Journal of Agriculture*. By the end of 1854, all remaining subscriptions, comprising *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Athenaeum*, *Atlas*, *Punch* and the *Examiner* had lapsed. Given the acknowledged popularity of periodicals in nineteenth-century communities, the cancellation of subscriptions at Evandale was contrary to readers' preferences. It is possible, however, that some personal subscriptions were being taken out and periodicals shared among families.

In 1853 the end of transportation was marked by celebrations at Evandale. The *Launceston Examiner* reported:

The public rejoicings at Evandale, on the cessation of transportation ... went off with great spirit ... At an early hour the various roads leading to Evandale were thronged with holiday makers, with laughing faces and blue ribbons in abundance ... the inhabitants of the district assembled on the green in front of the police office, and formed into a procession ... The native youth of all ages and both sexes mustered in great numbers.⁹⁹

After the procession, a service was conducted in the Anglican Church, followed by refreshments at the home of Dr Kenworthy; a further procession, and a luncheon at the Clarendon Hotel were also held. The Reverend John Thompson stated: 'From this day

⁹⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 3 December 1854.

⁹⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 3 September 1853.

we commence as it were, a new era in this land of our lot. Let it be distinguished by a general amendment of life, as well as improved circumstances and social conditions'.¹⁰⁰

As a result of labour shortages, resulting from migration to the mainland, and the desire to establish a free citizenry in Tasmania, moves were undertaken to increase immigration. Hardship in Scotland made migration to the colonies more attractive.¹⁰¹ Scotland had entered a prolonged period of agricultural depression and mass starvation as a result of the partial failure of the potato crop in 1836 and 1839. In 1846 'it was estimated ... that three-quarters of the whole population of the north-west Highlands and the Outer Isles had no food left'.¹⁰² A subscription list was established by the St Andrew's Society, in Launceston, early in 1847, to assist those 'suffering from the failure of the crops' in Scotland.¹⁰³ Details of the appeal were reported by the *Cornwall Chronicle* under the heading 'Destitution in Scotland'.¹⁰⁴ The *Cornwall Chronicle* reported the plight of urban factory workers near Aberdeen, who, were provided with breakfast and dinner while at work.¹⁰⁵ Lynch suggests that between 1847 and 1856 an estimated 16,000 persons emigrated to North America and Australia.¹⁰⁶

In contrast to the Scots who took up land grants in centres such as Bothwell and Evandale a quarter of a century earlier, the second wave of emigrants mostly 'had their passages paid, either by public subscription, the government or, more usually, by their own landlords'.¹⁰⁷ In April 1854 the *Cornwall Chronicle* reported:

St Andrew's Immigration Society...This Association, emanating from the Launceston St. Andrew's Society, having been organised for the sole purpose of introducing immigrants from Scotland of the classes most suitable to supply the wants of the employers of labour in V. D. L. invite all who are desirous of promoting such an undertaking to communicate at once with the secretary, and send in the amount of their subscriptions towards the objects contemplated.

¹⁰⁰ loc.cit.

¹⁰¹ For Scottish emigration see David S. Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia 1788 - 1850*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.

¹⁰² M. Lynch, *Scotland, A New History*, London: Pimlico, 1997, p.371.

¹⁰³ *Launceston Examiner* 6 March 1847.

¹⁰⁴ *Cornwall Chronicle* 6 March 1847.

¹⁰⁵ *Cornwall Chronicle* 19 July 1847.

¹⁰⁶ Lynch, *Scotland, A New History*, p.372.

¹⁰⁷ loc.cit.

The principles which are to guide the committee of this Society, are strictly of a general and self-supporting nature. The Society's object is to encourage the introduction of Scottish Emigrants by taking advantage of the Bounty Tickets now issued by the local Government. For this purpose a Subscription List is opened, and the sums subscribed are to be considered as a loan, repayable by the Immigrants, at certain periods, after arrival in the colony. A suitable and proper agent will be appointed to select in Scotland the individuals most likely to benefit the Colony at large.¹⁰⁸

A number of Evandale Library subscribers assisted those suffering distress in Scotland. Donors to the appeal administered by the St Andrew's Society, in Launceston, included Allan Mackinnon and Alexander Rose, who each pledged 50 bushels of wheat or £10; John and Matthew Ralston, £2 each; and James Crear, £5.¹⁰⁹ In May 1854, it was reported that £2,680 had been subscribed to the fund.¹¹⁰

Similarly, donations to the fund established by the St Andrew's Immigration Society for bounty immigrants, in 1854, included Evandale residents: Robert Hunter, £100; Allan Mackinnon, Joseph Kirkby and Alexander Rose, £50 each; John Ralston, Matthew Ralston, David Gibson jun. and John Kinder Archer, £25 each.¹¹¹ Earlier, it had been reported that the Society's agent, Joseph Bonney, of *Woodhall*, near Perth, was 'very shortly to proceed to Scotland' to arrange the passage of prospective emigrants to Launceston.¹¹² Bonney, formerly of Suffolk, England, and the son of a convict, previously held 'a number of minor positions in the Van Diemen's Land bureaucracy, but in 1854 was well established as a landowner'.¹¹³ Although Bonney was not of Scottish descent, he 'offered his services gratuitously' to the Society who were experiencing difficulty in obtaining a suitable agent.¹¹⁴ Bonney was not a library subscriber. In Britain, he 'secured Scottish servants for himself and probably acted as agent' for others.¹¹⁵ He probably also secured servants for Robert Russell.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ *Cornwall Chronicle* 12 April 1854. See also Kevin Green, 'Immigration as an alternative to Transportation: Van Diemen's Land 1852-1855', *Bulletin of The Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol.3, No.1, 1990-1991, pp.150-165.

¹⁰⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 27 February 1847, 13 March 1847.

¹¹⁰ *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 May 1854.

¹¹¹ loc.cit.

¹¹² *Cornwall Chronicle* 6 May 1854.

¹¹³ Green, 'Immigration as an alternative to Transportation', p.161.

¹¹⁴ loc.cit.

¹¹⁵ loc.cit.

¹¹⁶ Peter Smith, shepherd, and his wife, Penelope, emigrated from Scotland on the *Commodore Perry*, arriving Launceston 7 April 1855. They were sponsored by Alex. Learmonth, secretary of the St.

The St Andrew's Immigration Society and its fellow organisation, the Launceston Immigration Aid Society, were 'particularly successful in attracting "superior immigrants" as permanent settlers'.¹¹⁷ The St Andrew's Immigration Society provided Bonney with clear instructions concerning the recruitment of Scottish immigrants:

Having pledged yourself to procure only first-class servants and mechanics, whose aim in life will be to rise in the scale of society, by industry and preserving thrift, you will candidly inform them of the difficulties to be surmounted in the struggle for fortune here, as at home, but you can impress on them the certainty of the reward attendant in this and all new countries, on steady conduct, industry, application to work, and prudent frugality with their earnings'.¹¹⁸

Scottish emigrants who settled in Evandale included Thomas Hogarth from Berwickshire who, accompanied by his wife and family, sailed from Liverpool on the *Great Tasmania*, arriving in the colony in January 1857. Hogarth was sponsored by James R. Scott for whom he became a tenant farmer at Breadalbane, near Evandale, and from whom he subsequently bought the property of *Raeburn*.¹¹⁹ In addition to cabin passengers, the vessel carried 533 bounty emigrants.¹²⁰ Thomas Hogarth, aged 46, was formerly a 'farm labourer', and his wife Marion, aged 40, 'a farm servant'.¹²¹ Their eldest son, Thomas junior, was 18 years of age. In correspondence 'home' Thomas junior described the ship's arrival in Hobart:

[T]here is very little cultivation all the way to Hobart Town just a patch here and there with a house or two there are hills on each side the river the whole way up covered with wood to the top Hobart Town is a very pretty place lying on the side of a hill down to the water some of it is thinly built the houses are

Andrew's Immigration Society. (See Bounty Records, Launceston Library). Peter and Penelope Smith were employed as house servants by Robert Russell. (Information supplied by the descendants of Peter Smith). On 26 September 1857 a son was born at Evandale, christened Robert Russell Smith, clearly in honour of the Reverend Robert Russell. Upon his death, Robert Russell bequeathed Peter Smith £300 'in recognition of his long and faithful service'. A copy of Robert Russell's will is held among the Russell family papers at the State Library of Victoria.

¹¹⁷ Kevin Green, 'A superior class of immigrant'. The Launceston and St. Andrews Immigration Societies and the immigrants they introduced into Tasmania 1855-1862, *Launceston Historical Society occasional papers*, vol.1, 1993, p.41.

¹¹⁸ *ibid*, p.46.

¹¹⁹ Bounty Emigrants file on microfilm; Hawley Stancombe files, Launceston Library. For Scott see G.H. Crawford 'A Short Biography of Thomas Scott' in K. R. von Stieglitz (ed.) *Sketches in Early Van Diemen's Land by Thomas Scott. Assistant Surveyor General 1821-1836*, Hobart: Fullers, 1966. For the Hogarth family at Raeburn see *The Australasian* 16 November 1935.

¹²⁰ *Hobart Town Courier* 28 January 1857. For regulations concerning bounty emigrants see the *Cornwall Chronicle* 16 July 1856.

¹²¹ Bounty emigrants records, Launceston Library.

mostly stone some brick there is little cultivated land around seem to be a great many gardens and orchards. Our arrival created a great sensation as this is the largest ship ever came up we expect to get ashore tomorrow we will be a week here so we will see the country'.¹²²

Thomas junior's letter provides a graphic account of the undeveloped state of the Tasmanian countryside surrounding Hobart at this time, and conveys the sense of expectation that must have been felt by those engaged in such a venture.

In 1856, elections were held to elect representatives to a bicameral Parliament. Voting for the newly formed House of Assembly and the Legislative Council was confined to adult males who fulfilled requirements based upon property, income, or professional qualifications. With the transportation issue behind them, 'most candidates contented themselves with stressing their ability, shining integrity and stake in the colony' and elections at Evandale were conducted without the earlier acrimony.¹²³

In September 1856, John Helder Wedge, of *Leighlands*, was called upon to accept nomination to the Legislative Council for the district of North Esk, under a new constitution. Wedge emigrated to the colony in 1824. In addition to his employment as a land surveyor he figured prominently, in 1836, in the founding of the settlement of Port Phillip.¹²⁴ Following the death of his wife on 3 November 1844, he spent a period managing farms endowed to Christ College at Bishopsbourne, later returning to the Evandale district. In 1855 he was elected to membership of the Royal Society of Tasmania. Other Evandale members at that time were Dr Kenworthy, F. M. Innes, and John Saffrey Martin. Robert Russell was not a member.¹²⁵ In reply to the invitation to contest the 1856 election, Wedge made no direct mention of past transportation issues, beyond the need for unity in the establishment of self-government for Tasmania. Wedge was duly elected.

¹²² Hogarth's letter is quoted verbatim. Copy in the possession of Russell Hogarth, Launceston.

¹²³ Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol.2, p.31.

¹²⁴ For Wedge see G. H. Stancombe, Wedge, John Helder (1793-1872)', *ADB*, vol.2, pp.575-6; G.H. Crawford, W. F. Ellis and G. H. Stancombe (eds.), *The Diaries of John Helder Wedge*, Hobart: Royal Society of Tasmania, 1962; C. P. Billot, *The Life and Times of John Pascoe Fawkner*, Melbourne: Hyland, 1985; J. M. Uhl, 'The Wedge family pioneers in Van Diemen's Land and Port Phillip, *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, March 1965, vol.12, No.3, pp.84-94.

¹²⁵ *Report of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land for the year 1855*, Hobart, 1856.

The election of a member for Morven to the House of Assembly was conducted with only a brief mention of past issues. The nomination of F. M. Innes was proposed by Alexander Rose and seconded by Joseph Kirkby. At a meeting of electors, Innes's support for John Sinclair during the previous contest was raised. Innes declared that if elected 'he was prepared to dedicate himself honestly and disinterestedly to their service'.¹²⁶ The *Launceston Examiner* reported: 'It was understood that James Crear, jun, Esq. at the solicitations of several voters, would contest the election; but although that gentleman was at the foot of the hustings according to promise, but from some cause he was not nominated'.¹²⁷ Innes was elected unopposed. to the colony's first House of Assembly in 1856.¹²⁸ Transportation had ceased to be an election issue.

The founding of the library coincided with the appointment of William Denison to the position of Lieutenant-Governor. Upon his arrival, in 1847, he 'found that 6060 of the 9767 children in the colony between 4 and 14 were receiving no schooling'.¹²⁹ In January 1850, Thomas Arnold the younger, son of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School in England, was appointed to superintend public education, a position he held until 1856. The problems that he faced included poor school attendance, a shortage of trained teachers, poor salaries, and a call for state-aid to church schools.¹³⁰ The measures he instituted included a scheme to obtain trained teachers from Britain.

Evandale was among the first communities to take advantage of the scheme, and William Hepburn Kidd was appointed at a yearly salary of £100.¹³¹ Kidd was born at Lasswade, Scotland in 1823. Family correspondence states that he was 'well up in the Edinburgh University' when he accepted the invitation to emigrate.¹³² His appointment as librarian was probably made at the library's annual general meeting of October

¹²⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 13 September 1856.

¹²⁷ *loc. cit.*

¹²⁸ C. M. Sullivan, 'Innes, Frederick, Maitland (1816-1882)', *ADB*, vol. 4, p.458.

¹²⁹ C. H. Currey, *ADB*, *op.cit.*, vol.4, p.48.

¹³⁰ For Arnold see: P.A. Howell, *Thomas Arnold the younger in Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart: THRA, 1964; E. M. Finlay, 'Thomas Arnold and the Winston Affair in Van Diemen's Land', *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, vol.46, no.4, December 1999, pp.193-199.

¹³¹ *Hobart Town Gazette* 1 April 1856.

¹³² J.A Kidd to D.L. Mackinnon, 23 May 1978. E H S files.

1855.¹³³ There is nothing to suggest that the drop in loans was the result of John Saffrey Martin's performance as librarian. From the neatness and precision with which Martin kept the *Catalogue* and the successful performance of his other civic duties, his record appears unblemished. It is probable that the transfer of the librarian's position was because of William Hepburn Kidd's appointment as Evandale schoolmaster made the change convenient, since the books were housed in the schoolhouse.

Favourably impressed by Kidd, Russell set about to build a new schoolhouse for the district, and to locate the subscription library within it. His task was assisted by public debate favourable to local communities providing school premises.¹³⁴ The building was paid for with funds provided by Russell and probably his family, with government assistance for school books and expenses.

Robert Duff suggests that, in addition to his pastoral gifts, Robert was adept at financial management.¹³⁵ Correspondence between George and Robert suggest that the brothers were trustees of the estates of their deceased brothers, William and Philip, and reveal the extent to which they managed affairs on behalf of family heirs and widows; also that they were mindful of their legal responsibilities regarding funds and property in their trust.¹³⁶ It is noteworthy that John Glover appointed Robert an executor of his estate.¹³⁷

In July 1856, in correspondence with his brother, George, Robert Russell provides an all too rare direct expression of his thinking at this time, stating:

I am now disposed to take the money into my own hands, & as much more as I can honestly beg, borrow, or steal, & to expend the same in the erection of a Schoolhouse & dwelling for the Teacher in this Township. They are very much wanted. At present we have an excellent teacher, and I am anxious that he should connect himself permanently with the district; hence the necessity of giving him a "local habitation". By making the premises large enough I doubt not

¹³³ Immediately following the meeting the *Launceston Examiner* reported that it was 'resolved that books should in future be issued only on Wednesday and Saturdays, and not then unless regularly entered in the librarian's book; and that from the first of next month the fines should be strictly enforced'.¹³³ An examination of the *Catalogue* reveals that loans were written in a different hand following the meeting.

¹³⁴ Howell, *Thomas Arnold the younger in Van Diemen's Land*, p.33.

¹³⁵ Robert S. Duff (ed.), *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*, Edinburgh, 1883, p.xix.

¹³⁶ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.VI, pp. 350-1.

¹³⁷ Robert Russell and Kennedy Murray were Glover's executors, discussed elsewhere in this study.

but that the money expended on them will return a fair percentage. And then, the immediate benefit to the district is beyond price.¹³⁸

Clearly, Robert himself was unable to meet the full cost. There is no reason to suggest that the 'fair percentage' referred to by Robert was other than exercising the legal and family responsibilities with which he was charged. There is no indication as to what funds Robert may have contributed personally or what were provided through his family. Although Russell's obituary states that he was responsible 'for the erection of ... the school house and master's dwelling at his sole risk and certain pecuniary loss',¹³⁹ it seems likely that the funds were provided partly by his family.

More importantly, however, is that his motivation for the project was the desire to secure for Evandale the services of a worthy schoolmaster, and that Robert was prepared to commit personal and family funds for the establishment of a community institution to facilitate education, books and learning. Upon his death the building, which was let to the Tasmanian Government for 'school purposes', was bequeathed to St Andrews Presbyterian Church at Evandale.¹⁴⁰

It seems that the double-storey building was designed to incorporate an existing residence in which Anne Martin, the wife of John Saffrey Martin, conducted a boarding establishment. In March 1857 Martin advertised the property for rent: 'That delightfully situated cottage residence known as Anjou Villa, containing six rooms and two attics, with a detached kitchen, coach house, two-stall stable and an acre of garden ground ... John S. Martin'.¹⁴¹ The following month Mrs Martin advertised: 'Mrs Martin begs to intimate to parents and guardians that having removed to that delightfully situated residence "Riverview", she is prepared to receive an additional number of young ladies as boarders.'¹⁴² It is likely that the decision was taken by Russell at that time to take possession of the building occupied by the Martins, to

¹³⁸ Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*, vol. VI, p.353.

¹³⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 5 April 1877

¹⁴⁰ *The last Will and Testament of Robert Russell*, held in the Russell papers in the State Library of Victoria.

¹⁴¹ *Launceston Examiner* 7 March 1857.

¹⁴² *Launceston Examiner* 23 April 1857.

extend the ground floor, and to add a second storey, at which time Mrs Martin relocated her boarding establishment.

The library was housed in a wing of the original building that had been retained as a single storey. An entrance hallway served both the library and the ground-floor schoolroom, with the schoolmaster's residence and sleeping quarters for boarders of the school, occupying the upper storey.¹⁴³ The building was undoubtedly intended to fulfil a practical purpose. Its design, while not emulating the classical architecture of the church, is nonetheless imposing (Illustration 8).¹⁴⁴

Given that the Martins vacated the property no earlier than March 1857, and that the books seem to have been moved from the police office in August and September, it is probable that the books were relocated before the rebuilding was completed. That the books were to be moved from the police office was noted in July 1857.¹⁴⁵ In August, the library made 8 loans, in September it made none, after which borrowing rose substantially (Table 17).

It is possible that Kidd's appointment was also made taking financial considerations into account. While there is no proof that Martin was paid, he was not wealthy, and may have received a salary. Elsewhere, Kidd is described as the 'honorary librarian'.¹⁴⁶ The library was experiencing reduced borrowing at this time and an unsuccessful attempt had earlier been made to increase fees. As Kidd was in other respects well provided for, with house and salary, his 'honorary' appointment may have been considered both appropriate and prudent at that time. Given that teachers were paid by

¹⁴³ I am indebted to the present owners, Jane and Greg Zeuschner, for allowing me to examine the property and for pointing out how the library construction differs from the main structure. I am indebted to John Millwood for proposing the argument that that the new schoolhouse was the result of a substantial renovation rather than a new building. In addition to providing an explanation of the construction, Mr Millwood has located a sketch, by John Richardson Glover, of the original building, titled *Anjou Villa*, with Martin named the occupier, showing young women seated, in conversation, in the gardens. It is likely that the property was owned by Kennedy Murray junior who was Anne Murray's father. *Anjou Villa* was situated between Murray's home, *Prosperous*, and the police office, both owned by Murray as noted in the Costantini paintings of the two buildings, held in the Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart. Details concerning changes in ownership are not forthcoming at the time of writing. This matter is not fully resolved and requires further research.

¹⁴⁴ The manse the Russell built was perhaps more dignified than imposing. The two Chapels of Ease were located some distance from the township and are of modest timber construction.

¹⁴⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 28 July 1857.

the colonial government, and that when grants were made to the libraries at Bothwell and Evandale they were separate provisions, it is not likely that Kidd's salary included a component for administering the library.

Before Dr Kenworthy departed for Britain in 1856 he made two significant donations, both outside Evandale. The first was 'a very large quantity of scientific apparatus' to the Launceston Mechanics' Institute.¹⁴⁷ The second was more than sixty books to the library of Christ College. Christ College was established at Bishopsbourne in northern Tasmania, in 1846, by the Church of England, after the arrival of Bishop Nixon. This followed earlier moves by Sir John and Lady Franklin to found an institution based upon the university colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁴⁸ In 1839, the first books were received for its collection, when, upon learning of the Franklins' plan, the London Tract Society presented £10 worth of theological works.¹⁴⁹ Other donations included more than 1200 volumes given by the Reverend John Philip Gell, the first warden of Christ College. These included a portion of the personal library of the late Archdeacon Hutchins of Hobart. By 1848, the College library contained some 3,000 volumes, mostly of theological, classical and scientific works.¹⁵⁰

Kenworthy's donation to Christ College comprised chiefly sermons and works devoted to the natural sciences, technology, and natural and political philosophy (see Appendix F). An examination of surviving books has revealed that a number of those bearing Kenworthy's bookplate also carry the binder's label of J. G. Sutton, of Liverpool, attached to the inside front board.¹⁵¹ It is not surprising that his copies

¹⁴⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 10 March 1860.

¹⁴⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 24 January 1856.

¹⁴⁸ For Christ's College see also Oliver Heyward, 'A stronghold of learning and a school of Christian gentlemen', *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, March 1973, vol.20, no.1, pp.42-57.

¹⁴⁹ *Brief history of the Christ College Library*, Hobart: Friends of Christ College, 1856, p.2. See also *Christ's College: Tasmania. An exhibition of books from the Christ's College Library, 1846-1856*, Hobart: The Friends of the University Library, 1971.

¹⁵⁰ *Catalogue of the Christ's College Library in the Diocese of Tasmania*, Hobart Town: G. W. Elliston, 1848.

¹⁵¹ When the College at Bishopsbourne closed, in December 1856, the books were placed in storage in Launceston. The College was reopened in Hobart in 1879. In recent times the books have been taken into the care of the University of Tasmania Library and housed in its rare books collection. Kenworthy's books can be identified by two versions of his bookplate, although his donation may have also included other books not identified in this manner. The colony had strong shipping links with Liverpool. Thomas Hogarth, his family, and more than five hundred bounty emigrants, sailed from

were obtained in Liverpool. Kenworthy departed from Liverpool when he emigrated in 1833. Following his return to Britain, he practised medicine for the last seven years of his life close by, at Bunbury in Cheshire. He died at Liverpool in 1873.¹⁵² Of the seven books found to bear Sutton's label, six were published after 1836, by which time Kenworthy was resident in the colony, suggesting that they must have been sent to him from Liverpool. The seventh title was published in 1822 which suggests either that the book was purchased second-hand or that Kenworthy brought it from Britain. Reasons why he chose to donate to Christ College rather than the Evandale Library may have included an allegiance to the Church of England. It is more likely, however, given the borrowing habits of Evandale subscribers and their regard for fiction, that he chose to place the books at Christ College with its role as a teaching institution.

Dr Kenworthy was one of those 'enlightened' nineteenth-century individuals whose interests spanned literature and the sciences.¹⁵³ His role as a committeeman, lecturer and benefactor brings to mind the words of the Reverend James Garrett, of Bothwell concerning the 'incalculable advantages derived from the Cultivation of Literary and Scientific Subjects'.¹⁵⁴ Kenworthy and Garrett were both members of the Royal Society, based in Hobart.¹⁵⁵ Kenworthy was admitted to membership in 1851. On 7 May 1852 he wrote to the secretary, Dr Joseph Milligan, 'giving the details of a careful analysis of two samples of gold from Mount Alexander and Fingal' in north-eastern Tasmania.¹⁵⁶ He retained his membership until 1858, by which time he was living permanently in England.¹⁵⁷

Michael Roe adopts the term 'moral enlightenment', one he did not coin but has brought to prominence, to describe what he argues became the dominant ideology in,

Liverpool on the *Great Tasmania* arriving in the colony in January 1857. His borrowing is discussed in Chapter VIII.

¹⁵² *Launceston Examiner* 28 October 1873.

¹⁵³ For further examples see Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p.147.

¹⁵⁴ *Minute Book of the Bothwell Literary Society* 26 June 1834 - 8 October 1856. AOT, N.S. 75/1.

¹⁵⁵ *Report of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land for the year 1851*, Hobart, 1852.

¹⁵⁶ *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land*, vol.2, part 2, Jan.1853.

¹⁵⁷ *Report of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land for the year 1858*, Hobart, 1869. John Saffrey Martin, whose earlier election was probably the result of Dr Kenworthy, was a financial member at this time, and possibly he arranged Kenworthy's continuing subscription. Martin died 10 July 1858.

and for, the Australian colonies following the initial stage of government of the penal settlement by the British. Roe defines the phenomenon of moral enlightenment as

A growth from eighteenth-century thought, this faith mingled Romantic, Protestant, and liberal attitudes. It was developed especially by upholders of secular culture, and of the Temperance movement, who urged that everyone could, indeed must, become good, wise, prosperous, and responsible... Perception of so happy a fate, and striving towards it, would impregnate society and bind it together.¹⁵⁸

Roe, in his explanation, gives prominence to the example of F. M. Innes and his discussion on American Transcendentalist, Ellery Canning, as an example of 'the new faith'. At this time Innes was newspaper editor of the *Tasmanian*.¹⁵⁹

The Evandale Library's rules and regulations and catalogue of books was published simultaneously with the library's relocation. In September 1857 the *Launceston Examiner* reported: 'Members having books belonging to the library are particularly requested to return them without delay to the librarian, that new catalogues may be prepared and ready for issue on the day of the Annual Meeting. Robert Russell. secretary.'¹⁶⁰ Although the notice refers to 'new' catalogues there is no evidence to suggest that a printed catalogue was produced before 1857.

That community libraries were a reflection of enlightened thinking at this time, is indicated in the comments, in October 1856, by the ever controversial editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle*, suggesting that Hobart and Launceston were less deserving of government assistance than the interior, where

It is only the persevering spirit of two or three individuals more enlightened than the average about them, and more sensibly impressed with the importance of a circulating library, that keeps them in existence in these spots.¹⁶¹

The libraries of which he was writing were those of Bothwell and Evandale. Doubtless those referred to as 'more enlightened than the average' were the libraries' founders and their immediate successors.

¹⁵⁸ Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, p.6.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.149.

¹⁶⁰ *Launceston Examiner* 29 September 1857.

¹⁶¹ *Cornwall Chronicle* 18 October 1856.

Evandale was one of only four libraries to receive financial assistance. The others were Hobart, Launceston and Bothwell. Although Evandale and Bothwell were in receipt of lesser funds, they were treated as public institutions and afforded equal status with the larger towns. In 1861 the Reverend W. Brickwood, the Evandale Library treasurer, confirmed that until 1856 the library was supported solely by subscription; in 1857 it was given a grant of £50; by 1861 it had received £200.¹⁶² Some years later, the *Launceston Examiner* reported that funding was due to Frederick Maitland Innes, a member of the Evandale Library from 1850.¹⁶³ His record of public service supports this claim: in addition to his outspokenness over books and reading and the affairs of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, he was appointed to the purchasing committee of the Parliamentary Library following his election to the colony's first House of Assembly, in 1856.

It is probable that a requirement of government funding was that the Evandale Library, and other similar institutions, publish their rules and a catalogue of their books. Ramsay notes that the Bothwell Literary Society's earliest catalogue was printed in 1856, and that a copy 'accompanied an application for a government grant' in 1859, and that the practice can be observed in applications made on behalf of other libraries in the 1860s.¹⁶⁴ As a consequence, library catalogues, otherwise rare in Tasmania, survive among the Colonial Secretary's papers.¹⁶⁵ Kidd wrote to the Colonial Secretary, in March 1861: 'I have the honour to transmit to you a list of the books in the Public Library of Morven'.¹⁶⁶ Accompanying the letter were the printed rules and catalogue of 1857, with handwritten additions to the book stock. Evandale published a revised library catalogue in 1862, printed at the office of the *Launceston Examiner*. There was widespread acceptance of the practice of published catalogues but the library continued to maintain its manuscript catalogue of books for borrowing. It seems that the published version was for other purposes than management of library loans.

¹⁶² CSD I/158/5113. Brickwood was the Church of England Rector at Evandale, 1860-1862.

¹⁶³ *Launceston Examiner* 25 July 1885.

¹⁶⁴ Mary Ramsay, 'The Bothwell Literary Society and its library', unpublished paper presented to THRA, at TMAG, Hobart. n.d., p.2.

¹⁶⁵ CSD I/158/5113 (AOT) includes catalogues for Westbury (1859), Deloraine (1859), New Norfolk (1860), Sorell (1860) Torquay and Formby (1861) and George Town (1860).

¹⁶⁶ CSD I/158/5113

In the absence of library records, Brickwood's correspondence provides evidence concerning the library and its finances. Brickwood claimed that he was not in possession of the accounts before 1853. He also states that between 1853 and December 1860, in addition to funds from government, subscriptions collected from members amounted to £359.10s; expenditure on books amounted to £425.9s and other expenses, including freight, carriage of books, salary of the librarian (the only such reference encountered in this study, offering support for the argument that Martin was remunerated) and library furniture, amounted to £81.11s.3d.¹⁶⁷ Brickwood noted that there were donations 'amounting to several hundred volumes' and provided statistics concerning the book stock and subscriber numbers, consistent with the evidence of the *Catalogue*. Based upon Brickwood's figures, the government supplied one-third of the library's income, leaving the library with an operating surplus of £53 for the period.

There can be no assurance that government assistance to Evandale continued beyond that detailed in Brickwood's correspondence. In August 1859 it was stated in a report to government that various libraries and Mechanics' Institutes in receipt of public funds were essentially private institutions and recommended that such assistance cease. The recommendations included:

That in all cases where aid is afforded by the Government towards the support of Public Libraries and Mechanics' Institutes, such Libraries, and the Libraries attached to such Institutions, shall be Reading Rooms open to the General Public.¹⁶⁸

It seems that by 1859 other country and institutional libraries had joined with Bothwell and Evandale in seeking government funds. A consequence of the report was that financial support was limited to the public libraries at Launceston and Hobart.

When giving evidence to government commissioners appointed to enquire into 'superior and general' education in the colony, Russell stated in 1860:

¹⁶⁷ loc.cit.

¹⁶⁸ 'Report of the Committee appointed on the 16 August, 1859, to consider the question of Grants in aid of Public Institutions', *Journals of the House of Assembly (with Appendices)*. 1859, No. 20.

In almost every case I should like to see School premises capable of receiving from 15 to 30 boarders. This would give the Teachers a higher status in their respective Districts; elevate the educational standard; and, by bringing the children of the rich and poor together, and thus “leavening the lump”, be attended with inestimable benefits to all classes of the community.¹⁶⁹

He went on to advise:

Let the masses be thoroughly permeated by a plain and substantial education, and I have little doubt but that in good time you will *create a demand* for the higher attainments which you now so much desiderate. I know of no more effectual way of breaking up the worship that is universally paid to wealth - and more especially in *young countries* - than by endeavouring to stereotype upon the *juvenile* mind the great truth, that it is not wealth or connection which produces, or perpetuates, *influence*; that feelings of goodwill, principles of honour and generosity and self-denial, moral and mental superiority, but, above all, these natural qualities sanctified by the Spirit of the living God, are the only sure sources of legitimate and permanent power in a free and Christian country.¹⁷⁰

The six-member parliamentary committee included William Henty, formerly president of the Launceston Library Society, and Evandale subscriber Frederick Maitland Innes.

Russell’s statement provides a unique insight into his beliefs and attitudes concerning schooling, education and society; his Christian faith; and into his likely motives in founding the library at Evandale. Russell left no diaries or documentary evidence directly relating to the library. Such evidence of his residency at Evandale is confined to published family correspondence and a selection of his sermons published posthumously in 1883, none of which, with the exception of that mentioned previously concerning Kidd and the schoolhouse, bears directly on the library.¹⁷¹

Russell’s attitude towards education and social integration would appear to be based on Scottish tradition. T. C. Smout notes that Sir John Sinclair’s *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland* for 1826, identifies similar characteristics, where ‘in great town schools like the High School of Edinburgh [there was] the mixing of the

¹⁶⁹ ‘Superior Education. The Report of the Commission’, *Journals of the Legislative Council (with papers)*, 1860, p.39.

¹⁷⁰ loc.cit.

¹⁷¹ For family correspondence see Brown, *Clyde Company Papers* and P. L. Brown, (ed.), *The Narrative of George Russell*, London: Oxford University Press, 1935.

For sermons see Duff, *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*.

sons of the gentry (and occasionally of the aristocracy) with the sons of merchants and 'tradesmen'." ¹⁷² It also carries echoes of Bothwell's Scottish minister, the Reverend James Garrett, when he reported to the Bothwell Literary Society, stating 'let the young Gentlemen especially remember, that they were not born merely to inherit their father's fortunes, but also to fill those stations in Society which shall be left open to them, when their fathers are no more'. ¹⁷³ Given conditions in the colony, where landowning families aspired to gentry status, Russell's attitude reflects Scottish attitudes and traditions.

It was an attitude he carried with him to the pulpit, where, at Evandale, he stated: 'For my own part I like to see a congregation where the homely peasant can meet the proudest of Britain's peers on something like fair terms, and feel that in the sight of God he is his equal and his brother'. ¹⁷⁴ Russell's public statements suggest: Firstly, that he believed schooling and education included social and civic responsibility. Secondly, he considered this essential to his Christian ministry. Thirdly, that central to his ministry was to encourage and nurture all within his sphere of influence.

Clearly, Kidd and Russell were at one in their attitudes towards education. In October 1859, a party of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows filed the following report after touring Evandale:

[T]he public school and library under the able supervision and management of Mr Kidd... forms a great addition to the village or township and reflects great credit upon its creator the Reverend Mr Russell. ¹⁷⁵

He went on to record that the premises

were built expressly to accommodate boarders; the sleeping rooms are lofty; the library was well supplied with books, though there is plenty of room for additional books purchased or presented. On entering the school-room a class of intelligent looking boys were standing round their master, and seemed quite eager to answer the questions put. The school was closed by singing and by the Lord's Prayer: all the scholars joined in and sang well. ¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830*, London: Fontana, 1998, p.444.

¹⁷³ *Minute Book of the Bothwell Literary Society 26 June 1834 - 8 October 1856*. AOT, N.S. 75/1.

¹⁷⁴ Duff, *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*, pp.272-3.

¹⁷⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 29 October 1859.

¹⁷⁶ loc.cit.

The report suggests that the school conformed to the description Russell stated in his parliamentary evidence. Firstly, it valued boarding students and the benefits that accrued. Secondly, it was based on Christian practice.

A curious anomaly in Russell's evidence to the parliamentary commissioners is that he makes no reference to library use. At the time of the government report the Evandale Subscription Library had been some twelve years in existence. Perhaps, in discussion, considering that at Evandale the institutions were so closely located and administered, he viewed them as united entities; or that, given such integration, it may be that he considered that the type of schooling he was recommending would unquestionably be accompanied by a library and books. By describing the 'public school and library' as one entity, and in stating that 'the library was well supplied with books', the evidence increases the likelihood that students had access to the library stock.

In this regard, Kidd's loans records are unique in that the data contains evidence of loans identified only by initials and abbreviations (Illustration 26) which, given School attendance records, suggests that Kidd loaned books to his pupils.¹⁷⁷ Kidd borrowed 36 titles between July 1856 and April 1859. His borrowing gives prominence to biography and the works of Walter Scott. This matter is discussed in Chapter VIII, where it is concluded that: the library was a resource for school students; Kidd encouraged his pupils to read no novels other than those of Scott; and that he may well have chosen the titles which he considered suitable for particular studies or students.

Furthermore, Kidd and Martin, when librarians, recorded few loans of their own, suggesting that their recorded loans may not have accounted for all their library reading. If the same is true of Kidd's students, the library may have been subject to more widespread use by pupils of the school. If a book was consulted in, but not borrowed from, the library, no statistic would have been recorded.

Library usage recovered following the relocation of books to the new schoolhouse in 1857, and the purchasing of new works. In July 1858 the *Launceston Examiner* reported that upwards of 60 volumes had arrived recently from England and would be

in Evandale 'ready for issue in the course of a few days'.¹⁷⁸ Although the membership showed little change, borrowing more than doubled from 324 in 1857 to 754 in 1858, increased again to 974 in 1859, levelled out at 972 in 1860, and fell slightly to 939 in 1861 (Table 16). The increased borrowing in 1858 was doubtless more the result of fresh stock entering the library than the result of new premises. While borrowing failed to regain its early levels, by the end of the decade it had significantly recovered.

Of the subscribers, John Bryan was a former convict married to a convict woman. In Evandale he both farmed and operated a butcher's shop. His shop ledger for the period June 1855 to February 1860 lists the sale of meat and provisions.¹⁷⁹ This unique record of his commercial activities gives the names of clients and details of their dealings. The sales include beef, lamb, mutton, pork, bacon, candles, cruet, fat, sardines, butter, milk, sugar, tea and wood. Possibly the delivery of wood was from Bryan's own farm; the Reverends Russell and Bishton were both purchasers of wood, no doubt because they did not possess farmland of their own. The supply on 10 July 1855 of a quantity of mutton to 'Uxtable', presumably Dr Huxtable, suggests that Bryan was assisted by others less literate in his shop. It is unclear if the ledger accounts for his complete clientele or only those to whom credit was given. There may also have been others in the district who sold meat; certainly others sold groceries and provisions. It is also likely that many landowners killed their own livestock, making visits to the butcher less of a necessity. Despite its limitations, the data is evidence of shared social interaction at this time.

Although the ledger lists only surnames, itself an act of familiarity and status, given the author's familiarity with the library community, the data suggests that Bryan's clients included Dr Kenworthy, Robert Russell, Dr Huxtable, John Saffrey Martin, William Hepburn Kidd, Robert Hunter, William Barrett, Reverend John Bishton, George Collins, James Cox, John Duffield, George Gleadow and John Morrison. Of these, Kenworthy, Russell, Martin and Hunter were among the most regular purchasers. It also suggests that, with minor variations, library subscribers comprised one half of

¹⁷⁷ For the purpose of borrowing statistics these loans are included in Kidd's borrowing.

¹⁷⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 24 September 1858.

Bryan's clients. Less can be said of his clients who were not subscribers. Given, however, that at no time were more than fifty people library subscribers (in a district population of some thousands) this suggests a commonality of association between Bryan and the other library members.

Bryan improved his situation at Evandale, where he became a Justice of the Peace and town councillor.¹⁸⁰ Upon his death he bequeathed a substantial estate to numerous family members. His will of 1871 named William Hepburn Kidd a co-executor of his estate.¹⁸¹ Bryan's borrowing data reveals that he was a library borrower between 1848 and 1860 and at this time, he enjoyed the patronage of subscribers. Clearly, for Bryan, the Evandale Library and its network were important to him and his success.

Evandale subscribers continued their support of Scottish Immigration throughout the period. In June 1861, it was reported that at a meeting of the St Andrews Immigration Society, 'the number of ships with immigrants arrived since the commencement of the operations of the Society have been twelve ... bringing 204 families comprising 960 souls, 462 single men, and 452 single females - making a grand total of 1874 individuals into the colony by this Society'.¹⁸² Members present at the meeting included Matthew Ralston, Robert Hunter, Allan MacKinnon and John Ralston.¹⁸³

Reclassification of the library's books took place at the end of 1861, when the *Launceston Examiner* reported changes to cataloguing procedures. Notice of the reclassification was given first in November 1861 when all books were recalled 'in order to have them re-classified'.¹⁸⁴ The notice was signed by Reverend James Henderson on behalf of the committee. Henderson was appointed relieving Presbyterian minister in 1861, during which time Robert Russell was granted leave of absence to return to Scotland. Subscribers were advised in December: 'Those

¹⁷⁹ I am indebted to Dale Smith and Maureen Maddock of Evandale for making this material available.

¹⁸⁰ M. J. Maddock, *Clarendon and its People*, Launceston: Regal Press, 1996, p.65.

¹⁸¹ A copy of Bryan's will and accompanying codicils is held by the Evandale History Society. The other executor in 1871 was William Atkins of *Riverview*, Evandale. In 1882 Kidd was replaced as executor by J. N. Clemons who succeeded him as the Evandale schoolmaster.

¹⁸² *Launceston Examiner* 22 June 1861.

¹⁸³ *loc.cit.*

¹⁸⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 5 November 1861.

subscribers who still retain books are requested to return them without delay, as no issues can be made to other members until all are got in. They are also necessary for the proper arrangement of the new catalogue'.¹⁸⁵ In 1862, the printed rules and catalogue reveal that while the library maintained the categories of the *Catalogue*, it now adopted a numerical system with alphabetical prefix, requiring that the books be renumbered. Reasons are not given. The reclassification was performed in Russell's absence.¹⁸⁶

The library's office-bearers changed little, either individually or by profession or class. The earliest data is the 1857 published rules and catalogue which provides details of the committee at that time: President, James Cox; Secretary, Robert Russell; Treasurer, T.W. Bruce; Librarian, W. H. Kidd; Committee and Trustees: Messrs, M. Ralston, W. J. Huxtable, John Ralston, Joseph Kirkby, Robert Hunter, A. Mackinnon, Donald Beaton, J. S. Martin, R. McK. Ayre, George Gleadow and John Thompson. The founding president, Dr Kenworthy, had by then returned to Britain. While Russell and Martin were founding officers, the election date of the others is unknown. The published rules and catalogue of 1862 (a date beyond this study) lists the committee to comprise three Ralston family members: John Ralston, Matthew Ralston and Robert Hunter, two ministers of religion: the Reverend James Henderson and the Reverend W. Brickwood, W. H. Kidd, Dr Huxtable, Joseph Kirkby, George Gleadow, A. Mackinnon, R. M. Ayre, George Robotham, Dr. Wigan, James Stewart and George Taylor.¹⁸⁷ Seven of the fifteen were members of the 1857 committee. Five others were also past subscribers. All were either pastoralists or professionals. Of the new faces, George Taylor had succeeded Glover as owner of *Patterdale*, and James Stewart was a pastoralist at *Stewarton*, Evandale. It should be noted, given that it is argued that the library was intent on self-improvement, that persons of lesser social status were unrepresented on the committee.

The rules and regulations provided for charging fines for overdue books. Although the library's financial records have not survived, the *Catalogue* notes fines levied against

¹⁸⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 19 December 1861.

¹⁸⁶ The reclassification contributed to the decision to limit this study to the period 1847-1861.

members, infrequently but without favour. Most were noted during Martin's tenure as librarian. Those fined included Robert Russell and Dr Kenworthy.

When Robert Russell took leave of absence from his pastoral duties in 1861 to visit Scotland, it was his first visit home since his arrival in the colony in February 1837.

The *Launceston Examiner* reported:

Reverend Robert Russell. This gentleman has obtained leave of absence for two years, and intends sojourning in Europe for a time to recruit his health. We cordially wish him a safe voyage to the land of his birth and back again to the land of his adoption. It will be seen that his friends have presented him with three hundred guineas to purchase some enduring memories of their sentiments. Mr Russell deserves the tribute that has been paid. When he came to Evandale it was little better than a bush. Now it is a splendid agricultural and pastoral district, and he himself only knows how many he has helped on in life, and how much he has done by personal effort and pecuniary aid to promote the interests of those around him. It is not alone Presbyterians, but members of every denomination who respect and esteem Mr Russell.¹⁸⁸

The report substantiates Russell's frequent complaints, in family correspondence, of poor health and exhaustion from overwork during the latter years of his ministry.¹⁸⁹ The three hundred guineas allowed for the purchase of a photograph album.¹⁹⁰ Of the 200 photographs, two thirds were of Evandale residents. Of that number one half were of library subscribers or their family members. The esteem in which he was held is confirmed by the number of Evandale residents who named their children after him.¹⁹¹ The report of Evandale as 'little better than a bush' when he arrived, is in stark contrast to 1861, and the termination of this study, at which time he had established a church, two preaching stations, a library and a school at Evandale.

¹⁸⁷ *Rules and Catalogue of the Evandale Subscription Library*, Launceston: Printed by H. Button, "Examiner" Office, 1862.

¹⁸⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 21 February 1861.

¹⁸⁹ See Brown, *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*.

¹⁹⁰ The album is on display at the Evandale History Society rooms at Evandale.

¹⁹¹ Robert Russell Smith was born in Evandale in 1857. Robert Russell Robotham was born in Evandale in 1868. Robert Russell Bryan was born in Evandale in 1883. Robert Russell Kidd was born in Evandale in 1889. Robert Russell Nesbit was born in Evandale in 1896.

Postscript

Following two years leave of absence visiting Britain, Robert Russell returned to Evandale for the remainder of his ministry. He never married. He resigned his clerical position in 1873 after a ministry of thirty-four years, and retired to his brother's estate of *Golfhill*, in Victoria. He died on 31 March 1877, after a brief illness while visiting Tasmanian friends, and was buried in the Evandale church grounds. 'The *cortege* is said to have extended more than a quarter of a mile.'¹⁹² In his will, in addition to making provision for Peter and Penelope Smith who were employed by him as house-servants, following their arrival as bounty immigrants, he had bequeathed his personal effects to family members and his property to the Presbyterian Church at Evandale.¹⁹³ A monument was erected in the church grounds in his honour (Illustration 10).

Following the death of Dr James Kenworthy, in 1873, in Liverpool, the *Launceston Examiner* depicted him as a respected medical practitioner and for his scientific interests, particularly those associated with the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, but more particularly for his kindness to the tenants of the family's Evandale estates.¹⁹⁴ No mention was made of his major role in the founding of the Evandale Library (or the Evandale Benevolent Society). Perhaps, in the editor's view, in 1873, the importance of community-based libraries was overshadowed by current events and practical issues associated with commerce, mining and railways in northern Tasmania.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Duff, *Memorials of a Colonial Ministry*, p.xii.

¹⁹³ Robert Russell's will is held among the Russell family papers at the State Library of Victoria.

¹⁹⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 28 October 1873.

¹⁹⁵ Following a prolonged period of economic recession, Launceston experienced prosperous conditions following the discovery of tin at Mt Bischoff in 1871: 'Returns from the first shipment led to the formation in Launceston of a company [that] took over the mine in 1873'. Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol.2, pp.88-89. For the political and economic impact of railways in the 1870s, see Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol.2, Chapter 3 'Railways, Riots and Factions', pp.57-66.

Chapter VIII Borrowing and borrowers

Previous chapters have shown that the Evandale Library was a vital force in the reading material it provided and in its contribution in uniting the community. The diversity of its donors was an expression of community interest and goodwill. Its first location, in the police office, was a sign of official patronage; its second, in the schoolhouse, was an association with learning and self-improvement. Given the Reverend Robert Russell's major role in its foundation, it carried his endorsement and implied that of the Christian church that he represented. It has been shown that members the community, both emancipists and free settlers, for a common fee, had ready access to superior literature, both in periodical and book form. It has also been shown that the library made immediate advances and gained respect within the district and elsewhere in the colony, and that its subsequent level of success was dependent upon social and economic forces (some of which were beyond its own control) and on Russell's leadership.

This chapter examines the borrowers, what they borrowed, and what this might imply. It is based upon the library's catalogue of books and loans register, and provides a unique insight into the library and the habits of library subscribers; more so, given that the data was recorded meticulously yet unconsciously, as a means of regulating the library collection, and not fashioned for any other purpose. A full list of subscribers, their occupations, number of loans, and period of borrowing is given in Tables 10 and 11. Subject categories, most borrowed titles, and authors represented, are given in Tables 1 to 6. The remaining tables and appendices support this data.

Seven features of library borrowing requiring special mention will be considered in this chapter. Firstly, that the works of Walter Scott. are foremost among the library loans. Moreover, given Scott's acknowledged popularity in the Australian colonies and in Britain it is probable that a greater number of the subscribers who did not borrow Scott's novels had either read them or possessed them in home libraries. Secondly, that

there was frequent borrowing of Mrs Bray's novels, a pattern not observed elsewhere in the colony.¹ While the collection of the Bothwell Literary Society included most of the authors popular at Evandale, the works of Mrs Bray are a notable exclusion.² Thirdly, that there was frequent borrowing of works preserving family and Christian values, either explicitly or assumed. Moreover, books promoting creationist, rather than evolutionary, principles were among those most borrowed. Although the borrowing of *Theology* was small (Table 1), this fails to account for the acceptance of such values by the borrowing community. There was, however, a discrimination against Catholicism. Fourthly, that male subscribers borrowed on behalf of other family members, especially female. Fifthly, that members borrowed both for recreational reading and for self-improvement. Sixthly, that the library placed great store on periodicals as representing 'home': they were carriers of news, arbiters of taste and values, and provided information and entertainment. Lastly, that the library held few works published in the colony or by Tasmanian authors.

1 The loans

1. i Books and authors

This section will discuss the library's more popular authors and titles (Tables 3 and 6). It will reveal that Walter Scott was the library's most popular author. It will argue that Scott's popularity brought other authors into prominence. It will confirm that novels were the most borrowed works. Generally, it will argue that subscribers responded to the storytelling ability of authors and borrowed works demonstrating established links with Britain and the Empire. It will show that marketing procedures were significant to the popularity of published books. Lastly, it will reveal that popular titles, both fiction and non-fiction, followed Protestant values and creationist principles; and argue that authors' works were often borrowed as a result of personal associations.

¹ Two works by Mrs Bray: *Fitz of Fitzford*, London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1830; and *Warleigh: or, the Fatal Oak*, London: Longman, 1834, are held in the Launceston Library, probably from the collection of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, for which no loan data is available.

² There is no evidence to suggest that Mrs Bray's works were held in the collection of the Bothwell Literary Society. For a collection comparison between the Evandale and Bothwell libraries see Appendix I.

The author whose works were most frequently borrowed from the library was Sir Walter Scott. Elizabeth Webby has argued that, in the period to 1850, Scott was the most popular author in the colony.³ This study confirms that assertion. Scott's popularity at Evandale was perhaps assured, given his popularity in Britain and the number of Scottish settlers in the region. *Waverley* was published anonymously in Edinburgh in 1814. Amy Cruse states: 'The fame of the book spread southward from Edinburgh and reached London. The first edition of a thousand copies was sold out in five weeks'.⁴ *Guy Mannering* appeared in 1815. The *Waverley Novels* were published at regular intervals during the following twelve years. Cruse suggests:

Fathers read them aloud in the evenings to entranced families, and boys and girls watched for opportunities to seize upon the copies belonging to their elders and snatch a few breathless, golden moments of pure delight. Boys at school held *Ivanhoe* inside their open Latin grammar.... Even Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday and the fascinating company of *The Pilgrim Progress* seemed a little dim and stiff when the vivid, gallant band from the *Waverley Novels* poured in to take their places beside them.⁵

At the time of Scott's death, in 1832, he had endeared himself to a generation of readers. The library acquired the *Waverley Novels* in 48 vols before early September 1848. The most frequently borrowed volumes were *Castle Dangerous*, and *Surgeon's Daughter* (32); *Fair Maid of Perth* (30); *The Betrothed* (29); *The Talisman* (28); *Legend of Montrose* (27); *Waverley* (26), *The Pirate* (26); *Bride of Lammermore* (24); *Nigel* (23), *Ivanhoe* (22); *Heart of Midlothian* (21); *Guy Mannering* (21); *Rob Roy* (20) and *Kenilworth* (20).⁶ Also frequently borrowed was Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* (24) catalogued under *History*. Titles such as *Waverley*, considered

³Elizabeth Anne Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century', Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971, vol. 2, p.2. For brevity, borrowing statistics are given in brackets following titles. The statistics are for the loans recorded against a single volume of a work; where differences occur among volumes of multi-volume works, the number given is for the greatest number for a single volume. To maintain continuity and to avoid an undue use of statistics, figures given are based upon the number of loans rather than of borrowers - the difference being that in some instances borrowers re-borrowed volumes, presumably to continue or complete their reading. The data suggests that comparisons by borrower would produce some minor difference in the order rather than in the selection, of titles.

⁴ A. Cruse, *The Englishman and his Books in the early nineteenth century*, London: Harrap, 1930, p.225.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 233-4.

⁶ The novel *Waverley* was held in duplicate (the donation of Robert Wales). In this instance the loans have been combined for statistical comparison.

popular elsewhere, were not the most borrowed. Possibly subscribers had previously read the works. At Evandale, the novels offered British emigrants, especially those of Scottish heritage, images of familiar scenery, adventure, historical detail, romance, and and examination of human nature; also a complete contrast to colonial life. Scott's novels accounted for almost 7.5 per cent of total library loans (Table 6).

Individually, Scott's novels were second in popularity to those of English novelist Anna Eliza Bray (earlier Stothard⁷), who wrote historical romances somewhat in Scott's style. *Bray's Novels* in 10 vols were also acquired by the library before early September 1848. All volumes recorded frequent borrowing: *Courtenay of Walreddon* (42); *The White Hoods* (41); *The Talba* (41); *Warleigh* (40); *Trials of the Heart* (37); *De Foix* (35); *Fitz of Fitzford* (35); *The Protestant* (33); *Trelawney of Trelawne* (35) and *Henry De Pomeroy* (24). Contemporary reporting stated: '*De Foix* poses only to be an historic romance, yet it is a *faithful* and *vivid* picture of the warlike character, manners and customs of that chivalrous age, the fourteenth century. The readers of *De Foix* will be at once reminded of Sir Walter Scott'.⁸ The *Quarterly Review* suggested: '*De Foix*, and *The White Hoods*, may be consulted as very faithful and pleasing chronicles of the elder day'.⁹ In the introduction to *Warleigh*, Anna Bray suggests: 'There is no county, perhaps, in England, that abounds more in the traditions of old times and families than of Devon'.¹⁰ Bray's historical romances, set in south-west England, where she resided with her second husband, E. K. Bray, vicar of Tavistock, clearly echo the work of Walter Scott.

At Evandale, *Bray's Novels* constituted 3 per cent of library loans. While her affinity with the work of Scott may have contributed towards this figure, such popularity would seem unusual for the period. It must be conceded that subscribers were more likely to have already read or possessed Scott's novels. In addition, Webby suggests that, in addition to Scott, 'the trend towards other best sellers also being novelists

⁷ See Anna Eliza Bray, *The Life of Thomas Stothard, R. A.*, London: John Murray, 1851.

⁸ Quoted from the *Literary Chronicle* in publisher's attachment to Anna Eliza Bray, *Fitz of Fitzford*, London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1830.

⁹ loc.cit.

¹⁰ Anna Eliza Bray, *Warleigh: or, the Fatal Oak*, London: Longman, 1834, p.1.

became much stronger' in the 1840s.¹¹ Webby names the most prominent authors advertised in the period to 1849.¹² While the titles most popular at Evandale offer few surprises when compared with those named by Webby, Mrs Bray is absent from Webby's list.

At Evandale, Bray's popularity was immediate: The data reveal that 21 borrowers were responsible for 81 loans (spread evenly among the titles) in the period ending 31 December 1848.¹³ Table 15 reveals that first loans were made 11 September 1848 (to Dr Salmon), and that early loans were mostly made in pairs. Table 15 also reveals that, although the rules allowed for books to be 'given out every Saturday (on other days at the pleasure or convenience of the Librarian)',¹⁴ these first loans were made on consecutive days, which indicates that loans were made more regularly than every Saturday, and suggests that demand for the books was strong.

There are two possible explanations for the popularity of *Bray's Novels* at Evandale. Firstly, in the eyes of many, Bray may have been for England what Scott was for Scotland. Scott's popularity, above all else, was the result of his storytelling ability and the extent to which he was embraced by a generation of readers, for reasons including identity, at a time when the Empire was enjoying unparalleled ascendancy. Similarly, *Mrs Bray's Novels* romanticised and perpetuated British folklore.

Secondly, the explanation rests with their marketing and library treatment, given the successful marketing of Scott's *Waverley Novels*, and that *Bray's Novels* were similarly acquired as a library set, catalogued, numbered, and probably shelved together, alongside those of Scott.¹⁵ As such they would have gained in status both by association and location. Moreover, as with books and periodicals generally, the fact that there was not a reading room, and the official hours of opening were limited, subscribers could not so easily browse through the collection and would be likely to take recommendations from others. The possibility that the choice of *Bray's Novels*

¹¹ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.2.

¹² *ibid.*, Appendix 11. No attempt has been made to reconcile this data with Table 6 given that Webby's period concludes in 1849, and her data is based on titles advertised not borrowed.

¹³ The library had a membership of 34 at the end of 1848.

¹⁴ *Rules and Catalogue of the Evandale Subscription Library*, Launceston: J. S. Waddell, 1857.

was the result of action by their London bookseller, probably Orger and Meryon, rather than at the request of the Evandale Library committee, is enhanced by the example of the Australian Subscription Library in Sydney where, in 1844, the Reverend John Dunmore Lang complained to the committee that that library's London bookseller adopted the practice of sending 'out any books he pleased'.¹⁶

At Evandale, works advancing family and Christian values included those of Sarah Stickney, who devoted her life to writing and the moral well-being of young women. Later she became the second wife of William Ellis, a Christian missionary and author.¹⁷ Both shared in the promotion of temperance. Sarah achieved literary recognition both as Sarah Stickney and Mrs Ellis. The borrowing of her works included: *Family Secrets* (39), *Temper and Temperament* (33), *Women of England* (13), *Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees* (12), *Wives of England* (9), *Daughters of England* (7) and *Mothers of England* (4).¹⁸ In the preface to *Temper and Temperament* she states: 'We shall never be able rightly to discharge the duty we owe to our fellow-creatures, until we have made ourselves intimately acquainted with the varieties of human character, and with the peculiar requirements of different dispositions'.¹⁹ Published under the author's married name, she explored the events and circumstances of family life, often through the medium of fiction. She was concerned with the duty and responsibility required of women, stating that it 'is from a high estimate of the importance of this class in upholding the moral worth of our country, that I have addressed my remarks'.²⁰ At Evandale, her books were borrowed mostly by male subscribers, which tends to support the argument that subscribers borrowed on behalf of female family members.

In the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, in Launceston, hang two unsigned, oil paintings, portraits of the Reverend Edward Sweetman and his wife, Sarah Meerson Sweetman. Sweetman was a Wesleyan missionary who, with his family, lived and

¹⁵ The *Waverley Novels* were numbered 1834 -1882. Bray's *Novels* were numbered 1883-1892.

¹⁶ Webby, , 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, p.304.

¹⁷ *DNB*, , vol XVII, pp.296-7.

¹⁸ Mrs Ellis's works were included among *The Everywoman's Library* published by Fisher, Son, & co., London.

¹⁹ Mrs Ellis, *Temper and Temperament; or, varieties of character*, London: Fisher, 1846, vol.1, p.3.

²⁰ Mrs Ellis, *The Women of England, their social duties, and domestic habits*, London: Fisher, 1838, p.4.

worked in Launceston from 1850 to 1853. Much later, the portraits entered the Museum collection by the gift of his church. Sweetman was energetic and popular in his work, and was considered a thoughtful preacher who enjoyed Sunday School teaching, Mrs Sweetman was an accomplished church organist.²¹

In these portraits, their clothing and composure symbolise their work and way of life. The Reverend Edward Sweetman holds a Bible. Mrs Sweetman holds a copy of Sarah Stickney's *Family Secrets*. (Stickney subtitled the work: *Hints to whose who would make Home happy*.) In her portrait, the short-title is clearly stated on the book spine. It is not unexpected that Sweetman chose to be represented by his Bible, clearly Mrs Sweetman also chose *Family Secrets* as an act of purpose - had she simply wished to be represented by a book there would have been no need to identify the title; being paintings rather than photographs again confirms it as an act of purpose, by the unnamed artist.²² While Mrs Sweetman's actions were probably intended as a means of her identifying with the work and its values, given the pair of portraits, the act, by chance, also endows the title (and author) with the character and approval of the sitters. The act also adds weight to the argument that *Family Secrets* was favoured by women readers, and that its loans at Evandale were no doubt shared within families.

The fifty most popular titles in the Evandale Library included only two works of non-fiction (Table 3). Both were works that, either overtly or by association, represented Christian and family values. The first, *The Gallery of Nature* (30), by Thomas Milner, published in 1846, catalogued *Moral and Natural Philosophy*, was borrowed first in September 1848. *The Gallery of Nature*, extensively illustrated, is a substantial treatise, of astronomy, physical geography and geology. Milner states that the work was 'intended to furnish a very general view of the leading appearances of Physical Nature - the economy of the heavens and the earth - with incidental notices of the

²¹ At the Paterson Street Sunday School, in Launceston, the Reverend Edward Sweetman is recorded as officiating in the presence of more than 200 students. The Sweetmans and their children returned to England after thirteen years service in the Australian colonies. Mrs Sweetman died during the voyage and was buried at sea. From Museum records compiled by Yvonne Adkins, Fine Art Department, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.

²² It was not uncommon for sitters of paintings and photographs to be portrayed holding books, probably both as a means of composition and an act of association with all that books were seen to represent. See Illustration 20: Matthew Ralston's photograph from Robert Russell's album.

progress of discovery, and pictorial representations of remarkable phenomena and interesting locations'²³. While Milner makes reference to the views of others, including Lyell and Darwin, the work is based firmly upon Creation principles.²⁴ Given that the questioning of these principles was of current interest, it is noteworthy that it was among the library's earliest acquisitions and amongst the most borrowed.

The second work of non-fiction among the fifty most borrowed title was *Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c* (28), published 1841, by Mr and Mrs Hall. Anna Maria Hall (nee Fielding) was the author of children's books, fiction, travel literature and books on Ireland. More particularly, in 1852, she was appointed editor of *Sharpe's London Magazine*, a family periodical of general interest and high moral character, popular with Evandale subscribers, and discussed later in this chapter. Her husband, Samuel Carter Hall, was the author of books on ballads, poetry and European art. The Evandale edition was in three volumes. It was an early acquisition, borrowed first in January 1849. The authors described the publication as 'the result of an early acquaintance with Ireland and its people; and of several Tours made by the writers to the year 1825'.²⁵ It is a work likely to appeal not only to those with Irish connections. While *Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c* was foremost a work of travel and description, the reputation of its authors, particularly Mrs Hall, on matters of morality and family values, was such as to similarly endow the work. Its popularity at Evandale doubtless stemmed from general interest in the subject and the authorial association with *Sharpe's London Magazine* and the values to which it subscribed.

Attitudes critical of the Roman Catholic church can be observed in the work of Charlotte Elizabeth Phelan (nee Browne), later Tonna, who wrote under the pseudonym of Charlotte Elizabeth. She was the editor of the *Christian Lady's Magazine* and the author of numerous works including *Derry; a tale of the Revolution* (32), *Personal Recollections* (21), *English Martyrology* (16), *Glimpses of the Past* (12), *Chapter on Flowers* (12), *Passing Thoughts* (10) and *Letters from Ireland* (9).

²³ Thomas Milner, *The Gallery of Nature*, London: Wm. S. Orr & Co, 1852, p.iii.

²⁴ In the course of this study no copy was available from a participating Australian library, a copy having to be obtained from North America.

²⁵ Mr and Mrs Hall, *Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c.*, London: Hall, Virtue, and Co, [n.d.], vol.1, p.iii.

Charlotte Elizabeth was born at Norwich, the daughter of an Anglican clergyman, and was twice married. She was openly hostile to the Church of Rome.²⁶ *Derry* is based upon the events of 1688, in Ireland, when Derry (along with other cities) became a refuge for Protestants, and was besieged by Catholic armies, reinforced from France. In her preface to the sixth edition, the author 'protests against having her book classed with works of fiction, or considered as amusement for the idle hour', and suggests: 'The sufferings here recorded of the Protestant defenders of Derry, and the other victims of Popish cruelty, ought to speak to us all in the voice of solemn admonition'.²⁷ Protestantism is described as that 'which never slumbers [and that] there is always something which to protest, and *that* something is known to be the enemy of God'.²⁸

In *Personal Recollections* she states that having followed the profession of writing and a public role, she aimed to provide a record of events and of her thoughts and feelings. Of the Roman Catholic Church which she discusses critically and often, she states that embracing Protestantism stemmed from first being made aware of the fate of (fourteenth-century) Lollard martyrs, by her father, at the age of six: 'I was horror-stricken, and asked many questions, to which he did not always reply so fully as I wished'.²⁹ *Personal Recollections* is an account of her life in the service of Protestantism; a final chapter, recounting her last days, was written by her husband after her death. At Evandale, clearly, there was interest in, if indeed not sympathy with, her anti-Romanist opinions. As stated in the previous chapter, this was probably the result of the dominance of influential Anglicans and Presbyterians in the district.

Somewhat less discriminatory was the work of Grace Kennedy, the author of *Father Clement; a Roman Catholic story* (35), who was born in Ayrshire, but moved to Edinburgh during childhood where she was 'religiously brought up by an eminently pious mother'.³⁰ Kennedy was the author of numerous religious tales. *Father Clement* was published anonymously in Edinburgh in 1823. The *DNB* states: 'It is a controversial tale, but it was written with an evident wish to state fairly the doctrines

²⁶ Some of her works are believed to have been placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*. See *DNB*, vol. LVII, p.34.

²⁷ Charlotte Elizabeth, *Derry; a tale of the revolution*, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1882, p. xvi.

²⁸ *ibid.* p.273.

²⁹ Charlotte Elizabeth, *Personal Recollections*, New York: Charles Scribner, 1856, p.20.

and practices of the Roman Catholic church, even while the authoress strongly disapproved of them'.³¹ The novel concerns two branches of a landed family, one Protestant the other Catholic, in the north of England. The younger members seek to convert their cousins, with the assistance of the clergy. In the process the author explores those practices.³² It was translated into several European languages. Notwithstanding Kennedy's attempt to treat the Catholic church with fairness as suggested by the *DNB*, the novel highlights those practises and beliefs with which she disapproves.

Harriet Martineau was a prolific author of works of religion, history, biography, political economy and sociology. It is significant that the library only held three of her works: *Deerbrook* (13), *Popular Tales* (7) and *History of England* (5). The most borrowed, *Deerbrook*, published in 1839, was her first novel. The setting is the professional class in an English village. Martineau 'blends the personal lives of two sisters with social comment and analysis of the village in which they have come to live'.³³ The title, *Popular Tales*, is misleading in that the stories are vehicles for principles, including those of wealth and capital, wages and the division of labour, and personal and corporate economy. Martineau is generally thought of as the author of non-fiction but at Evandale it was her fiction, concerning relationships and village life, that was more popular, possibly because subscribers saw parallels with their situation at Evandale. Myers describes Martineau as a 'reformer and scholar [who] moved from Christianity to scepticism'.³⁴ In 1851 she co-published *Letters on the Laws of Man's Social Nature* 'which was so agnostic that it gave much offence'.³⁵ Possibly her agnosticism was why she was so poorly represented in the collection.

While the greater proportion of books in the Evandale Library were non-fiction, probably read mostly for instruction and self-improvement, the most popular books

³⁰ *DNB*, vol. XXX, p.420.

³¹ *ibid.*, p.421.

³² Grace Kennedy, *Father Clement*, Edinburgh: William Oliphant, 1823, p.180 (facsimile edition Garland Publishing, Inc., New York and London, 1976.)

³³ Gaby Weiner (ed.), Harriet Martineau, *Deerbrook*, New York: Dial Press, 1984, pp.xii-xiii.

³⁴ Robin Myers, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to 1840*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970, vol.1, p.560.

³⁵ *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992, p.980.

were novels, presumably read for recreation. Three novels were equal in borrowing popularity in the library: *The Bivouac; or, Stories of the Peninsular War, Ten Thousand a Year*, and *Rory O'More: A National Romance*. All recorded 49 loans. *The Bivouac*, by William Hamilton Maxwell, was published in 1837. The Evandale copy (presumably purchased) was first borrowed in November 1849. Maxwell's literary works were not confined to fiction. In addition to *The Bivouac* (49) and *Stories of Waterloo and other tales* (42), the library held *Border Tales and Legends* (12) and *The victories of the British armies* (10).³⁶ Maxwell served in the Napoleonic War at Waterloo and the Peninsula.³⁷ His popularity at Evandale was doubtless the result of his literary vigour and that the colony was the home of many retired military personnel following the Napoleonic Wars, a number of whom can be expected to have shared similar war experiences.³⁸ Given the popularity of fiction, its further appeal was that *The Bivouac* was a novel, based on fact, rather than a work of non-fiction such as *The victories of the British armies* which was borrowed far less.

The novel *Ten Thousand a Year*, by Samuel Warren, a barrister by profession, is the story of Mr. Tittlebat Titmouse, a draper's assistant, who comes into a fortune through the devious efforts of crooked lawyers and forged documents.³⁹ *Ten Thousand a Year* was published in 1839. It was reproduced in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, in 21 monthly parts, from October 1839 to July 1841. It was first borrowed in December 1848. Warren's preface to the novel states:

Ten Thousand a Year is a fiction, the plot of which was contrived with great care, for the purpose at once of exciting and sustaining, as far as possible, the reader's interest, and exhibiting, in the course of natural events, and by the agency of natural characters, the aspect, socially, professionally, politically and religiously, of English society in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

Such a tale, written by a barrister, claiming to excite and sustain the readers' interest, was likely to have popular appeal. In addition to *Ten Thousand a Year*, Warren was

³⁶ The latter volume held QVMAG.

³⁷ Myers, *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to 1840*, vol.1, p.569.

³⁸ The diarist Boyes saw 'nearly seven years, service in the Peninsular War'. Peter Chapman (ed.), *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985, p.37. For Boyes's Peninsular experience see *ibid.*, pp.37-68

³⁹ Annie Baxter Dawbin, in 1863, makes reference to members of the 'firm of "Quirk, Gammon and Snap"' portrayed in *Ten Thousand a Year*, regarding such practices. Lucy Frost (ed.), *The Journal of Annie Baxter Dawbin*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1998, p.316.

⁴⁰ Samuel Warren, *Ten Thousand a Year*, Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1854, p. iii.

the author of other works of fiction and non-fiction. The Evandale Library held *Now and Then* (35), *Passages from the diary of a Late Physician* (25) and *Lily and the Bee* (2). It is perhaps significant that Warren attended the University of Edinburgh where he first studied medicine.⁴¹ Warren and Russell were contemporaries in Edinburgh, as university students, both with an interest in classics.⁴² It is probable that Russell either knew Warren at Edinburgh, or knew of him as one may know an older scholar. While the popularity of *Ten Thousand a Year* at Evandale probably stemmed from Warren's storytelling ability, it is also possible that its addition to the library, and its popularity, was the result of Russell's knowledge of the author.

The third most borrowed title, *Rory O'More*, by the Irish author, Samuel Lover, published in 1837, developed from a similarly named ballad written by him in 1826.⁴³ Lover was 'a musician, a painter, a novelist, and a poet'.⁴⁴ The ballad 'soon became the rage, first in Ireland and subsequently in England'.⁴⁵ *Rory O'More* was his first novel, which dealt with peasant life in Ireland during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the Rising of 1798.⁴⁶ Lover was a founder of the *Dublin University Magazine*, a periodical subscribed to at Evandale. In 1842 he published the novel *Handy Andy* (14), also held at Evandale. Presumably *Rory O'More* gained appeal in Evandale just as the ballad had previously done in Britain. No doubt Lover also gained credibility as a founder of the *Dublin University Magazine* which the library held.

A fourth novel, *Tremaine, or the Man of Refinement*, by Robert Plumer Ward, was borrowed from the library on 45 occasions. Ward was a contemporary of fellow parliamentarian and author, Benjamin Disraeli. *Tremaine* was published anonymously in 1825. Cruse describes the story thus:

Tremaine, is a young Whig Member of Parliament, with an estate in Yorkshire ... He finds his political friends treacherous and self-seeking, and in disgust he retires to his Yorkshire estate, resolved to live for himself alone and have

⁴¹ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1973, p.872.

⁴² The Bodleian Library holds the publication, *The martyr patriots: an academic exercise which gained the prize proposed, in the senior humanity class, University of Edinburgh, for the best English verse on the narrative given by Livy, book xxvi, ch. 13, 14*, published in Edinburgh in 1828, and signed by Samuel Warren. NSTC Series 1 & 11, Reference 2W6776.

⁴³ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p.492.

⁴⁴ Lewis Melville, *Victorian Novelists*, London: Constable, 1906, p.69.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.70.

⁴⁶ Samuel Lover, *Rory O'More*, London: Routledge, n.d.

nothing to do with public affairs; but he is brought to a better mind by the influence of a neighbouring clergyman-squire, Mr Evelyn, and his lovely and accomplished daughter, Georgina.⁴⁷

The author describes the hero as 'in truth a person of great polish, refined taste, and high reputation'.⁴⁸ Again, as with *Ten Thousand a Year*, the novel is constructed to engage the reader's interest. Its ingredients include such universal topics as wealth, greed, status, treachery, religion, moral philanthropy and feminine beauty. As a work of literature it is less appealing. Cruse suggests (which this writer confirms) that 'Dozens of the pages of the book are taken up with arguments on religion and moral philosophy'.⁴⁹ Reasons can be given for its popularity at Evandale: firstly, that it was read for human interest, and secondly, that subscribers sought to engage personally with its moral didacticism: values and attitudes of which they approved.

The novel, *Trials of Margaret Lyndsay*, was borrowed from the library on 34 occasions. The author, John Wilson, attended the universities of Glasgow and Oxford, where he excelled at classics and logic (and athletics). Following a period at the Bar, he joined the editorial staff of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and, in 1820, at the age of 35, was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, a position he held until 1851.⁵⁰ In 1822 he published *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*, which he dedicated to Sir Walter Scott, described as 'his obliged friend'.⁵¹ *Trials of Margaret Lyndsay* was published in 1823.

The principal character, Margaret Lyndsay, was a member of a Scottish family of modest means, who, in her youth and upon her father deserting his family, takes responsibility for her mother and her siblings. The novel describes the difficulties that Margaret encountered. Essentially, it conveys adversity suffered and overcome by Christian charity and goodness. Wilson's professorial appointment immediately preceded Russell's residency at Edinburgh. (Russell matriculated in arts in 1823 and

⁴⁷ A. Cruse, *The Englishman and his Books in the early nineteenth century*, London: Harrap, 1930, p.145.

⁴⁸ Robert Plumer Ward, *Tremaine, or the Man of Refinement*, London: Henry Colburn, 1825, vol.1, p.2.

⁴⁹ Cruse, *The Englishman and his Books in the early nineteenth century*, p.145.

⁵⁰ For Wilson see *DNB*, vol.LX11, p.110.

second year arts in 1824.) Given Wilson's jurisdiction and status he was possibly known to Russell. While this, as with the author of *Ten Thousand a Year*, may be a reason for its popularity at Evandale, it is probable that the work was valued for its moral reasoning.

It was proposed earlier in this section that the borrowing of *Bray's Novels* gained from being received and shelved together with the works of Walter Scott. Similarly, *Ten Thousand a Year* was numbered 1894 and first borrowed November 1848, *The Bivouac* was numbered 1914 and first borrowed in November 1849, *Rory O'More* was numbered 1911 and first borrowed November 1849, and *Tremaine* was numbered 1912 and first borrowed October 1849. Furthermore, *The Disowned* (44) and *Zanoni* (43) by Bulwer Lytton were both first borrowed late in 1849 and numbered 1909 and 1906 respectively. Given that books were probably shelved numerically, these titles would have been located close to each other, and would have attracted the attention of subscribers when selecting books.

A popular work of a somewhat different character, *The Hermit in London; or, sketches of English manners* (29), containing eighty-two essays, was published anonymously in the *Literary Gazette* in 1819-20 and in book form in London in 1821. Hadgraft suggests that the author 'is generally acknowledged to be Captain Felix McDonough (or MacDonogh), a quite prolific writer who also produced *The Hermit in the Country*, *The Hermit Abroad*, *The Wandering Hermit*, and possibly *The Hermit in Edinburgh*'.⁵² McDonough's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (June 1836), described him as 'a man of quick observation, considerable talent, and gentlemanly demeanour'.⁵³ Of the essays, Hadgraft states: 'Some are abstract and didactic treatments (*Killing Time*, *Economy*), some are anecdotes (*The Romance*, *New Inmates*), others are descriptions (*Hyde Park on a Sunday*).'⁵⁴ The author's introduction suggests:

⁵¹ John Wilson, *The Works of Professor Wilson*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1858, vol. 11, [p.vii].

⁵² C. Hadgraft, and M. Roe (eds.), Henry Savery, *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*, St. Lucia: UQP, 1964, p.30.

⁵³ loc.cit.

⁵⁴ loc.cit.

Life is a drama more or less brief - with some gay, with others insipid; and all men are actors of some part or other, from the prince on the throne to the little tyrant of his domestic circle,- nor is it given to those actors to see and learn themselves, but only to those who, like the Hermit in London, occupy a seat in the stage-box, and are calm spectators of the piece.⁵⁵

The author describes himself as: '[A] Hermit by choice, an author at your service, and solicitous only to know what topic I can fix on for the opening of my lucubrations, so as most to minister to your entertainment'.⁵⁶ Such a work was certain to appeal to Britons living abroad. Interestingly, at Evandale, the title was the donation of Robert Wales, the police magistrate. It is argued in Appendix G that Wales was possibly the author of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, a tale with similarly jocular characteristics. Clearly, the theme of human foibles was one that appealed to colonists.

The library's most popular authors included American novelist James Fenimore Cooper, who wrote about rural life in North America. His novels attracted the following loans: *Eve Effingham* (29), *The Bravo* (27), *The Pilot* (26), *Lionel Lincoln* (22), *The Borderers* (21), *The Last of the Mohicans* (19), *The Pioneers* (19) and *The Water Witch* (13). Cooper turned to writing novels after a time spent at sea and pursuing various occupations. He stated: 'The privileges of the Historian and the writer of Romances are very different, and it behoves them equally to respect each other's rights. The latter is permitted to garnish a probable fiction, while he is sternly prohibited from dwelling on improbable truths'.⁵⁷ Despite his protestations, the appeal of his novels at Evandale was no doubt because the popularity of romantic fiction accompanied by an interest in the discovery of new lands, of which he became a chronicler.

It is noteworthy that Cooper published 'a sarcastic account of English society' under the title *England, with Sketches of Society in the Metropolis*.⁵⁸ Also, that being 'critical of American democracy [he] expressed his conservative opinions ... fictionally', in *Homeward Bound* and *Home as Found*.⁵⁹ The work was republished as *Eve*

⁵⁵ *The Hermit in London; or, Sketches of English Manners*, London: Henry Colburn, 1821, vol. 1, p. 7.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 14.

⁵⁷ James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pilot*, London: Bentley, 1853, p. vii.

⁵⁸ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1973, p. 193

⁵⁹ *loc.cit.*

Effingham. It is not surprising that the Evandale copy of *Eve Effingham* was the donation of Robert Wales, the Evandale police magistrate who, it is suggested in this study, was the author of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, which adopts the medium of fiction to ridicule, and thereby question, officialdom in the colony.⁶⁰

The works of Charles Dickens were represented in the library by seven novels, and *Household Words* in 10 vols (and, thereby, *Hard Times*).⁶¹ Dickens was among the foremost authors of his day. The borrowing of his works at Evandale confirms his popularity: *Martin Chuzzlewit* (33), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (28), *Nicholas Nickleby* (24), *Bleak House* (13) and *A Tale of Two Cities* (2). *The Pickwick Papers* and *Little Dorrit* were also held but the data is imperfect as they shared one borrowing number: *The Pickwick Papers* (presumably missing) was replaced in the *Catalogue* (at some stage) by *Little Dorrit*. Their combined loans of 17 suggests an interval between the changeover. In this instance, Henry Dowling's pirated edition of *The Pickwick Papers* may have had an influence on the borrowing, by increasing the number of privately owned copies in the region. Webby, whose study (terminating in 1850) pays particular attention to Dickens, observes that *The Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby*⁶² were the most popular of his novels in the colonies and suggests that according to the number of newspaper advertisements, *Martin Chuzzlewit* was 'the least popular of Dicken's novels in Australia'.⁶³ *A Tale of Two Cities* was published in 1859, which accounts for its low number of loans by 1861. Imperfect cataloguing entries prohibit an accurate assessment of *The Pickwick Papers*. The example of *Martin Chuzzlewit* illustrates a difference between availability (and promotion) of book titles and evidence of their borrowing, which highlights the value of borrowing data to set alongside evidence of books advertised.

⁶⁰ Wales was also the donor of *The Hermit in London*, a work containing sketches of English manners and the inspiration for *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*.

⁶¹ *Household Words* is discussed more fully under Periodical Literature. *Hard Times* was serialised in *Household Words*, appearing 1 April-12 August 1854. Robin Myers, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to 1840*, London: Pergamon, 1970, vol.1, p.915, vol.1, p.251.

⁶² Walch and Sons merchant's invoice, held in the Gatenby papers, at the Launceston Library, lists *Nicholas Nickleby* among a small number of books purchased by Robert Gatenby, in November 1860. I am indebted to Robyn Lake for this information.

⁶³ Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850', vol.2, pp.7-8.

Evandale subscribers were also borrowers of *Hard Times*, serialised in *Household Words*, in which the distress of crime, blame and punishment are featured. Paul Schlicke suggests that while the conception and serialisation of *Hard Times* was aimed at arresting the sales decline of *Household Words*, 'the novel was written not simply to make money. *Hard Times* is driven by a sense of urgent social problems'.⁶⁴ There can be no doubt concerning the literary appeal of Dickens's novels, at Evandale as elsewhere, neither can the power of their social messages be ignored. While Tasmanian readers clearly related them to British society, perhaps they also envisaged similar social problems developing in the colony.

Sea life is dominant in the works of English sea captain and novelist Frederick Marryat. Marryat 'served with distinction' in the Royal Navy and was briefly resident in Canada and America.⁶⁵ His writing was largely the result of his maritime experiences. At Evandale the loan figures were: *Percival Keene* (28), *Mr Midshipman Easy* (26), *The Dog Fiend* (19), *Japhet in Search of a Father* (17), *The Pacha of Many Tales* (15), *Newton Forster* (14), *The Phantom Ship* (13), *The Pirate and the Three Cutters* (13), *Peter Simple* (12), *The King's Own* [?], *Jacob Faithful* (?), *Poor Jack* (?), *The Poacher* [?] and *Monsieur Violet* [?]. In a contemporary edition of *Japhet, in Search of a Father* its editor stated:

Marryat ...has constructed a tale of private adventure on the old familiar lines, in which the local colour - acquired from other books - is admirably laid on, and the interest sustained to the end.⁶⁶

No doubt, as with Cooper, Marryat's popularity at Evandale was that he successfully combined fictional characters with tales of adventure.

Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer, novelist and statesman, published under the name of Bulwer Lytton. He was prolific as a novelist and a regular contributor to literary periodicals. In some cases he published anonymously 'desiring to make a new success rather than to trade on the fruits of his reputation'.⁶⁷ At Evandale his novels were among the most frequently borrowed: *The Disowned* (44), *Zanoni* (43), *Rienzi*

⁶⁴ Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*, Paul Schlicke (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. ix.

⁶⁵ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p.519-520.

⁶⁶ Frederick Marryat, *Japhet in search of a Father*, R. Brimley Johnson (ed.), London, 1846.

⁶⁷ p.4.

(37), *Devereux* (30), *The Last days of Pompeii* (27), *Eugene Aram* (26), *My Novel* (21) and *The Caxtons* (15). The most popular, *The Disowned*, was written in Lytton's early youth. Lytton states: 'At the time this work was written I was deeply engaged in the study of metaphysics and ethics - and out of that study grew the [main] character'.⁶⁸ Similarly, the novel *Zanoni* explores the world of metaphysics. Lytton suggests: 'As a work of imagination, 'Zanoni' ranks, perhaps, among the highest of my prose fictions'.⁶⁹ *Rienzi* is a fictional account of the life of the fourteenth-century Roman tribune, Rienzi, who sought to restore the city to its former greatness. Lytton suggests that *Rienzi* enabled him to employ 'history in the service of romance'.⁷⁰ Similarly, *Eugene Aram* is an account of the life of the English scholar and murderer, Eugene Aram, given prominence in the works of George Borrow.⁷¹ In contrast, *Devereux* is a fiction written as autobiography, Lytton states: 'I wished to portray a man flourishing in the last century, with the train of mind and sentiment peculiar to the present; - describing a life, and not its dramatic epitome'.⁷² It has been said that 'Lytton's characters are not the men and women of life, but merely the conventional men and women of fiction'.⁷³ Lytton was a creative writer who, while drawing heavily on history, explored the world of metaphysics in the guise of fiction. Their appeal at Evandale (and elsewhere) was undoubtedly their ability to excite and entertain.⁷⁴

George Payne Rainsford James, English novelist and diplomat, was represented in the Evandale Library by six works: *The Smuggler* (34), *Richelieu* (30), *Arrah Neil* (26), *Gowrie* (18), *Arabella Stuart* (16) and *Agincourt* (9). The novel *Richelieu* is a story in which honour defeats evil and where historic fact serves the overwhelming demands of fiction. It is a fictional romance in which courtly and political provide the setting. James acknowledges his debt to Walter Scott when the narrator states: '[A] master's hand has given to the world so many splendid pictures ... Let such things rest with Scott, whose magic wand has had power to call up the spirit of the past with as much

⁶⁸ Edward Bulwer Lytton, *The Disowned*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1852, pp. vii-viii.

⁶⁹ Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Zanoni*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1853, p.vii.

⁷⁰ Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Rienzi*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1848, p.vii.

⁷¹ George Borrow (1803-81) author and novelist.

⁷² Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Devereux*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1852, p. v.

⁷³ Melville, *Victorian Novelists*, p.14.

⁷⁴ Bulwer Lytton appears to have been a favourite with Annie Baxter Dawbin, see Frost, *The Journal of Annie Baxter Dawbin*, pp.101, 156, 554.

truth, as it were again substantially in being'.⁷⁵ James, like many of his generation, both acknowledges Scott and was inspired to follow his example.

The works of American novelist and poet, Herman Melville, were written after he had spent a period at sea, aboard the whaler *Asushnet*. During this time Melville and a companion jumped ship and for a time were held captive among the cannibal tribes of Typee in the Marquesas Islands. Melville 'was gone for nearly four years [whereby] the greatest body of his work was shaped out of the experience of this voyage'.⁷⁶ At the Evandale Library, Melville's works were represented by *Typee; or, The Marquesas Islands* (25), *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas* (24), *Redburn* (10) and *Mardi* (6). *Typee* and *Omoo* need to be considered 'two volumes of a single work' in that the story of *Omoo* follows on from *Typee*.⁷⁷ Melville borrowed the title for *Omoo* 'from the dialect of the Marquesas Islands, where, among other uses, the word signifies a rover, or rather a person wandering from one island to another'.⁷⁸

Both *Typee* and *Omoo* were well represented in libraries in the period, according to evidence of catalogues and collections examined in the course of this study. At Evandale, their borrowing, compared with *Mardi* and *Redburn*, was no doubt increased because the former two titles were acquired before September 1848, among the *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* series. The latter titles were acquired before October 1855 (the date the volumes were first borrowed). *Typee* and *Omoo* were among the most frequently borrowed of the Murray series. Their borrowing was exceeded only by Irving's *Bracebridge Hall* (30) and Ruxton's *Adventures in Mexico* (26). While the popularity of *Typee* and *Omoo* over *Mardi* and *Redburn* may be accounted for in the timing, no doubt they benefited by the interest readers had for tales of adventure.

English novelist and travel writer, Mrs Frances Trollope, had more than forty titles to her credit. Four were held by the library at Evandale: *The Refugee in America* (37),

⁷⁵ G. P. R. James, *Richelieu*, London: Routledge, 1858 [?], p. 113.

⁷⁶ James E. Miller Jr., *A Reader's Guide to Herman Melville*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1962, p. xii.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.6.

Domestic Manners of the Americans (26), *Father Eustace* (16) and *Belgium and Western Germany in 1833* (12). All but *Father Eustace* were part of the library's early collection. *Domestic Manners of the Americans* is singled out by literary reviewers for the manner in which it annoyed contemporary readers. Written following a visit there, it 'infuriated the Americans by the picture she drew of them'.⁷⁹ Evandale subscribers were attracted to her American works, which were her most celebrated.

American-born essayist and historian, Washington Irving, toured Europe in the early 1800s, and later took up residence there. At Evandale he is represented by *Bracebridge Hall; or, the humorist* (30), *The Sketch Book* and *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, one volume, (7), *Tales of a Traveller* (3), *Woolfert's Roost* (3), *A Chronicle of the conquest of Granada* and *Legends of the conquest of Spain*, one volume, (2), *Voyages and discoveries of the companions of Columbus* (2), *Mahomet and his successors* (2), *Bracebridge Hall ; or, the humorist* and *Abbotsford, and Newstead* , one volume, (2), *A History of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1) and *Salmagundi* (1). Of these, the most borrowed title, *Bracebridge Hall*, was published in 1822. It accompanied *Tales of a Traveller* in the *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and was among the library's earliest acquisitions. It was also the most borrowed from the library (Table 7). A second copy was acquired together with other fiction titles in the *Constable's Foreign Miscellany* series.

Bracebridge Hall was written under the pseudonym of Geoffrey Craven. It contains fictional short sketches of events and personalities of the Bracebridge family, of established Yorkshire lineage, and members of their circle.⁸⁰ In contrast, *Tales of a Traveller* is Craven's account of events and personalities encountered when travelling overland through Europe. Possibly, the preference for *Bracebridge Hall* over *Tales of a Traveller* and Irving's other works was that subscribers were drawn to its account of English customs and manners rather than those of foreign places.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Herman Melville, *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas*, London: John Murray, 1861, p. ix.

⁷⁹ Myers, *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to 1840*, vol. 1, p. 863.

⁸⁰ Washing Irving, *Bracebridge Hall; or, the Humorists*, London: Henry H. Bohn, 1850.

⁸¹ The diarist, G. T. W. B. Boyes, remarked on 2 May 1831: 'In the evening walked down to a book sale as it is called in the hope of buying a copy of Washington Irving's Works.' Chapman, *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, p. 428.

The writer George Gleig was the son of an Anglican Bishop. He served in the Peninsular campaign before entering the Church and becoming a Chelsea Hospital chaplain. The library held nine of his works: *The Subaltern* (26), *The Country Curate* (18), *Stories of the Battle of Waterloo* (16), *Chelsea Hospital, and its Traditions* (15); *The Hussar* (14), *Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan* (13), *Life of Lord Clive* (9), *Life of Sir Thomas Munro* (4), and *Life of the Duke of Wellington* (2). His most borrowed work, *The Subaltern*, a novel, was written for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1825. It is considered a 'slightly recoloured autobiography', the result of his war service, and his most realistic work.⁸² While the latter may account for its popularity at Evandale, it is an example of the popularity of works based upon the Peninsular campaign.

The Irish novelist, C. J. Lever, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, later practised medicine, and 'contributed much of his work to the *Dublin University Magazine*, which he edited during 1842-5'.⁸³ He was represented in the Evandale Library by *Charles O' Malley* (21), *The Daltons* (16) and *Confessions of Con Cregan* (13). The *Oxford Companion to English Literature* describes him as producing 'vivid rollicking pictures of military life and of the hard-drinking fox-hunting Irish society of his days'.⁸⁴ His popularity, at Evandale was no doubt the result of his storytelling ability.

F. M. Innes spoke of works of fiction that engendered 'intelligence, taste, feeling, refinement'.⁸⁵ While his library loans confirm that Scott was a great favourite, he was doubtlessly also referring to novels such as those by Jane Austen and Charlotte Bronte. Jane Austen, confined to a domestic sphere, was a keen observer of human behaviour. She was born in Hampshire, England, where her father was the rector of Steventon. As a child she wrote for recreation, as a young woman she accompanied her family to live in the spa town of Bath and, after her father's death, at Southampton, in the village of Chawton in Hampshire, and finally in Winchester. She wrote six novels of which four

⁸² Ernest Rhys (ed.), G. R. Gleig, *The Subaltern*, London: Dent, n.d., p.vii.

⁸³ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p.475.

⁸⁴ loc.cit.

⁸⁵ Stefan Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, Launceston: Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, 1998, p.77.

were published anonymously in her life-time, commencing with *Sense and Sensibility* published in 1811. Two, *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey*, were published in 1818 under her own name, posthumously. She died in 1817. The library held *Sense and Sensibility* (17), *Emma* (16), *Northanger Abbey* (13), *Pride and Prejudice* (9) and *Mansfield Park*.⁸⁶ All were acquired before October 1851. It is possible that the library's copy of *Northanger Abbey* included *Persuasion*, in that they were first published together. Her novels were (and have remained) popular with British readers. Their modest borrowing at Evandale was probably because, by then, Austen's novels had been widely read.

Charlotte Bronte published three novels in her lifetime and all were held in the Evandale Library: *Jane Eyre* (39), *Shirley* (23) and *Villette* (9). *Jane Eyre* was Charlotte's first novel, a fictional biography, published under the pseudonym of Currer Bell, in 1847.⁸⁷ *Jane Eyre* was acquired by the library at Evandale before January 1850. The title and its author captured the imagination of the British reading public. Favourable reviews paved the way for its entry into both private and lending libraries. The *Critic* reported 'We can cordially recommend *Jane Eyre* to our readers, as a novel to be placed at the top of the list to be borrowed, and to the circulating library-keeper as one which he may safely order. It is sure to be in demand'.⁸⁸

Charlotte's second novel, *Shirley*, published in 1849, adopted a historical context, that of the Luddite uprisings of 1811-12 in England. In the period in which it is set, in England, a 'bad harvest had produced a shortage of food in many areas; the government's Orders in Council had produced an economic backlash at the expense of English merchants and exporters and as a result the manufacturing areas of the country were in a state of economic stagnation'.⁸⁹ Where *Shirley* explored situations beyond those of the author's personal experiences, it also addressed issues of character upon which *Jane Eyre* is based. *Shirley* was added to the library at Evandale before October 1855, probably gaining popularity from its predecessor.

⁸⁶ The borrowing statistics for *Mansfield Park* are uncertain in that probably due to the non-return or loss of the volume its library number was later re-allocated.

⁸⁷ Anne Bronte was the author of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* under the pseudonym of Acton Bell, Emily Bronte was the author of *Wuthering Heights* under that of Ellis Bell.

⁸⁸ *The Critic, Journal of British and Foreign Literature*, 30 October 1847.

Charlotte's final novel, *Villette*, was published in 1853, two years before her death. Charlotte died during pregnancy, having married her father's curate, Arthur Bell Nicholls in 1854. *Villette* was based upon an earlier attachment Charlotte formed in Brussels, where in 1843-4 she resided as an English teacher. In it, she satirised the married M. Heger, the object of her unreciprocated passion. *Villette* was added to the library at Evandale before October 1857. While *Villette* may have been overshadowed by its predecessors, it is also probable that at Evandale its limited borrowing was the result of its later addition to the library.

An obvious anomaly in the collection is that the Evandale Library held almost no works published in the colony or by Tasmanian authors. Given the local association and their literary merits, the following might have merited inclusion: Bishop F.R. Nixon's *Cruise of the Beacon* (1857); John West's *History of Tasmania* (1852); and the works of Louisa Anne Meredith.⁹⁰ Nixon's term of office as Bishop of Tasmania, between 1843 and 1862, encompassed the library's foundation and the period of this study. The *Cruise of the Beacon* was a quality publication with illustrations by the author. Nixon was also the author of *Lectures, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical, on the Catechism of the Church of England*, published in London, in 1843 - a major theological work that ran to six editions. Neither work was held at Evandale. John West's *History of Tasmania* was the work of this prominent, independent and respected churchman and leader of the anti-transportation movement in Tasmania. It was published in Launceston, in 1852, by Henry Dowling. There was no copy in the Evandale Library. Louisa Anne Meredith was of the same social milieu of, and no doubt acquainted with, many Evandale landowning families. Yet her only work in the Evandale Library was acquired, in 1848, as part of the *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* series: *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales during a residence in that Colony from 1839, to 1844*. It is argued in this study that *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* was acquired by the Evandale Library mostly as a result of marketing

⁸⁹ Andrew and Judith Hook (eds.), Charlotte Bronte, *Shirley*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1974, pp.25-6.

⁹⁰ These works are discussed in Chapter III.

and publishing procedures. Given that the data show at best⁹¹ that the title experienced solid but not spectacular loans, it is most likely that the Murray series was not purchased especially on account of Meredith.

There was also little interest in acquiring local works of literary or domestic significance. For example, the first novel published in Australia, Henry Savery's *Quintus Servinton*, was published anonymously in three volumes by Henry Melville in Hobart in 1830, and re-issued in London in 1832. The first volume of Australian essays, Savery's *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land*, appeared in *The Colonial Times* in 1829 and later, in book form, published by Bent, in 1829-30. The essays comprised disguised sketches of local personalities believed to include Jocelyn B. Thomas, Alexander Reid, Captain Patrick Wood and Philip Russell. Neither was held in the library collection.

It may be argued that the events surrounding Savery's life, the slanderous nature of *The Hermit*, or the earlier publication dates of his work, may have been the reason for the library not acquiring copies. The first volume of verse by a native-born Tasmanian writer, Edward Kemp's *A Voice from Tasmania*, printed by John Moore of Hobart in 1846, containing '[u]ncomplimentary descriptions of official and other personages in Van Diemen's Land, including Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, the recently recalled Lieutenant-Governor',⁹² was not in the collection either. Criticism of local identities can not be said of the work of Launceston Library Society president, solicitor, and parliamentarian, William Henty. His *On Improvements in Cottage Husbandry*, published in Launceston, c.1849, by Henry Dowling, reviewed the 'prospects for small proprietors in the Australian Colonies'.⁹³ While works by Savery and Kemp may have been excluded in that they were considered inappropriate, the same could not be said of Henty's work which was designed mostly for emancipists, coinciding with final stages of convict transportation to the colony.

While it may be argued that colonial publications and those by Tasmanian authors, if thought worthy, may have been held by Evandale subscribers in their own libraries,

⁹¹ The work was bound in one volume with J. Barrow's *Life of Drake*, lessening the number of subscribers who may have borrowed it on account of Meredith. The volume was loaned 18 times.

⁹² J. A. Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, Canberra: NLA, 1986, vol.4, p.38.

the same could be said of almost *any* works that were acquired by the library and is no reason for their absence from the collection. Instead, it would seem that subscribers were less willing to engage with what was happening in the colony than with maintaining their links with Britain. While Henty's work can be expected to have been less appealing to established landowning families, such as those that mostly supported the library, as a local work its exclusion was more the rule than the exception.

An exception to the practice of not acquiring works by Tasmanian authors was Caroline Leakey's novel, *The Broad Arrow*, published by Walch, in Hobart, in 1860, following its publication in London the previous year. At Evandale, it was loaned 7 times between August 1860 and November 1861. It was probably supplied by Walch when Tasmanian booksellers were gaining strength in the market. Although it is not known whether it was the London or the Hobart edition, if the latter, its prior publication in London no doubt added to its appeal at Evandale.

1.ii Periodical literature

This section will show that, at Evandale, periodicals allowed library subscribers to meet a diversity of needs. In addition to their newsworthiness, recreational value and capacity to maintain cultural ties with Britain, was their capacity as educational tools and for supporting political, class and religious values. With periodicals library subscribers gained considerable cost advantages; also providing a further reason for the library's being. In addition, given the absence of loans data for periodical parts, it will argue that periodicals were more popular than the statistics alone might indicate.

As a result of their different form and of library practices at Evandale, periodicals and books are discussed separately in this chapter. Firstly, books and periodicals were treated differently, both in cataloguing and borrowing. Secondly, while books are mostly the work of individual authors, periodical literature represents the work of many authors. Furthermore, considering that periodicals are a 'library of sorts', periodicals bear a special relationship to lending libraries. While it is likely that

⁹³ *ibid.*, vol.4, p.287.

periodicals were consulted, if not read, on the library premises, the practice was unrecorded and likely to have been restricted because of limited space.⁹⁴

Periodicals were received from Britain both as bound volumes and in parts. Bound volumes were catalogued, numbered and loaned like books. Periodicals in parts were unnumbered and catalogued by dates of publication and arrival at the library, revealing a regularity and differential consistent with that of sailing time from Britain. This suggests that the library received the parts direct from publishers or booksellers, rather than being passed on by local library subscribers or residents who had no further use for them. There is uncertainty about the borrowing of periodicals in parts given their ephemeral nature and the inadequacy of data. Such borrowing may have been recorded elsewhere in records since lost. The *Catalogue* sometimes records titles against subscribers' names but there is doubt surrounding the completeness of this practice and no attempt has been made to reconcile such entries. As a result, evidence of borrowing is restricted to periodicals bound as volumes.

Periodicals in parts featured significantly among in the library's initial acquisitions. Beginning with issues of February 1848 there was a rapid rise and an equally rapid decline in the receipt of parts from Britain. These were: *Bentley's Miscellany*, March 1848 to December 1851; *Edinburgh Review*, July 1848 to January 1851; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, March 1848 to December 1851; *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, February 1848 to August 1854; *Christian Lady's Magazine*, March 1848 to June 1849; *Athenaeum*, February 1848 to March 1852; *Quarterly Review*, March 1848 to March 1851; *Atlas*, March 1848 to January 1853; *Gardener's Chronicle*, March 1848 to February 1851; *Punch*, January 1851 to August 1854; *Examiner*, February 1853 to August 1854; *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, August 1848 to July 1851 and *Journal of Agriculture*, July 1848 to October 1851.

Some of the titles and some of each holding were subsequently bound: *Bentley's Miscellany*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Christian Lady's Magazine*, *Athenaeum* and the *Quarterly*

⁹⁴ There is no evidence of a designated reading room before 1885 when one was incorporated into the

Review.⁹⁵ Of the remainder *Atlas*, *Gardener's Chronicle*, *Punch* and the *Examiner* were retained in parts. The *Journal of Agriculture* and the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, held in parts, were 'sold-off' by the library.⁹⁶

The borrowing of bound periodicals (Table 9) accounted for 8.5 per cent of loans. Of these, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (203), *Bentley's Miscellany* (191) and *Chambers' Miscellany* (171) were the most popular and comprised more than half the loans. The remainder were *Sharpe's London Magazine* (161), *New Monthly Magazine* (95), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (47), *Hogg's Instructor* (41), *Dublin University Magazine* (35), *Christian Lady's Magazine* (17), *Illustrated London News* (14), *Quarterly Review* (14) and *Athenaeum* (7).

A number of the titles held at Evandale were also held at Bothwell: *Athenaeum*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Sharpe's London Magazine*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Dublin University Magazine*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Hogg's Instructor* and *Quarterly Review*. This is not surprising, considering the similar traditions and practices of the communities. There were, however, a number of periodicals held at Bothwell that were not held at Evandale, giving the former a greater range.⁹⁷ This was probably because the Bothwell collection was started thirteen years earlier, giving it more time to build its holdings, and to experience a changing membership and preferences. It is noteworthy that neither held sectarian journals, in a period when the growth in periodicals enabled religious interests to reach a greater audience.

At Evandale, of the three most popular periodicals, the first, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, was published by William Chambers, commencing in 1832, as a weekly, with a cover price of 1½d. Containing articles on a variety of popular subjects, the journal operated in direct competition with Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine*, launched some

new library premises.

⁹⁵ Newspaper reports reveal that book-binders were active in Launceston in the period, interrupted for a time by the discovery of gold in mainland Australia. For example, 'Bookbinding. - A short time since it was impossible to get a book bound in Launceston, the binders having [moved] to the diggings. There are now two establishments'. *Launceston Examiner* 16 June 1853.

⁹⁶ Noted in the *Catalogue*.

⁹⁷ See collection comparison in Appendix I.

weeks later. (There is no record of the *Penny Magazine* being held in the Evandale Library.) *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* was designed for popular appeal: articles published in the period coinciding with the library's holdings are indexed under the headings: 'Familiar sketches and moral essays', 'Poetry, Popular Science', 'Tales and other narratives', 'Notices on books', 'Miscellaneous articles of instruction and entertainment', and 'Anecdotes and paragraphs'.⁹⁸ Altick claims that the two journals were 'responsible, perhaps more than any other single factor, for whatever smattering of culture the class of shopkeepers and skilled artisans possessed during the Victorian period'.⁹⁹ Therefore, while *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* was doubtlessly borrowed for its popular appeal, it must also be considered educational in a general sense.

Bound volumes for the years 1844 -1847 were acquired before December 1848. They were not listed among the donations, so presumably the library purchased them from Britain. While there is no assurance that they entered the library as new stock, the pencil note against them in the *Catalogue*: 'Repairs 7/10/51' suggests they were well read. That the series spanned three years suggests that they were purchased less for their newsworthiness than for recreation and educational purposes. Later, issues were purchased in parts, of which half were subsequently bound. Doubtless their economical price of 1½d was a further inducement to include them in the library's acquisition list.

The second most popular, *Chambers' Miscellany*, was acquired in ten volumes before October 1849. Publication dates are not listed but borrowing dates suggest that all volumes were received in one delivery at that time. Published in twenty volumes, the series was conceived as a 'useful species of publication among the less affluent classes in the community'; the series was designed for popular appeal and directed towards 'parish, school, regimental, prison, and similar libraries'.¹⁰⁰ As such, it too must be considered for its educational value, in addition to its popular appeal. Given that all ten volumes were received in one delivery, they were less likely to be chosen for their

⁹⁸ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, vol.9, January-June 1848, pp. v-vii. .

⁹⁹ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, p.339.

¹⁰⁰ William Chambers, *Memoir of William and Robert Chambers*, Edinburgh and London: W & R Chambers, 1883, p.269.

newsworthiness. It is also probable that the library was conscious of not wanting to place its collection of periodicals beyond the limitations of a general readership.

Bentley's Miscellany, the third most popular journal, was launched in 1837, as a monthly, following the early success of the *New Monthly Magazine*, and priced below it at 2s. 6d.¹⁰¹ The *New Monthly Magazine*, with a cover price of 3s. 6d., was among the more expensive periodicals of the day.¹⁰² Both were aimed at a more discerning readership than *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* and *Chambers' Miscellany*. Following the pattern established by the *New Monthly Magazine*, and under the editorship first of Charles Dickens and then of William Ainsworth, *Bentley's Miscellany* generally avoided the politics of the day and, in addition to serialised novels and short fiction, published 'biographical sketches ... papers on drama, theatres, and actors; sketches of legendary cities ... military autobiographies; popular accounts of animals and reptiles ... accounts of travel and experience in ... all corners of the empire[and] Europe, the Middle East, and South America'.¹⁰³ Both gave 'good attention to musical people and affairs'.¹⁰⁴ *Bentley's Miscellany* gained a reputation for publishing American authors, including J. F. Cooper, Longfellow, Melville and Irving, and for bringing their less well-known compatriots to the notice of the British reading public.¹⁰⁵ *The Wellesley Index* suggests that *Bentley's Miscellany* was a quality periodical that made particular provision for 'middle to upper class readers'.¹⁰⁶ No doubt also to support its price.

The *New Monthly Magazine*, first published in a revised form in 1821, was established principally as a business undertaking.¹⁰⁷ The magazine developed the reputation of planting favourable book reviews within its pages - a practice termed 'puffing' - with the aim of promoting the publications of its proprietor, Henry Colburn.¹⁰⁸ It

¹⁰¹ *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, University of Toronto Press, 1989, vol.4, p.5.

¹⁰² Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.319.

¹⁰³ *The Wellesley Index*, vol.4, p.7.

¹⁰⁴ J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (editors.), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994, p.107.

¹⁰⁵ *The Wellesley Index*, vol.4, p.9.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, vol.4, p.7.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, vol.3, p.162.

¹⁰⁸ For the *New Monthly Magazine* and Henry Colburn see *ibid.*, vol.3, pp.161-172.

maintained numerous literary personalities among its contributors including Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Edward Lytton Bulwer (later Bulwer Lytton), Mary Russell Mitford and William Hazlitt. In 1830 the magazine attracted criticism from its regular readers for 'publishing articles that could be reprinted in books appealing to circulating library people'.¹⁰⁹ During the decade to 1854, the fortunes and quality of the *New Monthly Magazine* fluctuated, with changes in its proprietorship and editing, and many of its contributors being 'lesser lights in the London literary scene'. Serials, book reviews, short stories, and travel articles were its mainstay and, with its reputation in decline by 1854, it was no longer considered a periodical of the 'first importance'.¹¹⁰

The examples of *Bentley's Miscellany*, with a cover price of 2s. 6d, and the *New Monthly Magazine*, priced at 3s. 6d., highlight the reason why many readers looked to subscription libraries for periodicals, providing cost advantages for subscribers, and further reasons for the library's existence. Apart from one brief, unsustained, fee increase in 1852, the Evandale Subscription Library charged an annual membership of £1. Given that *Bentley's Miscellany*, with a monthly cover price of 2s. 6d. equates to an annual cost of £1. 10s. 0d., the cost of this one publication far outweighed the cost of library membership, and even more so for the *New Monthly Magazine*. For community-based libraries, this highlights the high financial commitment that periodicals required of libraries such as Evandale with its limited membership.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the initial holding of both publications was by donation, after which the library acquired *Bentley's Miscellany* in parts, which it later bound, and the *New Monthly Magazine* in bound form. Probably the higher cost as well as declining literary standards deterred the library from ordering future parts of the *New Monthly Magazine* from Britain. Cost was also likely to have been an inducement to purchase *Bentley's Miscellany* (which was the cheaper) in parts. Matthew Ralston donated the *New Monthly Magazine*. It is possible that the bound volumes received at the later date were also an unrecorded donation from his subscription. Allan Mackinnon donated *Bentley's Miscellany*; perhaps he was responsible for encouraging the library to add the publication to its list of monthly

¹⁰⁹ *The Wellesley Index*, vol.3, p.165.

purchases, either as a personal economy or because he considered it most suitable for the library. If the former, this alone would have covered his membership fees. The regularity of its catalogue entry suggests that it was a library purchase and not the handing over of copies no longer required for personal use.

Unfortunately, the donated volumes are undated, but since they were first borrowed in February 1848 they were clearly of an earlier date and likely to have been in the prior possession of their donors. The library was the beneficiary of a similar number of both publications. While we cannot know the original condition of their bindings, the pencil note in the *Catalogue*: 'sent for repairs 7/10/51' marked against the volumes of *Bentley's Miscellany*, probably confirms their constant use rather than poor condition on receipt. The notation confirming that various parts were 'missing' at the time of binding suggests their continual borrowing and the non-return of parts.

The extent to which the periodicals represented political and class values may be examined in three examples. Firstly, while the *Catalogue* notes that parts of the *Edinburgh Review* were bound by the library, this is the only instance where a periodical, once bound, was not listed among the library's volume holdings. There is no satisfactory explanation for this omission. The *Edinburgh Review* first appeared in 1802, with the aim of examining 'only a few outstanding books in all fields of interest ... with more care than had been customary in previous reviewing'.¹¹¹ Later, it became best known as 'an instrument of political and social reform'.¹¹² The *Edinburgh Review* was considered 'a mouthpiece of Whig views'.¹¹³ Its greatness lay in bringing 'the worst features of contemporary society under destructive fire without having recourse to revolutionary principles'.¹¹⁴ It was perhaps the most 'intellectual' of the periodicals. It is curious that the volumes were not catalogued, and unfortunate that loans were not recorded, thus preventing comparison with other periodicals. Perhaps its reforming agenda led it to being regarded as divisive which led to its parts not being bound.

¹¹⁰ loc.cit.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p.416.

¹¹² *ibid.*, vol. 1, p.417.

¹¹³ Michael Lynch, *Scotland, A New History*, London: Pimlico, 1992, p.350.

¹¹⁴ *The Wellesley Index*, vol.1, p.418.

Secondly, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was first published in 1817, in an attempt by William Blackwood, its Tory proprietor, to combat the Whig sympathies of the *Edinburgh Review*.¹¹⁵ *The Wellesley Index* suggests that *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* supported 'a privileged, usually landowning class with certain self-imposed duties and responsibilities'.¹¹⁶ Its acquisition by the Evandale Library was probably to provide some political balance in the collection. Although the magazine was undoubtedly borrowed in parts, it also maintained regular borrowing once in volumes.

Thirdly, the *Quarterly Review*, established in 1809, was also founded in an attempt to counter the *Edinburgh Review* and its repeated entry into party politics.¹¹⁷ The *Quarterly Review* was renowned for the quality of its literary criticism, but politically it supported the landed aristocracy and demanded social responsibility from them.¹¹⁸ At Evandale, parts issued between March 1848 and March 1851 were purchased by the library. Later bound, the loans records for 8 volumes reveal that 5 subscribers made 13 loans, between January 1852 and August 1858. The chief borrowers were members of one gentry family.¹¹⁹ Given that it was purchased for three years, and thought worthy of binding, it can be assumed to have had a wider readership in parts prior to binding.

Also probably underreported in the Evandale loans, the *Athenaeum*, a journal of English and foreign literature, science and fine arts, published in London, weekly, in parts, at fourpence, was marketed with the heading: 'For the convenience of Subscribers residing in remote places, the weekly numbers are reissued in Monthly Parts stitched in a wrapper and forwarded with the Magazine'.¹²⁰ Fortuitously, a number of the earliest parts received by the Evandale Library and subsequently bound as one volume, have survived and are currently held at the University Library in Hobart.¹²¹ The inscription 'Evandale Subscription Library, John Martin, Librarian'

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 697.

¹¹⁸ *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁹ Dr. Donald Cameron (8) and his son Donald Cameron (2) of *Fordon*, Nile.

¹²⁰ *Athenaeum* 3 June 1848.

¹²¹ *Athenaeum* 25 March 1848 - 3 June 1848. Central Library, Serial AP4.A8 (Evandale number 269). Quarter leather binding, marbled paper boards, binding condition poor (boards free, spine piece missing), binder not identified.

written on the title pages of the parts, suggests that they were either received in that fashion, or in monthly parts and separated prior to loans being made.

Included in the edition of 3 June 1848, were articles on societies and institutions, a weekly gossip column, foreign correspondence, and a report on the arts, including exhibitions and concerts. Additionally, the edition carried notices for cultural and educational institutions, including the Horticultural Society of London and the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester; as well as advertisements for London booksellers.

The borrowing records the *Athenaeum* reveal that 7 subscribers made 7 loans, between September 1849 and May 1859. Given the time differential between the first issue that was purchased (February 1848) and the first loan recorded in bound form (September 1849), and that the publishers made special mention of subscribers 'residing in remote places', there can be little doubt that the publication was first subject to regular loans in parts, for which evidence is not available. Had this not been so, on the basis of reported loans it is not likely that the library would have continued to purchase it.

The *Atlas*, similarly a standard newspaper and journal of literature, published in London, weekly, price sixpence, contained articles covering current politics, foreign news, law reports, obituaries, and the arts, including theatre, music and especially literature. The *Atlas* of 18 March 1848 (among the library's early holdings) included book reviews and notices and advertisements for financial services, medical cures, cultural activities and new books; in particular the published works of Sir Walter Scott.¹²² Illustration 23 reveals the regularity both of issues and their receipt by the Evandale Library. Unfortunately, because the parts were not bound, borrowing records are wanting. However, given that the library purchased parts issued between March 1848 and January 1853 inclusive, there can be little doubt that the *Atlas* was popular.

It was noted earlier in this chapter that the Evandale Library favoured books presenting a Protestant bias. So it was with periodicals. The *Christian Lady's Magazine* was edited by Charlotte Elizabeth Phelan (later Tonna) from 1836 until her

¹²² *Atlas*, 18 March 1848.

death in 1846. She was the daughter of an Anglican clergyman and the author of *English Martyrology*, *Personal Recollections* and *Letters from Ireland*, all titles that were acquired by the library.¹²³ As discussed earlier, Phelan was openly hostile to the Church of Rome. The parts purchased by the Evandale Library were those published soon after her period of editorship, when the religious tone of the magazine was firmly established, and when both the library committee and subscribers could be in little doubt as to the nature of the publication.

Christian Lady's Magazine also provides evidence that indicates shared loans. The data reveals that after the magazine was bound 13 subscribers borrowed 17 times, from June 1849 to October 1861. Despite the low rate of borrowing, which may have been greater given the borrowing of parts, it is significant that all borrowers of what was clearly a women's magazine, were male subscribers. The strong likelihood is that loans were made on behalf of female household members. It follows, therefore, that loans of library items generally, must be considered household rather than individual loans.

It would seem that the library's collection of material relating to agriculture and gardening was more a means of maintaining cultural ties with Britain than for purposes of practical instruction. Given that the Evandale community was principally engaged in agriculture, it is curious that copies of the *Journal of Agriculture* and the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* should have been sold-off by the library. Given the numerous agricultural publications available, the reasons for the original choice of these two can only be hypothesised. More than four hundred titles were published in Britain before 1900 and Bernard Cook does not even include the *Journal of Agriculture* in his select, annotated list.¹²⁴ The *Journal of Agriculture* was published quarterly, as a continuation of the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, from 1843 to 1866, and was published in Edinburgh.¹²⁵ The *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* was published first in 1840. It was sent without

¹²³ NSTC Series I & 11, Reference 2PER3709.

¹²⁴ Bernard A. Cook, 'Agriculture', in Don Vann and VanArsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, pp. 235-248.

¹²⁵ NSTC Series I & 11, Reference 2PER2107.

charge to members of the Society.¹²⁶ The journals contained articles on farm economics, farming techniques, and scientific innovations. Unfortunately, those responsible for its inclusion in the Evandale listing remain unknown. Given the abundance of available titles, the library's choice of agricultural periodicals was doubtless the result of subscribers' familiarity or membership of British institutions.

The disposal of the *Journal of Agriculture* and the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* was probably the result of little interest in them by library borrowers. While the 'sold-off' notations in the *Catalogue* are undated, they are similar to the 'bound-up' entries appearing against the many literary journals retained by the library. This suggests that the library, at one time, took the decision to either bind, retain or dispose of parts. While the *Journal of Agriculture* and the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* were British publications, and probably acquired as a result of British associations; publications of the Royal Society of Tasmania, founded in 1843, dealt with agricultural questions in a local context. Subscribers may have considered these more useful and bought personal copies.¹²⁷

It must also be considered that, while agricultural journals are likely to have been popular with farmers, particularly heads of farming families; others would have had a more general appeal, both among subscribers and family members. Therefore, while farmers and males were prominent among subscribers, interest in farming literature did not automatically equate with library membership.

The *Gardener's Chronicle* was a weekly publication, priced 6d., published under the heading: 'A Stamped Newspaper of Rural Economy and General News. - The Horticultural Part Edited by Professor Lindley'.¹²⁸ The publication contained copious advertising for seeds, plants and trees; editorials and articles on home gardening and estate management; and reports of organisations including the Agricultural Society of England and the Botanical Society of Scotland. The leading article in the 4 March 1848 issue, the first one acquired by the Evandale Library, provided scientific

¹²⁶ Cook, 'Agriculture', *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, p.245.

¹²⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that the Evandale Library subscribed to Royal Society publications.

¹²⁸ *Gardener's Chronicle* 4 March 1848.

information relating to light and plant germination; the issue also contained items entitled Entomology; Flax Culture; and Management of Woods. The tone and content of the publication identifies it as being informative and practical rather than entertaining.

The *Gardener's Chronicle* was among the most widely read horticultural journal in Australia during the mid-nineteenth century. At Evandale, parts were retained unbound and, consequently, borrowing records are unavailable. A possible reason for the *Gardener's Chronicle* not being bound by the library is that it was not particularly popular with subscribers. Most likely its articles were considered too specialised, or of little interest to colonial households given the climatic differences.

Two periodicals were distinctive in that they were acquired as others were being allowed to lapse: issues of *Punch* were received for January 1851 to August 1854, issues for the *Examiner* were received for February 1853 to August 1854. Neither parts were bound. *Punch*, published from Fleet Street, London, from 1830 onwards, purported to offer: '[T]he accumulation of vast Intellectual Wealth, and the produce of the richest Mines of Wit, brought together by the combined resources of Art and Industry'.¹²⁹ *Punch* was especially renowned for its cartoon illustrations. At Evandale, because it was not bound into volumes, there are no borrowing records. Reasons for its acquisition at this time may include a fascination for its cartoons and visual images; certainly, for subscribers, it must have offered welcome relief given its practice of lampooning untoward authority, just as the colony was entering political independence.

The London news and fine arts weekly, the *Examiner*, was founded by Leigh Hunt in 1808. During its early years the 'object of the paper was chiefly "to assist in producing Reform in Parliament, liberality of opinion in general ... and a fusion of literary taste into all subjects whatsoever"'.¹³⁰ Edmund Blunden associates early issues with Charles Lamb, John Keats, Percy Shelley and Lord Byron and their writings.¹³¹ In the 1840s, the *Examiner*, published on Saturday from its office in the Strand (priced at 6d.) carried articles on 'Politics, Literature, and the Fine Arts', and the epithet 'Party is the

¹²⁹ *Punch*, London, 1851, vol.20, Preface.

¹³⁰ Edmund Blunden, *Leigh Hunt's "Examiner" Examined*, London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928, p. ix.

madness of many for the gain of a few - Pope'.¹³² Its index included the headings: Births and Deaths, Correspondence, Fine Arts, Foreign and Colonial, Literary Examiner, Political Examiner and Theatrical Examiner. It carried advertising and notices for commercial and medical services, and for recent books and literary works including the publications of John Murray of London (including *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, 48 vols.¹³³) and Blackwood and Sons of Edinburgh.¹³⁴

In April 1853, under 'Libraries and Reprints', it reported: 'Mr Bohn's services in providing his wonderful monthly supply of cheap volumes of sterling literature, well printed and bound, put us under a debt of recognition'.¹³⁵ Similarly, the 'Literary Examiner' acknowledged the growth of literary reviews and the contribution of periodicals to the general advancement of books and reading: 'The Quarterlies, Old and New. The number and excellence of the volumes now issued ... are to be regarded as fair symptoms of the constant extension of literature over a wider ground ... Good books used to stand out as mountains in a plain, now they are as the chief peaks in a hilly country'.¹³⁶ As with *Punch*, the parts were retained and no loans were recorded.

Given its weekly format, the range, quality and depth of its articles and entries, the *Examiner* was likely to have appealed to a wide readership. Its annual cost was on a par with *Bentley's Miscellany*, whose Evandale subscription lapsed, but it was published more frequently and was therefore more newsworthy. The reason why both *Punch* and the *Examiner* were not bound, was probably due to cost, in that in this period the library was experiencing financial pressures and reduced loans.

The cataloguing of the *Illustrated London News* under *Miscellaneous* rather than among *Magazines, Essays, and Letters*, is curious given the popular status generally ascribed to this periodical. The reason is probably because it was acquired in volumes rather than in parts, and not ever purchased in parts. Published weekly, priced 6d., from 1842, and promoted by its publishers as a family newspaper, The *Illustrated*

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² *The Examiner* 11 August 1849.

¹³³ *loc.cit.*

¹³⁴ *The Examiner* 2 April 1853.

¹³⁵ *loc.cit.*

London News contained essays on public affairs, literature, fine arts, drama, sporting intelligence, science, and a record of events in Britain and the colonies.¹³⁷ Marketed from London, in parts and as bound volumes, by 1847 it claimed a circulation of 70,000 copies and an editorial policy described 'to palliate the distresses of the poor - to aid the benevolence of the rich - to give a healthy moral tone to the working of our social system ... in a word, to enlist all the nobler influences which impel the progress of civilisation and tend to dignify the character alike of nations and of men'.¹³⁸

In Launceston, in addition to advertisements placed regularly in the local press by stationers and booksellers, the *Illustrated London News* solicited subscriptions directly through the office of local agent, the *Cornwall Chronicle*, in which it also advertised prominently.¹³⁹ At Evandale, the borrowing records for the 4 volumes reveal that 7 members borrowed 18 times, commencing August 1848 through to July 1861; 7 in 1848, 8 in 1849, 2 in 1850 and 1 in 1861. This reveals that it was among the library's earliest acquisitions. No volumes are listed in the printed catalogue of 1857, suggesting that they were missing from the library at that time. Considering the abrupt interruption to the borrowing pattern, it is probable that the volumes were missing for a time: from some time in 1850 at the latest. Given the different cataloguing procedure and the modest borrowing during the period that volumes were available in the collection, its local promotion by the publisher was largely unrewarded by Evandale subscribers, unless, of course, it was purchased privately by families.

It is noteworthy that the Evandale Library acquired *Punch* rather than the *Illustrated London News* as parts, given that both publications relied upon heavily on visual images. Doubtlessly subscribers were attracted to the jocular attitude of the former, and could not justify purchasing the latter, based upon its loans record.

In addition to periodicals in parts received from Britain, and the donation of bound volumes of *Bentley's Miscellany* by Allan Mackinnon, and the *New Monthly Magazine* by Matthew Ralston, more bound volumes were added to the collection as library

¹³⁶ *The Examiner* 16 April 1853.

¹³⁷ *Cornwall Chronicle* 20 February 1847.

¹³⁸ loc.cit.

purchases or possibly as unrecorded donations: there can be no certainty which may apply in each case. In all likelihood a purchase, *Hogg's Instructor* was published weekly by James Hogg in Edinburgh, principally, and also in London. At Evandale, the borrowing records for *Hogg's Instructor*, in 4 volumes, reveal that 23 subscribers borrowed it 41 times, from October 1851 to October 1860. Volumes noted for 1850 were indexed: Essays, sketches, & etc.; Portrait gallery; Biographical sketches; Tales; Scientific articles; History and travel; New books; Miscellaneous; and Poetry.¹⁴⁰ In 1850 *Hogg's Instructor* stated:

The Vice of Reading. A confused, aimless perusal of books, merely to pass the time and administer to an artificial craving for excitement, is little less than a species of mental intoxication which ultimately destroys the faculties. Reading is commendable precisely as it becomes practically beneficial, by enlarging our views and qualifying us for the fulfilment of the respective duties we may have to perform in life.¹⁴¹

The article, which implicitly condemns poor novels, argues that the increased availability of cheap books was not always accompanied by discrimination and that for reading to be effective it must be carefully directed. Foreseeing objections, the article states: 'It may be objected that Sir Walter Scott was, in youth, a most indiscriminate devourer of books; true, but all young men have not the powerful memory and masculine genius of the 'author of Waverley'''.¹⁴² *Hogg's Instructor* regularly reviewed works of fiction, but it is not surprising that the journal promoted the reading of improving literature, rather than material directed principally towards entertainment, and that it noted Scott, the nation's favourite author, as an exception.

No doubt its popularity was encouraged by: being published in Edinburgh, its high opinion of Scott, and being held at Bothwell among colonists of like mind and circumstances. If the volumes were purchased rather than donated, the reasons why it was not purchased in parts at Evandale, were no doubt because the library was committed to numerous periodicals in parts and costs had to be taken into account and, given the popularity of novels at Evandale, subscribers may have been deterred by its attitude towards fiction and indiscriminate reading practices.

¹³⁹ loc.cit.

¹⁴⁰ *Hogg's Instructor*, Volume IV., New series, 1850.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 134-135

¹⁴² *ibid.* p.135.

A number of bound periodicals received into the collection when periodicals in parts were cancelled, do suggest that a number of unrecorded donations were made following the cessation of periodicals in parts. Altick describes *Household Words* as a family paper appealing principally to middle-class readers, and ‘a remarkable bargain’ at 2d, yet rather banal and sentimental.¹⁴³ The first issue of *Household Words* stated:

We aspire to live in the Household affections, and be numbered among the Household thoughts, of our readers. We hope to be the comrade and friend of many thousands of people, of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, on whose faces we may never look.¹⁴⁴

At Evandale, ten volumes of *Household Words* were received into the library before April 1855, commencing with the first volume published, for the period 30 March 1850 to 21 September 1850. The data reveal that 27 members borrowed it 88 times between April 1855 and October 1860. Although *Household Words* was considered among the more popular periodicals of the day at Evandale, its cataloguing as *Fiction and Poetry* was probably because of its association with Dickens and that it was received into the library when parts were no longer being received. Its holding at Evandale is noteworthy on three counts. Firstly, that the publication, a weekly journal, edited by Charles Dickens, and famed for its serialisation of *Hard Times*, was catalogued *Fiction and Poetry*.¹⁴⁵ Secondly, volume one has survived, held in the University Library, in Hobart, which confirms its dates.¹⁴⁶ Thirdly, this volume has the stationer’s blind imprint of Orger and Meryon, which confirms that it was received as a bound volume and that the London bookseller was the supplier.

Sharpe’s London Magazine (renamed *Sharpe’s London Journal*) was acquired in eighteen bound volumes: three volumes before October 1851, and 15 volumes probably during 1854. The preface to the December 1849 issue states: ‘[T]he Editor trusts that its contents will not prove less acceptable than those of its predecessors, and

¹⁴³ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.347.

¹⁴⁴ *Household Words* 30 March 1850.

¹⁴⁵ The series ran until May 1859 when it was suspended by its publisher. A complete series is held at the Launceston Library.

¹⁴⁶ I am indebted to Michael Roe for bringing this volume to my notice. Remaining volumes in the University library, for the period, include those originating from both the Bothwell Literary Society

that it will be found to contain nothing, in a moral and religious light, unworthy of the principles upon which it was originally founded'.¹⁴⁷ Published monthly, in parts, at the comparatively low price of one shilling, the magazine included articles on science and natural history, travel, exploration and discovery, history, literature, poetry, notices of new books and reviews. In 1851, the editor reported: '[T]he utmost attention has been given to maintain that moral and religious tone which renders it a safe and acceptable Journal for family perusal'.¹⁴⁸

In 1852 the publishers announced the appointment of a woman editor: 'Mrs S.C. Hall ... who is so greatly popular among readers of all classes, will give to this Magazine a high character among the Periodical Publications of the age and country'.¹⁴⁹ In 1853, under the direction of Mrs Hall, the magazine stated, in a review of Louisa Anne Meredith's *My Home in Tasmania*:¹⁵⁰

These books have a perpetual freshness which fiction never attains ... Little bits of womanly good sense and pure feelings are scattered through the volumes, gemming them with such wisdom as a woman can wear about her heart ... Over difficulties and perplexities that would shake the nerves of many a strong man, Mrs Meredith throws a perpetual sunshine, as precious to her, and to her home, as it is pleasant to and valuable to her readers.¹⁵¹

Given the tone of this report, at Evandale it was probably read mostly by women from the households of subscribers. The data reveals that 36 subscribers made 161 loans, from October 1851 to November 1861. The borrowers included one woman, Mrs Sutton, and five male subscribers, who were also borrowers of the *Christian Lady's Magazine* and, presumably, in respect of this as other titles, borrowers on behalf of women.

Sharpe's London Magazine held to the moral and religious values noted elsewhere in the collection. The likelihood of the magazine being favoured by women readers may have been increased by it having a woman editor for a period from 1852. The arrival of

and the Tasmanian Public Library, in both instances with the stationer's stamp of James Walch and Sons of Hobart.

¹⁴⁷ *Sharpe's London Journal*, London, vol. 10, 1849.

¹⁴⁸ *Sharpe's London Journal*, London, vol. 13, 1851.

¹⁴⁹ *Sharpe's London Journal*, London, vol. 15, 1852.

¹⁵⁰ L. A. Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of nine years*, London: John Murray, 1852.

later volumes coincided with the cancellation of a number of other magazine subscriptions in parts, which is curious considering that the library was cutting down on acquisitions in these years. It is possible that these 15 volumes were an unrecorded donation at a time when the library was experiencing tight finances.

In the same way, fourteen bound volumes of the *Dublin University Magazine* were added to the library before July 1855, when the first loans were made. Published monthly, imprinted Dublin (firstly) and London jointly, the magazine - a substantial publication, the January 1850 issue containing 150 pages - was termed a literary and political journal by its publisher. In January 1850, the magazine contained articles including 'Rome, Ancient and Modern'; 'Romance with the Peerage'; 'The Mysterious Lodger [in two parts]'; 'Borneo and the Pirate System'; 'Ireland under the Poor-Law' and 'Our Portrait Gallery'.¹⁵² In May 1850, the magazine carried a substantial article titled 'The Life and Works of Dr Chalmers' in which it states: 'Scotland has owed to Dr Chalmers a deeper debt of gratitude than to any other man of our times'.¹⁵³ The magazine also claimed that: 'The most valuable gift which has been given in our day by Scotland to the literature of Great Britain is, the long series of volumes of this great man's works'.¹⁵⁴ The magazine's celebration of Chalmers can be assumed to have found support with many of the Scots in Evandale, but its acquisition at this time makes it likely that it was an unrecorded donation, perhaps by a Dublin graduate.

Some similar works were catalogued other than as periodical literature (as was noted with *Household Words*). Titles catalogued as *Arts and Science* were: the *Mechanics*'

¹⁵¹ *Sharpe's London Journal*, London, vol. 2 New Series, January- June 1853.

¹⁵² *Dublin University Magazine*, January 1850; A bound volume held by the University Library, Hobart, containing parts for January - June 1850, carries the owner's handwritten inscription on parts: 'Robt. H. Bales, *Vaucluse*, Tasmania' and the binder's stamp of J. Walch and Son, Hobart, suggesting that parts were marketed and also bound in the colony, and that the magazine was subscribed to by other pastoral families in the colony.

¹⁵³ *Dublin University Magazine* May 1850.

¹⁵⁴ *loc.cit.* The review is of publications edited by Chalmers's son-in law William Hanna: *Posthumous Works*, 9 vols, published 1847/49, and *Memoirs of the life and writings of Thomas Chalmers*, Edinburgh, published from 1849 onwards. While details of Robert Russell's personal library are not available, George Russell's library at *Golf Hill* contained William Hanna (ed.), *Memoirs of the life and writings of Thomas Chalmers*, Edinburgh, 1849/52, 4 vols., believed to have been purchased from the London bookselling firm of Henry Sotheran in 1853, in addition to Chalmers's other also writings, purchased in that year: P. L. Brown, 'George Russell's library. Books listed at *Golf Hill*, Friday 4 June 1954', unpublished document, Clyde Company Deposit, Australian Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Magazine, 12 vols.; *Magazine of Science and Art*, 2 vols.; *Magazine of Science*, 6 vols.; *Mechanics' Journal*; *Practical Engineer's Magazine*, 3 vols. and *Magazine of Fine Arts*. The data for the *Mechanics' Magazine* show that 8 subscribers borrowed 22 times, commencing from October 1848 to June 1861. The data for the *Magazine of Science and Art* show that 2 borrowers made 5 loans, from June 1854 to 1859. The data for *The Magazine of Science* shows that 3 members borrowed 4 times, all in October 1855. The data for the *Mechanics' Journal* reveal that just one subscriber, Thomas Henderson, borrowed the volume, in March 1858. The data for the *Practical Engineer's Magazine* reveal that 3 subscribers borrowed 6 times, between November 1857 and March 1858. The *Magazine of Fine Arts* attracted just one borrower, Thomas Hogarth, in April 1860. All the volumes were acquired by 1857 and were included in the printed catalogue of that year. Clearly the library treated these as books rather than periodicals, probably because they were not what magazines, journals and like material were thought to be, and *Arts and Science* best described their contents.

While little is known about the borrowing of periodicals before binding, the practice of acquiring periodicals in parts is revealing, being at variance with that of other institutions in the region at the time. In contrast to Evandale, the Launceston Library Society purchased periodicals in series that were bound in London. Surviving volumes, bearing bookplates, firstly of the society and subsequently of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, confirm that the *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *Westminster Review* were marketed in the colony in this manner. Volumes from this source, now held in the Launceston Library, also contain the bookseller's label of Orger and Meryon, affixed to board papers, confirming their bound state at the time of shipment, and their supplier.

It is suggested by Altick that, during the nineteenth century, periodicals catered best to 'one of the most compelling motives behind the reading habit, the desire to keep up with the world'.¹⁵⁵ Such comments apply to the Evandale Library in the immediacy of current issues being available to members, rather than the delay in waiting for the completion and binding of each series; and in the variety of titles on offer. It would

¹⁵⁵ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p.318.

seem that the library at Evandale provided its members with the latest periodicals in parts - and thereby news from Britain - a good deal earlier than its Launceston counterpart. While this may arguably be a reflection of efficiency, it also suggests an attempt to minimise the greater isolation of Evandale subscribers.¹⁵⁶

The economic benefit to members in being provided with periodicals through the means of a community facility or library must be acknowledged. While Evandale subscribers were not provided with a reading-room, the benefit of magazines 'for hire' must be considered in relation to their cover price and frequency of publication. In 1834, the year the Bothwell Literary Society was founded, the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviews cost 6s. for each issue in Britain, and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* cost 2s.6d.¹⁵⁷ The *Catalogue* reveals that 12 copies of the *Edinburgh Review*, 13 copies of the *Quarterly Review*, and 46 copies of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* were purchased in the years 1848-1851 by the Evandale Library. Considering that standard works from *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* could be bought in Britain for between 2s.6d. and 6s. for each volume,¹⁵⁸ and given the relative impermanency of magazines - more so when sold in parts, with the possibility of being misplaced, lost or damaged - the cost of subscribing to the variety and quantity of magazines that the library had to offer was considerable and clearly beyond the means of many readers.

In accounting for the cost of magazines and books to library subscribers, allowance must also be made for the extra cost of freight or postage from overseas. There were attempts in Britain to reduce this impost on colonial readers and thereby increase their markets. While newspaper reports regularly noted shipments of books and other reading material arriving in the colony, reports concerning postage would seem to carry special significance for periodicals, especially those shipped in parts. In October 1852 the *Launceston Examiner* carried a British report from the *Athenaeum*:

Carriage of Books to Australia. - We are given to understand that arrangements are in progress for extending the privilege of sending books, magazines, and pamphlets, by post, at the low rates adopted for inland carriage of these

¹⁵⁶ Ports such as Launceston and Hobart constantly reported details of ships docking and their cargo.

¹⁵⁷ Altick, *The English Common Reader* p.319.

¹⁵⁸ *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, London: Thomas Hodgson, 1851, p.395.

articles, to the settlements of Australia. This would be a considerable boon both to English authors and to their colonial readers, and would tend to strengthen the intellectual ties which connect the fortunes of the mighty continent with those of the little island.¹⁵⁹

In the colony the editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle* saw the matter rather differently:

Our carnal wants are not the only things that are thought of in England. The publishers of Britain, deploring our mental ignorance, and noticing that we have something to give in exchange for mental illumination, have applied to the Post Office authorities for the privilege of sending us books at a very low rate of postage.¹⁶⁰

Surviving copies of the *Edinburgh Review* for 1861, originally from the Launceston Mechanics' Institute library, now held in the Launceston Library, carry the following notice on the outside paper cover:

By the present Postal arrangements, Subscribers to the *Edinburgh Review* can be supplied with their copies by Post, on the day of Publication ... upon the prepayment of a years Subscription and the postage as follows, viz:- To any part of the United Kingdom Free by post. 26s. To India, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Mauritius, New Zealand, New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia 32s. To other British Colonies to which the Book Postal Arrangements apply 30s.¹⁶¹

Clearly, subscribers in Tasmania were receiving periodicals by post immediately following publication in Britain and at favourable postage rates. Despite these beneficial arrangements, the Evandale Library ceased to be a subscriber: the last periodical received in parts was *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, received late in 1854. Most had ceased by 1851.

Finally, it is noted that, as with books, the collection contained no Tasmanian periodicals. Certainly the golden years for the almanacs and directories produced by James Ross, G. W. Elliston, Andrew Bent and Henry Melville were recently past, and it is probable that some subscribers owned issues personally. Given their local publication, however, and their relevance in that they contained: information about the colonial administration, regional amenities and organisation, geographical description, climatic, agricultural and horticultural data and literary matters, it is curious that the library failed to acquire copies. James Wood's *The Tasmanian Royal Kalender*,

¹⁵⁹ *Launceston Examiner* 30 October 1852.

¹⁶⁰ *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 November 1852.

Colonial Register, and Almanac was still published. Moreover, the library failed to respond to periodicals published in the mainland colonies, that sought to replicate British periodicals: the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine*, published in 1855 and advertised by Duthie in Launceston, was said to be 'very like Blackwood'.¹⁶² While it would seem that the Evandale Library was generous beyond its means in the provision of periodical literature, and that its 'golden years' in this regard were short lived, it maintained its preoccupation with British periodicals throughout.

2 Borrowers and their loans

Evidence from the library's catalogue of books and loans register provides details of library activity not found elsewhere in the data. Once informed by further documentary evidence from newspapers and archival sources, this provides details of the borrowers, their occupations, the number of their loans and the duration of their membership (Table 10). Thirty-seven subscribers borrowed before the end of the 1848. Most were either signatories to the document that led to Robert Russell's call to minister to the Presbyterian community at Evandale or were library donors. Eight of the original subscribers remained for the duration. It is unlikely that the figure of fifty subscribers reported by Wood¹⁶³ is correct, considering that in no year did the active membership exceed forty-three borrowers (Table 18). Notwithstanding that the total loans fluctuated in the period, there was a high degree of homogeneity in the membership. Most subscribers borrowed novels, to a greater or lesser degree; this section will show that such variations can also represent the different needs of male and female readers. It will also show that loans were made both for recreation and improvement and that the library enabled those employed in professional vocations: medical practitioners and clergymen, to augment their own book collections. There is also evidence of loans made to schoolchildren. Finally, it will make evident those factors that led to variations in library borrowing and borrowing practices.

¹⁶¹ *Edinburgh Review*, Edinburgh, January 1861. (Published quarterly - price 6s.)

¹⁶² *Launceston Examiner* 14 July 1855.

¹⁶³ James Wood, *The Tasmanian Royal Kalender, Colonial Register, and Almanac*, 1849, p.110.

2. i Loans for women and children

Household loans

While the library's rules afforded equal rights to men and women, in practice the membership was mostly made up of male subscribers. It is clear, however, from loans made to male subscribers, that often they were borrowing on behalf of women. This being so, loans made to male subscribers need to be considered household, rather than individual, loans.

Before returning to live in England in 1856, Dr Kenworthy was among the most regular borrowers, borrowing 250 times between August 1848 and November 1855. He was the donor only of non-fiction, but sixty per cent of his borrowing was *Fiction and Poetry*. Mrs Kenworthy, who was not a subscriber, donated only novels, by J. F. Cooper and Bulwer Lytton. Dr Kenworthy's favouring of non-fiction is further indicated by the nature of his donation to Christ College and his lectures to the Mechanics' Institute.¹⁶⁴ His substantial borrowing of fiction was probably for his wife.

Dr Kenworthy's loans suggests that we should look at the borrowing patterns of the male subscribers contributing to their high rate of loans, and to the popularity of some fiction titles, particularly the novels of Mrs Bray. On 27 March 1849, Kenworthy borrowed *The White Hoods*, by Mrs Bray, the next borrower, on 7 April, was the Reverend George Wilkinson, the Anglican minister at Evandale since 1841. The next borrower was Allan Mackinnon, on 5 May, after which Kenworthy borrowed the title again, on 14 July. Mrs Bray's *Trelawney of Trelawne* was borrowed by Kenworthy on 30 December 1849, and by Wilkinson on 27 January 1849. On 24 January 1849, Wilkinson borrowed *The Talba*, by Mrs Bray, the next borrower was Kenworthy, on 29 January. *Tremaine*, a novel by Robert Plumer Ward, was borrowed by Mackinnon (who was only the second borrower), on 7 November 1849, which was followed by Kenworthy, on 17 November, and by Wilkinson, on 23 November. On 23 November

¹⁶⁴ These matters are discussed in Chapter IV.

1849, Wilkinson borrowed *Rory O'More*, by Samuel Lover, which was borrowed next by Kenworthy, on 18 December. Kenworthy was the first borrower of *Family Secrets*, by Sarah (Stickney) Ellis, on 19 October 1849, the next was Wilkinson, on 30 October. Again, the novel *Abbotsmere*, by M. Gertrude, was borrowed by Wilkinson on 18 October 1849 and by Mackinnon on 26 October. Given that all these subscribers were married suggests the likelihood of a coterie of like-minded women who borrowed on their husband's membership.

Mrs Wales was, seemingly, also a member of the group. Her husband, Robert Wales, the police magistrate, former journalist, library donor and possibly the author of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, was among the library's most frequent borrowers. Before 1857, the library was conducted within his official jurisdiction in the police office. Wales borrowed 402 times between March 1848 and December 1854. He died in January 1855 due to medical complications following the amputation of a leg.¹⁶⁵ While his borrowing generally matched established library patterns, it displayed an emphasis on religious subjects. Wales married Eliza Minnett in Launceston 4 April 1827. A daughter was born the following year.¹⁶⁶ His borrowing of the *Christian Lady's Magazine* and his repeated borrowing of *Sharp's London Magazine*, a periodical directed towards women, promoting family values, suggests that he also borrowed books for his wife or daughter, no doubt contributing to his high rate of borrowing, as did his proximity to the collection. *The Refuge in America*, by Mrs Trollope, was borrowed by Wales on 31 October 1849, by Wilkinson on 3 November, and by Wales again on 6 November. *Father Clement*, by Grace Kennedy, was borrowed by Mackinnon on 1 December 1849, and by Wales on 15 December. These titles, all fiction, were among the most borrowed at Evandale. There can be little doubt that their popularity was the result of being the subject of women's' reading choices.

The loans data suggests the same of loans made to John Williatt, the proprietor of the *Patriot King Inn*, at Evandale; Dr John Salmon, the district medical officer for Perth; James Cox, of *Clarendon*; and Henry Hopkins junior, Evandale landowner and son of prominent Congressional church identity, Henry Hopkins, of Hobart. It is noteworthy

¹⁶⁵ *Cornwall Chronicle* 24 January 1855.

that Mrs Wilkinson, the wife of the Anglican minister, and Mrs Mackinnon, the wife of one of Robert Russell's church members and a staunch Presbyterian, and others, came together as readers in a manner that bridged the denomination divide, as it will be shown was also the case with members of the local Evandale clergy.

The fact that the titles discussed were among the thirty most borrowed at Evandale, may have as much to do with how the works were borrowed, and thereby endorsed, by this circle of prominent Evandale women, soon after being received into the collection, as to do with their literary characteristics or library practices.

A further example of women's borrowing is George Thomas Gleadow, of *Harland Rise*, the son of John Ward Gleadow, the prominent Launceston solicitor, landowner and Wesleyan. His marriage, at the age of 29, to Emma Matilda Bartley of *Kerry Lodge* took place 29 April 1858.¹⁶⁷ Gleadow borrowed 222 times between January 1852 and September 1861. Apart from the absence of works by Scott, his borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* was representative of library patterns.¹⁶⁸ It is significant that eighty-two per cent of his borrowing occurred after his marriage. While this may suggest the influence of a wife upon his own reading, it is more likely that the increased borrowing was for his wife.

Jocelyn B. Thomas of *Everton* borrowed 340 times between March 1848 and October 1861. In January 1855, he married Matilda Mary Jarrard, aged 26.¹⁶⁹ Thomas was 45 years of age. In August 1857, a daughter was born, at *Everton*.¹⁷⁰ Before his marriage *Fiction and Poetry* accounted for 31 per cent of his borrowing and included many of the library's more popular titles. Following his marriage *Fiction and Poetry* increased to 45 per cent of his borrowing. Moreover, his borrowing of periodicals, in June 1860, included the *Christian Lady's Magazine*. While it must be considered that marriage

¹⁶⁶ *Tasmanian Pioneers Index 1803-1899*.

¹⁶⁷ *Tasmanian Pioneers Index 1803-1899*. For a family history see Yvonne Phillips, *Bartley of Kerry Lodge. A Portrait of a Pioneer*, Latrobe: Geneva Press, 1987.

¹⁶⁸ While the family may have already read Scott's novels, it is just as likely that they had no need to borrow them, having copies of their own. This would indicate that Scott was even more popular in the district than the data suggests.

¹⁶⁹ *Tasmanian Pioneers Index 1803-1899*; *Clyde Company Papers*, vol.2, p.459. The latter adopts the spelling of Garrard.

¹⁷⁰ *Launceston Examiner* 20 August 1857.

may have brought a change to his reading habits, it is more likely that the change in borrowing was the result of his wife's reading preferences.

John Richardson Glover borrowed 376 times between March 1848 and October 1861. His borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry*, 25 per cent of his total, was just half the library average. His borrowing of *Theology* included all six volumes of the *History of the Church of Christ*. He was a frequent borrower of books of *Natural and Moral Philosophy*, including Milner's *Gallery of Nature* on three separate occasions. His borrowing of *History* included *History of the Reformation* by D'Aubigné and Leone's *The Jesuit Conspiracy*. His borrowing of *Biography* included *English Martyrology* by Charlotte Elizabeth. He was among the most regular borrowers, which is not surprising considering that he was a bachelor, was settled in the family home, and seldom left the district.¹⁷¹ He possibly borrowed less fiction because he had no wife for whom to borrow.

A final example is Charles Sealey. Mr and Mrs Sealey ran a school at Evandale. Charles Sealey borrowed 38 times between October 1848 and June 1849. Mrs Sealey was not a subscriber. Seventy-three percent of his borrowing was *Fiction and Poetry*. Of the 38 loans, two were made following his death,¹⁷² and both were novels by Mrs Bray. Clearly Mrs Sealey borrowed on her husband's subscription following his death. It is just as likely that much of the earlier borrowing was also made on his wife's behalf.

It is clear, therefore, that library loans were shared within the families of subscribers. Furthermore, while it is not suggested that women were the only borrowers of fiction (indeed, the data indicates otherwise) it is clear that where borrowing was likely to be shared by women, the proportion of fiction borrowed increased significantly.

¹⁷¹ In correspondence dated 13 December 1840 he stated that a visit to Launceston earlier that year was only his second since arriving in 1831. ML AG 35/1-13.

¹⁷² Charles Sealey died 30 April 1849, aged 63, and was buried by Robert Russell. St. Andrews Church records, Launceston Library, LMSS 240/18.

Women as subscribers

Only six women were subscribers in their own right. Three, Elizabeth Ralston and her two daughters, Mrs Beveridge and Mrs Bruce, were members of the same family.¹⁷³ Mrs Beveridge was the wife of Adam Beveridge, Mrs Bruce was the wife of Thomas Bruce. Both men were involved in Ralston family farming enterprises, but at some time left the colony, presumably accompanied by their wives, and died outside Tasmania.¹⁷⁴ Elizabeth was living at *Logan* in 1848. Her husband died in 1837.

Elizabeth Ralston was the most regular of the women borrowers (see table 14). She was aged 74 when the library was founded. Following the death of her husband she remained at *Logan*, possibly in the company of an unmarried daughter. Her son, John Ralston, although farming the property, is believed to have resided nearby at *Mary Vale*, before his mother's death.¹⁷⁵ She died at *Logan* 18 July 1860.

Between March 1847 and January 1857, Elizabeth Ralston borrowed 150 books (Illustration 25). Her borrowing included many of the library's more popular authors and titles. *Fiction and Poetry* accounted for two-thirds of her total. She borrowed just four works by Walter Scott, and six works by Mrs Bray. Included were the novels *Ten Thousand a Year*, *Rory O'More*, *Tremaine* and *The Bivouac*. Works by Mrs Ellis, Bulwer Lytton, G. P. R. James, C. J. Lever, Charlotte Bronte, James Fenimore Cooper and Charles Dickens were other titles borrowed. Her second choice was periodical literature, comprising: *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Chambers' Miscellany*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, *Hogg's Instructor*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and the *Dublin University Magazine*. The remainder of her borrowing was representative of the library's more popular works, including seven of *Murray's Home and Colonial*

¹⁷³ Matthew Ralston's wife was also named Elizabeth. In addition to biographical indications, the borrowing of Matthew Ralston suggest shared borrowing, which indicates that the subscriber was Elizabeth senior. Margaret Ralston married Adam Beveridge in Hobart in 1825. Sarah Ralston married Thomas Bruce in Hobart in 1844. *Tasmanian Pioneers Index 1803-1899*.

¹⁷⁴ Family correspondence in the possession of Geoffrey Sharman. See also Frost, *The Journal of Annie Baxter Dawbin*, pp. 69-71. Annie Baxter Dawbin makes reference to Mrs Beveridge and Ralston family members, in rural Victoria.

¹⁷⁵ In discussion with a descendant, Geoffrey Sharman, March 2001.

Library, Thomas Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*, *The Spanish Conscript*, *Chapters on Flowers* and *Personal Recollections* by Charlotte Elizabeth and Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion*.

Mrs Beveridge borrowed 98 times between October 1848 and April 1853. Her borrowing was drawn from all categories except *Agriculture and Botany* and *Arts and Sciences*. Her borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* corresponded with the library average, and included nine works by Walter Scott, two by Mrs Bray, the novels *Ten Thousand a Year*, *Tremaine* and *The Bivouac*, and works by Mrs Ellis, G. P. R. James, J. F. Cooper and Bulwer Lytton. The remainder of her borrowing included four of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, Thomas Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, Bickersteth's *Guide to the Prophecies*, *History of the Reformation* by D'Aubigné, *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, *Belgium and Western Germany in 1833* and periodicals *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Chambers' Miscellany* and *Bentley's Miscellany*.

Mrs Bruce borrowed least of all her family. Mrs Bruce borrowed 9 times between April and September 1858. Although Thomas Bruce was named treasurer of the library in 1857, he was not a subscriber. Presumably he was conscripted by the family. Mrs Bruce's borrowing comprised *A Visit to my Birthplace* by Selina Bunbury, *My Schools and Schoolmasters* by Hugh Miller, David Livingstone's *Missionary travels and researches in South Africa*, *Jane Eyre*, *Northanger Abbey*, *Popular Tales* by Miss Martineau, Charles Knight's *Mind among the Spindles*, *The Adventures of Mr Ledbury* by Albert Smith and *Tylney Hall* by Thomas Hood. There is no explanation for the brevity of her borrowing, except that she may have shared books with her family.

Of the other women subscribers, Mrs Hood borrowed 129 titles between March 1858 and November 1861. Little else is known about the borrower, except that a Mrs Hood was landlord of the Royal Oak Hotel in 1860 and the owner of residential property at Evandale in 1864.¹⁷⁶ Nothing is known about Mr Hood. *Fiction and Poetry* constituted more than four-fifths of her borrowing, including three works by Walter Scott, four by Mrs Bray, the novels *Ten Thousand a Year*, *Rory O'More* and *The*

Bivouac, and works by Charlotte Bronte, Jane Austen, Frederick Marryat, Mrs Ellis, J. F. Cooper and Bulwer Lytton. *Sharpe's London Magazine* was Mrs Hood's single borrowing of a periodical. Her borrowing of *Biography* included Mrs Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Bronte*. Her borrowing of *Voyages and Travels* included Charles Weld's *Vacation Tour in the United States and Canada* and Mrs Ellis's *Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees*. Mrs Hood did not borrow *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, *Moral and Natural Philosophy, History, Agriculture and Botany, Theology, or Arts and Sciences*. Mrs Hood was among the major borrowers of fiction.

Little has been discovered about Mrs Franks who borrowed 78 titles within the twelve-month period ending February 1852. Mrs Franks's borrowing included four of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, two of the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Hogg's Instructor*, Charlotte Elizabeth's *Chapters on Flowers* and *Personal Recollections*, Bickersteth's *Guide to the Prophecies*, *Franklin's Second Expedition* and Whiteside's *Italy in the 19th Century*. Mrs Franks's borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* (58 per cent) was above the library average and included many of its more popular works, together with two by Walter Scott, three by Mrs Bray and works by Frederick Marryat, Charles Dickens, Charlotte Bronte, Bulwer Lytton and Jane Austen. While Mrs Franks was otherwise inconspicuous, and her use of the library was brief, she was diverse and constant in her borrowing. Perhaps she was the guest of a local family, a housekeeper or a governess.

The borrowing of the final woman subscriber, Mrs Sutton, comprised two-thirds *Fiction and Poetry*, including works by J. F. Cooper, Mrs Ellis and Charles Dickens, *Tales of a Grandfather* by Walter Scott, *Things in America*, *Household Words* and numerous loans of *Sharpe's London Magazine*. Mrs Sutton borrowed 40 titles between October 1857 and May 1858. The borrower was probably the same Mrs Sutton listed as a stall-holder in Robert Russell's church congregation in 1857.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ M. J. Maddock, *Clarendon and its People*, Launceston: Regal Press, 1996, p.69; Evandale History Society files.

¹⁷⁷ Church Records held Launceston Library.

The data confirms that women favoured fiction. Because wives clearly borrowed on their husbands' library membership, further comparisons between the borrowing of men and women are unhelpful, especially given the example of Elizabeth Ralston who was a steady borrower of non-fiction, presumably for her own reading.

More importantly, the evidence for Elizabeth Ralston, her sons and daughters, and for Robert Hunter, suggests that Elizabeth Ralston provided an example that was taken up by members of her family. It is noteworthy that her son, Matthew Ralston, was portrayed holding a book, in the photograph in Robert Russell's album, no doubt both for composition and for what books were seen to represent to him (Illustration 20). While women's reading may have been mostly fiction, it can be argued that they, by their example, encouraged a reading habit in families which led to each member making their own reading choices.

The borrowing of periodicals by the Beveridge women is noteworthy. While the borrowing by Elizabeth Ralston and Mrs Beveridge of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Chambers' Miscellany* and *Bentley's Miscellany* is not surprising, considering their popularity among subscribers, Elizabeth Ralston's borrowing of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, a Tory publication that supported the landowning classes, is indicative of the social and material ambitions achieved by members of her family. Her borrowing of *Hogg's Instructor*, which reviewed fiction but favoured improving literature rather than books for entertainment, and the *Dublin University Magazine*, a literary and political journal, confirms her reading for more serious purposes.

Her choice of more intellectually demanding, or literary, periodicals suggests that, in addition to the recreational value of fiction, it allowed her to engage with: 'intelligence, taste, feeling, refinement', as F. M. Innes stated when recommending that the Launceston Mechanics' Institute include novels in its collection.¹⁷⁸ In an argument unproven, perhaps for some colonial women, in domestic circumstances, more was to be gained of life and relationships from novels, than by reading works of non-fiction.

¹⁷⁸ Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, p.77.

Loans to schoolchildren

Although the library's rules made no mention of children, it is evident from loans made by William Hepburn Kidd, the schoolmaster and librarian, that loans were made to pupils of the school. Kidd's loans data is unique in that it lists a number of loans made to persons identified only by initials and abbreviations (Illustration 26).¹⁷⁹ School attendance records strongly indicate that these represented loans made to his pupils.

Kidd borrowed 36 titles between July 1856 and April 1859. His borrowing reflects that of Russell in the prominence given to *Biography* and the works of Walter Scott. Kidd's borrowing of Scott included *Kenilworth*, *The Betrothed*, *Legends of Montrose*, *Heart of Midlothian* and *Bride of Lammermore*. Otherwise, with the exception of Maxwell's *Border Tales and Legends*, Kidd was not a borrower of fiction. His borrowing from the category of *Biography* included *English Martyrology* by Charlotte Elizabeth, *Memoirs of Napoleon* by Lascases and *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* by Lord Campbell, in 7 volumes. Kidd was the borrower of Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion* (the donation of John Glover) and, infrequently, of works of history, philosophy and travel. He borrowed *Chambers' Miscellany* on one occasion, in April 1857; however, the library's periodicals were somewhat outdated by the time of his arrival. Although Kidd and Russell experienced shared roots and education in Scotland, Russell's borrowing encompassed the changing mood concerning fiction, while Kidd's loans reflects the earlier attitude where fiction, other than Scott's, was held in poor regard, an attitude that Scott did much to break down.

Kidd's loans data shows that on 9 April 1859, loans were made to: G. B.; J. R.; F. Rob.; Aub. P.; Sam Hard.; J. Tal.; and J. Mac. The school roll for 1859 includes the following students, and gives their ages: George Bryan, 14 years; James Ralston, 14 years; Fred Robotham, 10 years; Aubone Pyke, 14 years; Samuel Hardman, 13 years; James Talbot, 14 years; and James Mac Donald, 11 years.¹⁸⁰ Of these, Pyke and Talbot

¹⁷⁹ For the purpose of borrowing statistics these loans are included in Kidd's borrowing.

¹⁸⁰ Evandale School Roll 1859. I am grateful to Maureen Maddock for bringing this information to my attention.

were day boys, while the others were boarders. Given the matching of names it seems certain that loans were made to these pupils. Four of the seven pupils were in fact members of subscriber families.¹⁸¹ A separate and undated entry for 'A K' was made against a borrowing number in the cataloguing series adopted following the reclassification of the collection in late 1861. It is probable that the reference is to Kidd's eldest son, Alexander, born in Scotland 28 February 1850.

The titles borrowed by students were: Joel Headley's *Life of General Henry Havelock* (borrowed by George Bryan); *Memoirs of Napoleon* (Samuel Hardman); Samuel Maxwell's *Border Tales and Legends* (Aubone Pyle); Henry Cheever's *The Island World of the Pacific* (James Talbot); Wilhelm Meinhold's *The Amber Witch*, from *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* (James Mac Donald); two works by Walter Scott: *The Abbot* (James Ralston), and *Legends of Montrose* (Fred Robotham); and *Five Years in South Africa*, by Gordon Cumming (Alexander Kidd). With the exception of Scott's novels, all were works of non-fiction. Moreover, all were titles deserving of a mature readership. This evidence is noteworthy on two accounts. Firstly, it confirms that the Evandale Library was a resource for school students. Secondly, it suggests that they were not encouraged to read novels other than those of Scott. Kidd may well have chosen the titles which he considered suitable for particular studies or students, hence the titles may not have been their free choice.

Given evidence of loans to children under Kidd's charge, it is possible that the Reverend George Wilkinson, the Anglican minister in Evandale, also borrowed books for schoolchildren. In November 1850, Wilkinson placed the following notice in the *Launceston Examiner*:

Education.- The Reverend George Wilkinson, having secured the services of a highly respectable and competent tutor, to assist him in the education of his own children, is willing to receive a limited number of pupils (not exceeding four) to be treated in all respects as members of his own family, and to participate with them in the advantages of home education, combined with a system of school discipline.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Frederick Robotham, born 8 October 1848, was the son of George Robotham. Aubone Pyke, born 12 March 1845, was the son of James Pyke. James Ralston was clearly a member of the Ralston family, active as subscribers. George Bryan was likely a member of John Bryan's family.

¹⁸² *Launceston Examiner* 6 November 1850.

While we have no further evidence concerning the venture, Wilkinson borrowed *Home Education*, by Isaac Taylor, on three previous occasions, in June and July 1850.

Wilkinson borrowed 295 times between August 1848 and August 1852. He left the district early in 1853.¹⁸³ Given that his borrowing occurred over such a short period, he may be regarded among the library's most frequent borrowers. His loans, which may have included family loans, are discussed later in this chapter, under clergy loans; they did, however, include twenty-two works by Scott, an author singled out by Kidd. Given Wilkinson's interest in education; his stated intention to take students; and his high rate of borrowing, there is every reason to suggest that books from the library may have been loaned to pupils as well as his own children.

2. ii Loans for improvement

Allan MacKinnon, of *Dalness*, arrived in the colony as a young man, together with Alexander Reid, Captain Wood and Philip Russell, the founders of the Bothwell Literary Society. At Evandale, he was both a church signatory and a library donor. Mackinnon borrowed 719 times between September 1848 and September 1861 and was among the most frequent borrowers. *Fiction and Poetry* accounted for a little over half of his borrowing, including all of Walter Scott and Mrs Bray, and much of Bulwer Lytton, J. F. Cooper, Frederick Marryat, C. J. Lever and Charles Dickens. Although his borrowing included most of the library's more popular titles and authors, the works of Jane Austen were excluded. Clearly, Scott was required reading. The probability of his loans of fiction being shared within the household has been discussed.

Mackinnon borrowed three-quarters of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, almost half the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, much of *Biography* and *History*, but less of *Voyages and Travels*. The latter included Russell's *Tour through the Australian Colonies* of which he was one of only four borrowers, Ludwig Leichhardt's *Journal of an overland expedition in Australia*, and Henry Widowson's *Present State of Van*

¹⁸³ *Launceston Examiner* 15 January 1853.

Diemen's Land (of which he was the only borrower) which included a favourable account of the Evandale district and its settlers, before Mackinnon's arrival. He was one of the few borrowers of *The Practice of Agriculture* and William Miles's *A plain treatise on Horseshoeing*, also of James Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio* and Edward Bickersteth's *Guide to the Prophecies*, catalogued *Theology*. His borrowing of periodicals was equally extensive and comprised: *Chambers' Miscellany*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, *New Monthly Magazine*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *London Illustrated News*, *Household Words*, *Sharpe's London Magazine* and *Christian Lady's Magazine*. He was also one of only eight borrowers of *Burke's Peerage* and *Burke's Landed Gentry*.

It is noteworthy that Mackinnon consulted works on farming and life in the Australian colonies more than most subscribers, which suggests a genuine interest in his vocation and his new environment. His borrowing of *Burke's Peerage* and *Burke's Landed Gentry* suggest his social ambitions, as did his borrowing of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, a magazine that supported the landowning classes. It is noteworthy that, in 1848, the year in which the first loans were made, Mackinnon advertised for the services of 'a Governess, competent to teach music, together with the usual branches of an English education'.¹⁸⁴ While his borrowing certainly included personal reading, its magnitude may best be explained by his making loans on behalf of members of his household. The *Christian Lady's Magazine* was probably borrowed on behalf of his wife, similarly *Sharpe's London Magazine*. Given its extent and his concern for his children's education, it is probable that loans were made on their behalf; and that he was made even more aware of the role of books and libraries when, on the voyage from Scotland, he was accompanied by the settlers who founded the Bothwell library.

Robert Hunter was the operator of the Evandale steam flour mill who, at the age of 33, emigrated from America to join his Ralston relatives in Tasmania. He arrived in 1840, the year that Robert Russell's church was completed. Hunter borrowed 780 times between March 1848 and November 1861. He was the library's most active borrower. A son, Robert Russell Hunter, was born in 1851, and named in honour of the Reverend

¹⁸⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 1 April 1848.

Robert Russell. The first books that Hunter borrowed, in sequential order with one exception, were 17 of the 18 vols of Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, donated by Alexander Rose. Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* was the total of his borrowing between March and September 1848. Only once did he return to the series when he borrowed one volume in April 1861. Between October and December 1848 (with the exception of a single borrowing of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*) his borrowing consisted of ten titles from *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, followed by nine works by Walter Scott between December 1848 and the end of January 1849. His early pattern of borrowing is unique, but he then assumed and continued the common practice of borrowing more generally. His borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* included most of the popular titles and almost all the works of Walter Scott. His borrowing of *Biography* reveals that he was one of only three subscribers to borrow Hanna's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, possibly the result of his association with Russell. He was the most frequent borrower of periodicals, including the *Christian Lady's Magazine*, presumably for others of his household, and the *Mechanics' Magazine* and *Practical Engineer's Magazine*, no doubt because of his vocation.

An explanation for Hunter's borrowing is that being taken from his Scottish birthplace in his formative years, the Evandale Library provided him with an educational and reading experience he had not encountered. His sequential borrowing of Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* is surely the act of an autodidact.¹⁸⁵ Of all the subscribers, Hunter took most advantage of what the library had to offer. Moreover, the influence of the Ralston family must not be underestimated; particularly Elizabeth, the matriarch. He was also influenced by the Reverend Robert Russell after whom he named a son.

The Kennedy Murray named in the *Catalogue* was almost certainly Kennedy Murray senior, not his eldest son who had the same name (see Chapter VI). He borrowed 384 times between March 1848 and March 1853 when his borrowing ceased. He died at

¹⁸⁵ Research by the QVMAG suggest that Hunter prospered in the 1850s, and that he encountered financial difficulties later on. I am indebted to Jill Cassidy, QVMAG for details of Hunter's flour-milling activities. For flour-milling in northern Tasmania see Jill Cassidy, 'John Walker, Roderick O'Connor and the First Cataract Mill, *Papers and Proceedings*, THRA, volume 49, no.4, December 2002, pp.285-301.

Prosperous on 18 June 1853. Murray was among the library's most regular borrowers. His borrowing was even more notable considering that it was made in a period of only six years. His borrowing pattern is distinctive in that it included nineteen works from *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and all the works of Walter Scott. As a result of his borrowing of Scott, in most cases repeatedly, *Fiction and Poetry* accounted for two-thirds of his borrowing and was well above the library average. Otherwise, his borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* included works by the library's more popular authors. Again, he regularly borrowed works repeatedly, presumably to complete their reading.

Murray's borrowing of periodicals is unique. Between April 1848 and April 1852 he was the borrower of 20 periodicals: *Chambers' Miscellany* (11), *Bentley's Miscellany* (8) and *New Monthly Magazine* (1). His borrowing of *New Monthly Magazine* in April 1848 was an early loan from the library. It was a choice he did not repeat. In July 1848, he made his first borrowing of *Bentley's Miscellany*. Then he borrowed the next volume the following month. During 1849, he borrowed a further 6 volumes of *Bentley's Miscellany*. In November 1849, he borrowed a volume of *Chambers' Miscellany*, and then a further 10 volumes between that date and April 1852 when his borrowing of periodicals ceased. At no time was his pattern interrupted. His regular and repeated borrowing and the single mindedness of his borrowing of periodicals displayed a characteristic determination that undoubtedly assisted him and his family to overcome the handicap of their convict origins and succeed in the colony.

John Bryan held the lease on 570 acres of *Clarendon* from James Cox and occupied a house and shop in Evandale.¹⁸⁶ He was a ticket-of-leave man, who married another convict, Mary Anne Brooks, in 1844.¹⁸⁷ He was a butcher in Evandale from at least that time.¹⁸⁸ Bryan borrowed 85 times between March 1848 and August 1860. His borrowing included Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, *A Cyclopedia of Agriculture* and Jukes' *Voyage of the H. M. S. Fly*. His borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* included ten works by Walter Scott and works by Charlotte Bronte and Charles Dickens. He also borrowed *The Life of James Watt*. His borrowing of periodicals included the

¹⁸⁶ *Valuation Roll for the District of Morven, 1858.*

¹⁸⁷ Maddock, *Clarendon and its People*, p.65.

¹⁸⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 1 January 1853.

Christian Lady's Magazine, presumably for his wife. His borrowing of the *Cyclopedia of Agriculture* was no doubt the result of his farming interests. From convict origins, Bryan became a successful businessman, a Justice of the Peace and a Town Councillor at Evandale.

George Robotham was convicted of house-breaking and transported, arriving in the colony in 1827. Before obtaining his ticket-of-leave he worked for James Cox as a labourer and stock keeper at *Whisloca*, at Blessington. Later, he improved his situation and was able to lease part of *Winburn*, at Nile, from Cox.¹⁸⁹ Robotham borrowed 58 times between March 1848 and October 1861. His borrowing included Dickson's *Practical Agriculture*, the donation of John Glover, no doubt which he put to good use. A son, George Robotham junior (born 28 October 1837) was the borrower of 19 items between April and September 1861. His borrowing was mostly *Fiction and Poetry*. His favourite author was Frederick Marryat, but he borrowed novels by lesser authors, including *The Love Match* by Kate Maberly. Another son, John Robotham, born 22 February 1841, was not a borrower. On 31 August 1868 a son was born to John and his wife Mary and named Robert Russell Robotham, in honour of Robert Russell. Overall the family were not frequent borrowers. Possibly they were more restricted in their leisure being leasehold, rather than freehold, farmers. Clearly, Cox, who was a library president, and Russell, were important influences in the family's life.

John Whitehead who leased, then purchased, the other portion of *Winburn* from Cox, arrived in the colony in his youth, following his father's regimental posting, in 1825. The father, Sergeant James Butterworth Whitehead, took his discharge in 1831 and remained in the colony, pursuing inn-keeping and farming. He was the licensee of the Cornwall Hotel, Launceston, in 1843-49, a licence once held by John Pascoe Fawkner. The *Catalogue* lists John Whitehead as a borrower, with a second borrower identified only as Whitehead. It is deduced that that this was his father James Butterworth Whitehead.¹⁹⁰ He borrowed 258 times between April 1848 and November 1854.

¹⁸⁹ Maddock, *Clarendon and its People*, pp.56-7. Robotham was farming in his own right at *Winburn* in 1852. *Launceston Examiner* 22 May 1852; Robotham held the lease at *Winburn* at the time of his death in 1881.

¹⁹⁰ James Butterworth Whitehead resided in the colony until he retired to England in 1857. James Whitehead junior and a third brother, Thomas, departed to California in 1850. The loans would

Interestingly, he was the licensee of the Cornwall Hotel when he first subscribed to the Evandale Library. He borrowed half the library average of *Fiction and Poetry* and twice the average of *History*.

John Whitehead borrowed 137 times between May 1848 and April 1854. His choice included Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, which he borrowed eight times, eight works of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and four works by Walter Scott. His borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry*, 35 per cent, was less than the library average. He was, in 1869, elected to the Parliament as member for Morven in the House of Assembly.¹⁹¹ Vernon and Sprod state that his reason for turning down a ministerial position was that he felt too poorly educated, the family having been constantly on the move, the result of his father's life in the Army.¹⁹² His subscribing was probably the result of his association with Cox, and his father's example. While his preference for non-fiction followed his father's example, it was probably also motivated by a strong desire for learning.

Joseph Donaldson was an undertaker and coach builder. Mrs Donaldson was, for many years, the Church of England organist.¹⁹³ Donaldson borrowed 67 times between November 1857 and November 1861. *Fiction and Poetry* accounted for just 20 per cent of his borrowing. His borrowing of non-fiction suggests he read for improvement and instruction; his repeated borrowing of *Principles of Architecture*, one of only two borrowers of the work, no doubt reflects his vocation as a coach builder.¹⁹⁴ Such a loan suggest that he sought to practise his trade even more proficiently.

Three postmasters were borrowers. Bartholomew Soden borrowed 15 times between March 1848 and January 1849, Henry Ashworth borrowed 18 times between March

suggest that James Butterworth Whitehead, who had led a colourful and active career, was the borrower listed as Whitehead. For the Whitehead family see F. A. Vernon and M. N. Sprod, (eds.) *The Whitehead Letters. Tasmanian society and politics 1871-1882*, Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1991.

¹⁹¹ For the Whitehead family see Vernon and Sprod, *The Whitehead Letters*.

¹⁹² *ibid.* p. 18.

¹⁹³ Evandale History Society files, quoting Hawley Stancombe.

¹⁹⁴ It was not uncommon for undertakers to become furniture makers; possibly Donaldson strayed into building construction. I am indebted to Gillian Winter for this observation. The other borrower was David Rogers.

1850 and January 1851, George Grice borrowed 21 times between October 1860 and July 1861. Soden's borrowing comprised volumes of Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, Vinet's *Vital Christianity*, Corner's *Ireland*, *English Martyrology*, and *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns*. Ashworth's borrowing comprised *Lady Russell's Letters*, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, *Memoirs of Napoleon* and assorted novels. Grice's borrowing comprised non-fiction including *Life of Charlotte Bronte*, *Life of Luther*, *The Fate of John Franklin* and the periodicals *Chambers' Journal* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Soden was one of only three borrowers of Vinet's *Vital Christianity*, a recently published evangelical text. *Vital Christianity* had just three borrowers, all in 1848: Robert Wales in September, Robert Russell in October and Bartholomew Soden in November and December. Possibly one of them had recommended it to him.

Soden's moral convictions led him to speak publicly in favour of teetotalism, in Evandale, in September 1849, when the Reverend George Wilkinson addressed the audience and 'eight persons signed the pledge.'¹⁹⁵ It would be interesting to know if any were library subscribers. There is minimal evidence of the three postmasters reading fiction. Perhaps their womenfolk were required to assist them in their duties, which left them with little time to read books borrowed on their husband's library membership. The periods of their tenure as postmasters are uncertain. While it is likely that their short periods of borrowing reflected their periods of time in the district, clearly, all were serious readers.

The borrowing of F. M. Innes is noteworthy given his part in the debate over fiction in the Launceston Mechanics' Institute collection, and the example of his editorship of the *Tasmanian* newspaper, identified by Michael Roe. In Innes's view, forms of fiction expanded human attitudes and values often beyond the limits of non-fiction. At Evandale, Innes made 35 loans between August 1850 and August 1857. His borrowing of non-fiction was *Jeffrey's Essays*; *Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works*; *Heroes and Hero Worship*; *Individualism*; *Principles of Population*; *Norway and its Glaciers*; *Johnson's Agricultural Chemistry*; *Historical Review of the Spanish Revolution*; *Atlas*

¹⁹⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 12 September 1849.

to the History of Europe; Life of Lord Eldon; Lives of the Lord Chancellors; Recollections of O'Connell; Living Orators of America; Memoirs of Sydney Smith; Alison's Life of Marlborough; Montague's Expedition to the Dead Sea; Gleanings in Natural History and Burke's Peerage. The remainder of his borrowing was *Fiction and Poetry* and comprised five of Scott's *Waverley Novels*: *The Heart of Midlothian, The Bride of Lammermore, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth* and *The Talisman*. Innes's borrowing confirms that his public utterances were at one with his personal habits. More significantly, it reveals that his borrowing of fiction, by his reckoning a form of improvement, was confined exclusively to the works of Scott.

2. iii Supplementary loans

While serving the reading needs of families and households, and providing subscribers with a means for self-improvement, the Evandale Library also enabled subscribers employed in professional roles - medical practitioners and clergymen - to extend their reading experience beyond the limits of their own collections. Given that such subscribers could be expected to have a personal library for reference, or at least a shelf of books as a result of their vocational training, this study shows that the Evandale Library loaned books to members of professions both for vocational and recreational purposes.

The clergy

Given Robert Russell's central role in the library's foundation, and the implications that that raises for this study, his loans are discussed separately in the section that follows. Apart from Russell, only Anglican clergymen were engaged permanently in the district.¹⁹⁶ Evandale's resident Anglican clergy were all library subscribers. The data suggests that the Evandale Library offered them both an additional reading experience and theological works to supplement their own collections, in a manner that clearly bridged the denominational divide between Anglicans and Presbyterians.

¹⁹⁶ See discussion Chapter III.

The Reverend George Wilkinson borrowed 295 times between August 1848 and August 1852. The category *Fiction and Poetry* comprised half of his borrowing, including twenty-two works by Scott and all of Mrs Bray's novels. Otherwise, his borrowing of fiction was from the library's more popular titles and authors. He was the borrower of most popular periodicals. His borrowing of *Theology* comprised *The Defence of Faith*, of which he was the only borrower, and *The History of the Church of Christ*, probably by Joseph Milner. He borrowed Thomas Milner's creationist work, *The Gallery of Nature*, catalogued *Moral and Natural Philosophy* by the library. He borrowed *Home Education*, by Isaac Taylor, on three occasions. It was proposed earlier in this chapter that Wilkinson's borrowing also represented items for his wife and children.

Wilkinson's successor, the Reverend A. C. Thomson, borrowed 14 titles between June 1854 and November 1855. His loans, all non-fiction, included George Gleig's *Story of the Battle of Waterloo*; *The Life of Lord Rodney*, by G. B. Mundy; and S. W. Fullom's *Marvels of Science*. The most 'religious' work was Herbert Mayo's *Popular Superstitions*. Thomson was among the library's less frequent borrowers.

In 1855 he was succeeded by the Reverend John Bishton, who ministered at Evandale until his death in February 1857.¹⁹⁷ Bishton borrowed 77 titles between February 1856 and November of that year. His borrowing mostly comprised *Fiction and Poetry*, including works by Scott and Dickens; *Biography*, including *Memoirs of Napoleon* and *Memoirs of Thomas Moore*; *History*, including Charles Mills' *History of Chivalry* and *History of the Crusades*. He was not a borrower of *Theology*, which suggests that he had a personal library for reading and for preparation of his sermons.

For brief period the parish was served by Henry Plow Kane in a relieving capacity. Kane was not a borrower.¹⁹⁸ Kane's successor, the Reverend Robert Strong, borrowed

¹⁹⁷ Bishton's death, at the age of 55 is noted in the *Launceston Examiner* 17 February 1857. The *Tasmanian Government Gazette* 1 April 1856, lists Bishton as having been 'Ordained in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, 1838, and officiating at Evandale'.

¹⁹⁸ Following the death of the Reverend John Bishton, in February 1857, the Anglican parish was served, briefly, by Henry Plow Kane, headmaster of the Launceston Church Grammar School from the school's founding in 1846 until 1860. Presumably he was relieving in the parish rather than residing in the district. Kane was not a library subscriber. For Kane see Alison Alexander, *Blue, Black and*

24 titles between December 1858 and January 1860. Strong's borrowing was mostly non-fiction. His borrowing included Jules Michelet's *Priests, Women, and Families*, published in 1845; *The City: its Sins and Sorrows*, by Scottish churchman, Thomas Guthrie, published in 1857; *Secrets of the Confessional*, by Lasteyrie Du Saillant, published in 1848; and Robert Chambers's *History of the Mormons*, published in 1853. Given the currency and limitations of these publications, it is probable that in addition to his library loans, he, too, possessed a personal library of theological works.

Lastly, the Reverend William Brickwood, the Anglican minister appointed in 1860, and library treasurer, borrowed 124 times between May 1860 and November 1861. Brickwood's borrowing was mostly non-fiction but did include novels by Scott and Dickens. It is likely that Brickwood possessed a personal library which he supplemented with library loans. His borrowing of *Theology* included: *Rocks and Religion*,¹⁹⁹ by Hugh Miller, the Scottish geologist who became a leading spokesman of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland; *The Four Last Popes*, a lecture by Alessandro Gavazzi, published in 1857; and *Twenty Years in the Church*, by James Pycroft, published in 1859. While the Anglican clergy all supported the library through their membership, Brickwood also held the position of library treasurer in 1861,²⁰⁰ immediately prior to Russell taking leave in Scotland, providing further confirmation of the manner in which the library bridged the denominational divide.

Medical practitioners

Medical practitioners were among the most frequent library borrowers. In addition to Dr Kenworthy, whose borrowing was discussed earlier in this chapter, there were three other active medical practitioners in the district; two more were in retirement. Of the former category, the first, Dr William Huxtable, was Dr Kenworthy's successor. He borrowed 283 times between January 1855 and October 1861. While his loans included periodicals, non-fiction and many of the library's more popular novels, they

White. *The History of the Launceston Church Grammar School 1846-1996*, Launceston: Foot and Playstead, 1996.

¹⁹⁹ Probably *The Testimony of the Rocks; or Geology in its bearings on the two Theologies, natural and revealed*. Edinburgh, 1857. The Evandale Library sometimes used short titles describing a work rather than the actual title.

also included: *Dictionary of Arts, Practice of Agriculture*; *Dictionary of Practical Medicine* and *Retrospective of Medicine*. The second, Dr John Salmon, was the district medical officer for Perth. In addition to his medical duties he owned the pastoral estate of *Cleggin* comprising 750 acres.²⁰¹ Salmon borrowed 250 times between September 1848 and November 1861. His borrowing also followed library patterns: He was a borrower of periodicals, non-fiction, and novels, clearly read for recreation. It was suggested earlier that loans were shared within his household. A notable loan was Fanny Taylor's *Eastern Hospitals and English Nurses*, based upon the medical aspects of war.

The third medical practitioner, Dr E. A. Wigan, commenced practice at Evandale in May 1857.²⁰² He joined the library soon after, borrowing 187 titles between October 1857 and November 1861. In most ways his loans were unexceptional but his borrowing of *Arts and Sciences* (8.5 per cent) was many times greater than the library average, and comprised: *The Microscope, its History, Construction and Applications* by Jabez Hogg, *Pathology of the Human Eye* by John Dalrymple, and regular loans of the *Dictionary of Practical Medicine*. While medical practitioners can be expected to have been frequent library borrowers, given their superior education, and while these three all clearly borrowed for recreation, common to all was their frequent borrowing of scientific and medical works.

In addition to the above, Dr Robert Owen and Dr Donald Cameron lived in the district. Owen arrived in the colony in 1819, as medical officer at Port Dalrymple, earlier holding a medical appointment in Sydney.²⁰³ Macquarie described him as 'very assiduous and attentive to his duties'.²⁰⁴ J. D. Mereweather described Owen - who claimed to be eighty years of age - in dramatic terms: 'the most extraordinary person in my district, a small landowner ... living by himself, at the mercy of his servants'.²⁰⁵ Presumably he was no longer practising medicine. Owen borrowed 28 items between

²⁰⁰ Discussed in Chapter IV. CSD 1/158/5113.

²⁰¹ *Launceston Examiner* 23 October 1850.

²⁰² *Cornwall Chronicle* 19 December 1857.

²⁰³ *Historical Records of Australia*, series 1, vol.10 p.98..

²⁰⁴ *ibid*, p.574.

²⁰⁵ John Davies Mereweather, *Diary of a working clergyman in Australia and Tasmania kept during the years 1850-1853*, London: Hatchard, 1859, pp.51-52.

July 1856 and November 1858. With the exception of James Rees's *Mysteries of a City Life*, he borrowed only *Fiction and Poetry*. While the regular borrowing of scientific works was common to the previously mentioned medical practitioners, Dr Owen's exclusive borrowing of fiction was no doubt the result of his retirement.

Dr Donald Cameron, an emigrant who by 1823 had settled at *Fordon*, a 1,000-acre land grant on the River Nile near Evandale, borrowed 87 times between September 1854 and February 1856. His borrowing included a number of the library's more popular works including those by Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, J. F. Cooper, Herman Melville Charlotte Bronte and Jane Austen. Noteworthy, however, is his borrowing of periodicals which is distinctive in that he and his son, Donald Cameron junior, were the chief borrowers of the *Quarterly Review*, a periodical renowned for the quality of its literary criticism, but which politically supported the landed aristocracy; also his borrowing of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, a Tory publication of similar political sentiments. Dr Cameron was no longer practising medicine in the period. He died in Launceston in February 1857. Members of his family were to possess extensive rural holdings in the colony.²⁰⁶ His particular borrowing of the *Quarterly Review* and of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* is in keeping with their support for the landowning classes.

In contrast to the situation of Dr Story and indeed Francis Cotton who, some years earlier, on the east-coast of Tasmania, was required to rely upon his own working library; the Evandale Library gave medical practitioners and the clergy the opportunity to borrow works relating to their own professions. A further advantage was to borrow works, many of recent publication, to meet theirs, and their families', intellectual and recreational interests and their social and political alignments.

2. vi Robert Russell and his loans

Robert Russell was among the library's most consistent borrowers (Illustration 24). In addition to confirming his commitment to the library, it provides an indication of his

preferences, interests and priorities and thereby some of the ideals and philosophy upon which the library was founded and maintained. Moreover, considering his bachelor status and the absence of kin in the district, the likelihood of him borrowing for family members may be discounted. However, his borrowing must be considered in light of the possibility that some were made on behalf of others employed in his household, particularly Peter and Penelope Smith who were employed by him as house-servants following their arrival as bounty immigrants in April 1855, and for whom Russell made provision in his will. Also, it can be expected, considering his superior education and the requirements of his vocation, that he possessed a personal library.²⁰⁷

Between February 1848 and October 1861 Russell borrowed 303 titles. Of these, one-third were *Poetry and Fiction* when almost one-half was the library average for this category. Conversely, almost one-quarter was *Biography* compared with a library average of almost 10 per cent. Of the remainder of the books he borrowed, *History*, *Voyages and Travels* and *Encyclopaedias, Libraries &c.* were above the library average, while *Magazines, Essays and Letters* were less than half the library average (see Table 13). This data confirms that his borrowing by category was aligned more to the library's bookstock than to average loans.

Russell's choice of *Fiction and Poetry* included many of the library's most popular titles and authors. Works by Walter Scott included *Guy Mannering*, *Old Mortality*, *Heart of Midlothian*, *Bride of Lammermore*, *The Pirate* and *The Betrothed*. Of Anna Bray's novels, he borrowed *The White Hoods* and *Warleigh*. Of the six most borrowed titles in the library he borrowed five: *The Bivouac*, *Rory O'More*, *Tremaine*, *The Disowned* and *Zanoni*. Excluded from his borrowing was *Ten Thousand a Year* by Samuel Warren. Given his association with the author, he had probably already read it. He was the borrower of *Family Secrets* by Sarah (Stickney) Ellis, *Father Clement* by Grace Kennedy, Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, Jane Austen's *Emma*, and *Bleak House*

²⁰⁶ Dr Cameron's descendants were to own a number of Tasmania's most significant rural estates, and become among the most successful woolgrowers, in the northern midlands.

²⁰⁷ Evidence of his personal library is not forthcoming, only his Greek testament, now held privately in Evandale. Evidence of his brother George's personal library, from Golf Hill, is given in P. L.

and *The Old Curiosity Shop* by Charles Dickens. Essentially, his choice of *Poetry and Fiction* differed only in quantity when compared with his fellow subscribers.

Russell's borrowing of *Biography* encompassed the more popular titles including *Recollections of Caulaincourt* and *The Life of Lord Eldon*, and *The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon* of which he was the only borrower. Accordingly, he was one of only two borrowers of the *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, in 6 volumes. Given that Russell's high borrowing of *Biography* (23 per cent) is more akin to its proportion in the collection than its loans, it is likely that he was responsible for the prominence afforded works of biography in the library.

His borrowing of *History, Voyages and Travels* and *Encyclopaedias, Libraries &c.* was above the library average. Works of history included *The Spanish Conscript* by Jane Strickland. Works of travel included Leichhardt's *Journal of an overland expedition in Australia* and Kinglake's *Eothen*. Russell borrowed seventeen titles from *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*, including Melville's *Omoo* and *Typee* and Ruxton's *Adventures in Mexico*. He borrowed six titles from the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*. Again, of these, there is little to single out his choice from that of other subscribers.

Russell's only borrowing of *Theology* was Alexander Vinet's *Vital Christianity: essays and discourses on the religions of man and the religion of God*, published in 1845, in translation. Merle D'Aubigné, author of the *History of the Reformation*, spoke of Vinet 'as the *Chalmers of Switzerland*'.²⁰⁸ Like Chalmers, Vinet was evangelical in his theology. It was the only theological work acquired by the library in its first year. *Vital Christianity* had just three borrowers, all in 1848: Robert Wales in September, Robert Russell in October and Bartholomew Soden in November and December. The title subsequently attracted no borrowers. Either Russell was responsible for its acquisition,

Brown, 'George Russell's library. Books listed at Golf Hill, Friday 4 June 1954', unpublished document, Clyde Company Deposit, Australian Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria.

²⁰⁸ Alexander Vinet, *Vital Christianity: essays and discourses on the religions of man and the religion of God*, translated with an introduction by Robert Turnbull, London and Glasgow: Collins, 1845, p.viii.

it being a recent publication, or that he was drawn to it by the Chalmers' association, or Wales, having read it before him, asked for his comments on the work.

His borrowing of *Magazines, Essays and Letters* was confined to two volumes of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* and one volume each of *Chambers' Miscellany*, *New Monthly Magazine* and *Sharpe's London Magazine*. Less can be concluded from this since he probably had more access to parts for which there are no loans data, than most subscribers. The remainder of his borrowing is noteworthy only for its conformity to library norms. His borrowing of *Life, Health and Disease* and the *Dictionary of Practical Medicine* probably resulted from his constant health problems.²⁰⁹

Russell's borrowing suggests the following. Firstly, the alignment of his reading with the categories confirms his role in shaping the character of the library. Secondly, his reading of fiction was in keeping with his own beliefs and practices. Thirdly, his lesser borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* may possibly have been because he had no wife to share his borrowing. Nonetheless, his borrowing suggests a greater interest in factual literature, of human experience and endeavour, particularly the deeds and accomplishments of worthy individuals, and was probably the result of his higher education and his concern for matters of public and private improvement, at the expense of recreational reading. Moreover, his borrowing of just one work of *Theology*, Vinet's *Vital Christianity*, published in 1845, indicates that he owned a personal library of religious works that required little supplement.

3 Borrowing factors

3. i. Borrowing of donations

While the library's purchase of new stock in September 1848 was rewarded with increased patronage, the donated titles continued to receive solid borrowing support. After the arrival of books from Britain borrowing increased from 385 in 7 months to

²⁰⁹ During his later years at Evandale, in correspondence with his brothers, Russell frequently complained of health disorders (probably digestion). See Brown, *Clyde Company Papers*.

496 in 4 months (see Table 17). The data reveals that of the 496 loans made between September and December 1848, there were 300 from the new stock. The remaining 196 loans were from donated stock, making a monthly average of 49 loans each month, which compares favourably with the average of 55 loans for the period before the arrival of the new titles.

While the arrival of new stock did not distract borrowers from the donated items, this does not suggest that borrowing was evenly spread among donated items. At the founding, donors gave 144 titles (in 281 volumes) to the library. Of these, John Glover gave 17 titles; Mrs Glover, 1 title; Dr Kenworthy, 25 titles; Mrs Kenworthy, 9 titles; and Robert Russell, 22 titles (see Tables 19, 20, 22). Data analysis reveals that John Glover's titles attracted 36 loans; Mrs Glover's, 3 loans; Dr Kenworthy's, 34 loans; Mrs Kenworthy's, 166 loans (for 7 vols)²¹⁰; and Robert Russell's, 215 loans. Clearly, the titles donated by Mrs Kenworthy (all fiction) and Robert Russell found more favour than did Dr Kenworthy's or John Glover's.

3. ii Borrowing and leisure

In Bothwell, it was observed that what undoubtedly affected library membership was leisure. Hugh Cunningham, in his study of industrial Britain²¹¹, identifies leisure as a phenomenon both dependent on, and regulated by, class division. He includes reading among other physical and intellectual pursuits. He makes the point that leisure was regulated by time and opportunity to the disadvantage of the labouring class, and that in the view of the employer class, 'for the mass of the people such time was illegitimate, it represented idleness'.²¹² His argument may also help explain why some subscribers favoured books of self-improvement and intellectual content, rather than novels which were often associated with idleness. For a colony employing convict labour, divisions of status were even more pronounced. At Evandale, leisure time was likely to have increased for wives who, it has been demonstrated, shared in library borrowing and whose households probably had convict maids and servants.

²¹⁰ Due to catalogue irregularities borrowing figures are not available for 2 titles.

²¹¹ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

²¹² *ibid.*, p.12.

While it is too simplistic to regard leisure as the prime element that regulated reading, there is conditional support for Cunningham's view. Given the probability that borrowers read most of the books that they borrowed, the data indicates that for some subscribers, mostly employers of labour, a surprising amount of time was spent in reading. The most frequent borrowers were farmers, government officials and professionals. The most frequent, Robert Hunter, borrowed 780 titles in the period, or more than four each week. Hunter's commercial interests would have required that he was an employer of labour, and no doubt, also in his household. The less frequent borrowers included the 25 unidentified subscribers, presumably, given their anonymity, members of the lower classes. In addition, the upsurge of borrowing that often followed the arrival of new works arriving from Britain, suggests a leisure dimension.

3. iii The 'multiplier effect'

In 1842 the Morven district comprised 1968 individuals.²¹³ This study has shown that while library membership was mostly held by males - those termed the 'head of the household' in past periods - loans were made on behalf of women and children. It is therefore likely that loans were sometimes also made for subscribers' parents, siblings, in-laws, governesses and those in domestic service. Given that at no time did the library have more than 43 active borrowers, it is clear that loans were made on behalf of a much greater readership. While the number can not be known, were there to be four readers for each household, this would equate to almost ten per cent of the district population.

3.iv Borrowing by category

The proportion of borrowing, by category, varied when compared with the proportion held in the collection (Table 1). While *Fiction and Poetry* constituted 21 per cent of the collection, it comprised 49 per cent of the borrowing. Because *Fiction and Poetry* was borrowed at more than twice its proportion in the collection, it follows that other

²¹³ *Van Diemens Land Census of the year 1842.*

categories were borrowed less. The greatest variations were with *Agriculture and Botany*, with a borrowing of 0.4 per cent, compared to 1.4 per cent in the collection; *Arts and Sciences*, with a borrowing of 1.3 per cent, compared with 5.6 per cent in the collection; and *Theology*, with a borrowing of 1.1 per cent, compared with 3.5 per cent in the collection. The only category (in addition to *Fiction and Poetry*) to record an increase when compared with the proportion held in the collection, was *Magazines, Essays and Letters*, which was the result of the frequent borrowing of periodicals.

A possible explanation for the low borrowing of *Agriculture and Botany* is that British publications were considered less relevant given differences in climate and conditions and that the locally produced almanacs would have been more useful. There is no ready explanation for the low borrowing of *Arts and Sciences*, but this fact probably contributed towards Dr Kenworthy's decision to donate books devoted to the sciences and sermons (Appendix F) to Christ College. The low borrowing of *Theology* follows the pattern of the five Scottish libraries examined in Chapter I, where it was suggested that works of religious instruction provided by the church, the school and the home were probably sufficient and that members wanted something different from subscription libraries.

3. v Borrowing patterns

In the absence of a register of financial members a subscriber register was constructed from evidence of active borrowing. Table 18 shows the number of active subscribers for each year. The register reveals that, in 1848, the library registered 37 members of whom 3 lapsed during the year, leaving 34 active borrowers at the end of 1848. Membership fluctuated between 30 and 43 active members in the period: 39 at the end of 1849, 43 at 1850 and again at 1851, 38 at 1852, 36 at 1853, 34 at 1854, 37 at 1855, 33 at 1856, 32 at 1857, 37 at 1858, 32 at 1859, 30 at 1860 and 34 at 1861. The period closed with the library having the same number of borrowers with which it began. Although the membership was highest in the years immediately following the library's founding, at no time did the number vary by more than 15 per cent from one year to the next.

Although variations in borrowing follow the trends in subscriber numbers, the variations are of greater magnitude. The library recorded 882 loans in 1848. In 1849, the library recorded 1525 loans, an increase of 73 per cent. In 1850 the library recorded an increase in borrowing of 16 per cent to 1767. In 1851, the borrowing dropped by 34 per cent to 1172. In 1852 the figure dropped by 62 per cent to 449. In 1853 the borrowing dropped by 28 per cent to 324. The following year it stabilised with 330 loans. In 1855 the library recorded a 72 per cent increase in borrowing to 566. The following year an increase of 14 per cent brought the borrowing to 644. In 1857, the library recorded a 50 per cent drop in borrowing to 324. In 1858 the borrowing increased by 133 per cent to 754. In 1859 the borrowing increased by 29 per cent to 974 at which it stabilised with 972 loans in 1860 and 939 in 1861. Given that the variations in borrowing are much greater than the variations in membership, it is clear that the drop in borrowing was the result of circumstances other than in membership.

Efforts to establish borrowing patterns based on the seasons has proved unsuccessful, given that variations are not constant over the period of the study. The data (see Table 17) reveal that in total, October (1262 loans) and November (1201 loans) recorded the heaviest borrowing, while February (721 loans) and May (737 loans) record the least borrowing. Borrowing patterns, however, are not consistent within given months. For example, in 1851 March (153) and April (169) recorded the most borrowing, compared with October (84) and November (81); and in 1852 February (78) and March (102) recorded the most, compared with October (14) and November (2).

The explanation for this phenomenon is that borrowing was strongest following the arrival of ships with new books from England. In the absence of library minutes, which may have recorded the receipt of new works, the evidence is from newspaper advertisements of new consignments on behalf of booksellers and libraries. The library's two heaviest borrowing months were November 1849 and 1850 (Table 17). In October 1849, members were advised in the *Launceston Examiner* that 'the new works, received per *Rookery*, (consisting of nearly 180 volumes,) are now ready for

issue'.²¹⁴ Borrowing increased following the announcement, from 141 volumes in September and 162 in October to 209 in November. Similarly, at the beginning of November 1850, it was reported that 'nearly 100 volumes of New Books'²¹⁵ were received by the *Potentate* and were ready for issue, upon which borrowing rose from 137 volumes in September and 163 in October, to 205 for November. In September 1851, the newspaper advertised the arrival of the *Wycliffe* with 'nearly one hundred new volumes'²¹⁶ destined for the library; as a result of which borrowing increased from 26 volumes in August, to 87 in September. As was stated in Chapter VII, it is no coincidence that, following notice of the receipt of books in December 1854,²¹⁷ the library issued 71 books in January 1855, compared with 28 in the previous January. All this suggests that subscribers were less affected in their borrowing by the seasons and the weather than by what was made available for them to read.

²¹⁴ *Launceston Examiner* 24 October 1849.

²¹⁵ *Launceston Examiner* 6 November 1850.

²¹⁶ *Launceston Examiner* 20 September 1851.

²¹⁷ *Launceston Examiner* 3 December 1854.

Chapter IX The Conclusion

Robert Russell founded the Evandale Library with three goals in mind. The first was to serve the district in both a Christian and temporal sense: a plan that saw him establish a church, a library and a school. The second was to provide literature aimed at improvement and instruction, as a means of increasing personal and community standards. The third was to provide recreational reading for an isolated society. Upon his arrival he encountered a society in the making, one in which the indigenous population was replaced by convictism and later - as noted by the colonial auditor, G.T.W.B. Boyes, the Antarctic explorer, Captain James Clark Ross, and the Reverend James Garrett, of Bothwell - by an acquisitive settler community of uneven levels of education and discipline.

Russell's service to the district in both a Christian and a temporal sense is observed in the different, if complementary, roles of the three institutions: church, library and school. Given his clerical vocation it may be argued that this was no more than exercising his ministry. While this may also be so, the library collection was clearly designed to accommodate the recreational and secular needs of subscribers at a level not observed in Hobart's Wesleyan Library (or in the five Scottish subscription libraries discussed). The Evandale Library was a community-based library in the full sense of the term: it was started with donations from within the district and developed in response to subscribers' demand. Its collection was as much a reflection of the greater community as of its founder.

It must be acknowledged, however, that Russell followed the lead, to varying degrees, of colonial churchmen of different denominations in his promotion of reading, learning and education, both in the Christian and the temporal sense. Nor was this unique to Tasmania, given the examples of the Revs. Samuel Marsden and J. D. Lang in Sydney. In Hobart, similar initiatives were taken by the Reverend Benjamin Carvosso, the

founder of the Wesleyan Library; the Reverend John Lillie, the senior Presbyterian minister in the colony and an active member of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute; and the Anglican clergy responsible for planning and founding Christ College, and its library, at Bishopsbourne, under the influence of the Franklins. In Launceston, there was the Reverend Dr William Browne, who established the library of St John's Anglican Church; also the Reverend John West, who was a founder of the Launceston Book Society and the Launceston Mechanics' Institute; and the Reverends Charles Price and R. K. Ewing who were concerned about the prominence given fiction in the Launceston Mechanics' Institute collection. In Bothwell, Garrett provided an even more direct inspiration and example.

It must be acknowledged that Sir John Franklin and his wife, Jane, Lady Franklin, during their period in the colony, engendered a cultural and intellectual climate the results of which continued long after they left. These were to include: Christ College; the earliest art exhibitions in the Australian colonies; the building of *Ancanthe*; the patronage of the Bothwell Literary Society; and the nurturing of the Royal Society of Tasmania, founded during the term of his successor, Sir John Eardley-Wilmot.

Concerning the second aim, self-improvement, it is noteworthy that non-fiction prevailed in both the collection and Russell's borrowing. Non-fiction was four-fifths of the collection and two-thirds of Russell's borrowing, compared to one half of the total library loans. This suggests that while the founders sought to accommodate the demand for fiction, this was additional to books aimed at self-improvement and instruction. That the reading of non-fiction enriched both the life of readers and increased community standards is hard to separate and equally hard to prove. The Reverend James Garrett, of Bothwell, came close to the matter when he spoke of 'the incalculable advantages derived from the Cultivation of Literary and Scientific Subjects'.¹ While Garrett was, in this instance, cautioning young men to attend to their whole person, rather than pursue the endless quest for wealth that, presumably, he observed about him, his statement suggests that he was speaking both individually and collectively.

¹ *Minute Book of the Bothwell Literary Society 26 June 1834 - 8 October 1856*. AOT, N.S. 75/1.

While it is clear that Robert Russell endorsed this view (one undoubtedly shared by John Glover and Dr Kenworthy) his donation of novels, given their subsequent popularity at Evandale, suggests he was both approving and more attuned to popular taste than his fellow founders, and more so than the Scottish tradition. As the library's founder, it is probable that Russell was responsible for either soliciting or accepting donations, a number coming from donors of whom little else is known. That the identity of some donors has not been discovered suggests wider interest in, and commitment to, libraries than may otherwise be thought. The donations suggest that the library was intended to serve both recreational readers and a developed and literate readership, and that the donors accepted this as a reflection of the community.

In addition to the practical benefit of obtaining books free of cost and at short notice, donating achieved specific individual goals. It enabled donors to participate in the establishment of the library and to make a contribution; it encouraged them to extend their own reading by identifying with the endeavour and, in an acquisitive community, it encouraged a philosophy of giving and sharing between those of different social classes.

As to the third of Russell's aims, there is little doubt concerning the isolation felt by colonists and their reliance on books. Many examples have been given. This study provides evidence in support of Bill Bell's suggestion that for Scottish emigrants books and reading contributed to colonial settlement by means of instruction and recreation and by preserving identity and establishing community², as seen in the high incidence of Scots among the Evandale Library membership. Mrs Wedge, when discussing reading, spoke of 'living in the midst of a forest' and the need for 'rational resources'.³ Louisa Anne Meredith, when reminiscing about her life on the east coast, stated being 'so fortunate as to obtain the loan of a new book'.⁴ The botanist, Robert Campbell Gunn, spoke of 'having few other enjoyments but my Books to keep me up

² Bill Bell, 'Print Culture in Exile: the Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, vol.32, no.2, 1998, pp.87-106.

³ N.Nixon, *The Pioneer Bishop in Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart: The Author, 1953, p.30.

⁴ L. A. Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of nine years*, London: John Murray, 1852, vol.1, p.168.

to the progress of matters in Europe'.⁵ Dr Ross advised prospective emigrants that 'if you have not some taste for reading at least, if not for writing, I would not much recommend you to emigrate at all'.⁶ Mrs Wedge clearly found comfort in reading the *History of the Reformation* by D'Aubigné. Unfortunately, Meredith says no more of her reading.

In addition to the six women listed as subscribers in the *Catalogue*, women and children patronised the library through the borrowing of male subscribers which means that women's reading is under-reported in the data. For women, this can be observed in three examples. Firstly, Mrs Kenworthy was a donor only of fiction, but not a subscriber, while Dr Kenworthy was a donor of non-fiction only, and a frequent borrower of fiction. From what is known of Dr Kenworthy's interests and habits it is likely that his borrowing of fiction was on his wife's behalf. Secondly, given that the *Christian Lady's Magazine* was one of the few works devoted to women's interests, it is reasonable to believe that its borrowing by male subscribers was for female family members. A third example is Jocelyn B. Thomas whose borrowing of *Fiction and Poetry* increased from 31 per cent of his borrowing before his marriage to 45 per cent thereafter. Furthermore, the example of Elizabeth Ralston and her family's borrowing suggests that the participation of women was greater than is otherwise recognised.

Colonial women living on rural properties may be considered to have been even more isolated than men, in that they were less likely to have been engaged in commercial activity, and were more likely to have been occupied within the home and family. There can be no question of the value that Mrs Meredith and Mrs Wedge placed upon books and reading. There is nothing to suggest that their circumstances were unique. It is reasonable to believe that wives, and indeed mothers, daughters, sisters, visitors and governesses in the households of Evandale Library subscribers, shared in the reading experience. While books and periodicals provided male subscribers with links with Britain, they enabled women in rural settings such as Evandale to engage with others, and with other situations, denied them by their isolation.

⁵ T. E. Burns and J. R. Skemp, *Van Diemen's Land Correspondents 1827-1849*, Launceston: QVMAG, 1961, p.124.

⁶ James Ross, *The Settler in van Diemen's Land*, Melbourne: Marsh Walsh, 1975, p.41.

The library's use by children is revealed in William Hepburn Kidd's borrowing, which indicates that he loaned books to his students. Considering the students' ages and their custodianship, it is probable that their borrowing was directed by Kidd. With the exception of two novels by Walter Scott, all were non-fiction. Given Kidd's commitment to education, and the library's proximity to the schoolroom, it is probable that these loans were not isolated examples and that other loans were made informally and the collection used for reference by students. By his action, Kidd was encouraging his students to read works of a high calibre and, in the case of students from non-subscribing families, familiarising them with libraries.

Attitudes critical of fiction were common among nineteenth-century readers and library officials. Fiction, more than other forms of literature, was subject to criticism.. Captain Williams thought that novels caused 'a most prejudicial effect ... for they create a false view of life which never can be realised, and excite the mind in a manner that is dangerous to our very best principles'.⁷ The Reverend Charles Price spoke of the 'bewitching influence of light and trashy literature [which] throws a false glare over society, excites a morbid imagination, and leads to the persuasion that starry phrases, bon mots, and caricatures are to be the food of the mind.'⁸ Clearly, such views influenced the five Scottish subscription library collections discussed in this study.

A contrary view was put by F. M. Innes who claimed that fiction was a means to cultivate 'intelligence, taste, feeling, refinement'.⁹ While conceding the existence of 'faulty and pernicious novels and romances', Innes argued in favour of fiction on the grounds that at its best it presented 'vivid pictures of the state of real life which it is important for us to know something of, and of which we cannot learn anything so well as by this mode of writing'.¹⁰ This being so, and considering that fiction was one fifth of the Evandale collection, it seems that Russell and those of like mind among his

⁷ P. L. Brown (ed.) *Clyde Company Papers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941-1971, vol.1, p.160.

⁸ *Launceston Examiner* 28 April 1850.

⁹ Stefan Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics*, Launceston: Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, 1998, p.77.

¹⁰ loc.cit.

associates were to the forefront of such recognition. Also noted is the correlation between Innes's attitude to fiction and the editorial text that he adopted for the *Tasmanian*: 'I know no wisdom but that which reveals man to himself, and which teaches him to regard all social institutions, and his whole life as the means of unfolding and exalting the spirit within him ...'¹¹ This suggests that Innes was driven by considered belief and reasoning and not simply by literary preferences.

The most popular novels were those that enabled readers to engage with their British homeland and maintain their identity in a land seemingly too young and immature to satisfy that need. The most popular were those of Walter Scott, the chronicler of Scotland and equally admired in England. It is proposed that Scott was more popular than the data shows, given his exclusion from the borrowing of subscribers who could be expected to have read his works, and the probability that his works were held in home libraries.¹² The second most popular novels were *Bray's Novels*, set in south-west England, written in the style of Scott. Reasons for the popularity of *Bray's Novels* include their marketing, library practices and their similarity to Scott's works. In content, and by association, both series provided subscribers with a reminder of 'home'. It is further proposed that at Evandale, *Bray's Novels*, and novels generally, were made even more popular by being favoured by a coterie of like-minded women who clearly borrowed on their husbands' library membership.

Just as it is argued that the library was established with a view to community building, it may be said that the same effect was achieved by the loans, given that a significant number of subscribers borrowed, and presumably read, the same works. While it has been shown that the library provided a varied selection of titles, the subscribers, by concentrating on certain works, created their own intellectual community over and above the collective established by their library membership, thereby forming a common social and intellectual thread. For fiction, this can be seen in the women's informal reading circle that developed around works including those by Mrs Bray.

¹¹ Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p.147.

¹² Other than that of John Glover of which there are surviving volumes.

Clearly, for subscribers generally, the works of Walter Scott meet such a criterion. These practices had subscribers share common values under common circumstances.

The debate concerning fiction must not overshadow the fact that fifty-one per cent of the loans were non-fiction. Borrowers exercised a preference for works that maintained established moral and religious traditions. Foremost was Thomas Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, published in 1846, a substantial treatise on geology, physical geography and astronomy in which the author proposed a view of the physical world and the heavens, based upon Creationist principles. The work was extensively illustrated, among the library's earliest acquisitions, and first borrowed in September 1848. While its quality production could be expected to have added to its popularity, it could be anticipated that it would appeal to subscribers who held the same beliefs.

More significantly, as a result of the work of Charles Darwin, Sir Charles Lyell and others, past attitudes towards the Creation were being questioned in intellectual and scientific circles at that time. Although Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* was not published until 1859, the ideas it contained had been in circulation for some time. Volume one of Lyell's newly published *Principles of Geology*, a controversial work that explored divisions between science and religion, was presented to John Glover on the eve of his departure for the colony in 1830. At Evandale, it is very probable that Russell was responsible for Milner's *Gallery of Nature* being among the library's first acquisitions and that in this instance he was delivering the Christian message through the library rather than from the pulpit.

Titles from *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* and the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* can be expected to have had regular loans, given that, like *Brays Novels* and the *Waverley Novels*, they were among the earliest purchases and were received, catalogued and, presumably, shelved together. They were also works of literary and intellectual substance and can be accommodated within the criteria established by critic David Daiches as the objectives of the Scottish Enlightenment and within the Scottish tradition: a concern with man's understanding of himself and of the natural world.

When defining periodicals and discussing their importance both for readers and for this study, it was stated that their significance included: the extent to which they transmitted ideas, beliefs and values, instruction, data and information, entertainment; their popularity and general acceptance; and the extent to which subscribers identified with them as arbiters of values and vehicles of status. It was stated that Ruskin, when publishing, was attracted by the vigour and opportunity of the periodical press in that he considered it possessed a sharper and more specific sense of readership than most books.¹³ Given their capacity to enable colonists to keep in touch with their homeland, periodicals allowed colonists to gauge how they were faring regarding education, social manners and mores. Children's training and education was of particular concern to colonists. Peter Chapman has noted that Boyes, appointed colonial auditor in 1826, was reluctant to bring his children to the colony because of the want of suitable education.¹⁴ It was shown in Chapter VII that in the interests of the district, Robert Russell built a schoolhouse at Evandale to secure the services of a teacher he considered to be outstanding. Periodicals were doubtless one means by which colonists were able to measure suitable standards of schooling and social behaviour for their children.

It has been shown that bound periodicals accounted for 8.5 per cent of library loans. First in order of popularity, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (203) was a magazine for everyone, especially shopkeepers and skilled artisans; essentially, a popular magazine, not overly literary or intellectual. The second, *Bentley's Miscellany* (191) was one that generally avoided the politics of the day, serialised novels, and published short stories, drama, biographical sketches and travel. It is described as making provision for middle to upper-class readers, clearly to achieve maximum readership. The third, *Chambers' Miscellany* (171) was an inexpensive publication designed to serve the less affluent and for the libraries of parishes, prisons, schools and similar institutions. The fourth, *Sharpe's London Magazine* (161) was designed 'to maintain that moral and religious

¹³ Brian Maidment, 'Readers fair and foul: John Ruskin and the periodical press,' Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982, pp. 29-58.

¹⁴ Peter Chapman (editor), *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985, p.25.

tone which renders it a safe and acceptable journal for family perusal'.¹⁵ The fifth, *New Monthly Magazine* (95) was considered less a literary journal than a commercial undertaking. Of these, while *Sharpe's London Magazine* was in keeping with values otherwise observed in the library community, the others were popular rather than learned publications.

Those that received lesser support were either superior literary publications or politically exclusive. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (47) was a Tory publication that supported the landowning classes. *Hogg's Instructor* (41) reviewed fiction but favoured improving literature rather than books for entertainment. *Dublin University Magazine* (35) was a literary and political journal. *Quarterly Review* (14) was renowned for literary criticism and for its support of the landed aristocracy. Probably the most intellectual of the journals, the *Edinburgh Review*, is the only instance where a periodical, once bound, was not listed among the library's volume holdings.

While the period in which the library acquired periodicals was short, as with books it maintained its preoccupation with British works throughout. It has also been shown that the library was generous beyond its means in the provision of periodicals

Of the library, this data suggests that it was neither socially nor intellectually exclusive; rather, it offered both popular and superior periodicals. Of the subscribers, it demonstrates their preference for everyday periodicals. This is not to suggest that within the magazines most borrowed they did not choose material that enabled them to be educated and informed as well as entertained. It has been shown that, despite the prevalence of landowning families as subscribers, there was much less borrowing of those periodicals known to be allied to the interests of the landed aristocracy. Finally, and most importantly, given that periodicals loaned in parts are not included in the data, it has been shown that the borrowing of periodicals is underreported, which indicates that they were even more popular than the data indicates.

¹⁵ *Sharpe's London Journal*, London, vol.13, 1851.

Borrowers used the library to further their education and professional interests. The former aim may be observed in the borrowing of John Whitehead, who felt poorly educated, and his repeatedly borrowed Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*. The second aim is exemplified by Jocelyn Thomas and Allan Mackinnon who borrowed books on farm practices, while the *Principles of Architecture* was borrowed by the coach builder Joseph Donaldson. In this respect the library served the role defined for mechanics' institutes in the more populated centres of Launceston and Hobart.

For some borrowers, Protestant works hostile to Catholicism attracted special interest. This is observed in both fiction and non-fiction, particularly the works of Charlotte Elizabeth Phelan (later Tonna) editor of the *Christian Lady's Magazine* and the author of numerous works including *Derry; a tale of the Revolution* (32), *Personal Recollections* (21), *English Martyrology* (16), *Glimpses of the Past* (12), *Chapter on Flowers* (12), *Passing Thoughts* (10) and *Letters from Ireland* (9). Charlotte Elizabeth was openly hostile to the Church of Rome.¹⁶ Her novel, *Derry*, based upon the events of 1688 in Ireland, when the town of Derry became a refuge for Protestants, and was besieged by Catholic armies, was among the library's more popular works. Similarly, the *Christian Lady's Magazine*, previously under Tonna's editorship, was the only openly religious periodical to which the library subscribed.

The library did, however, bridge the denominational divide between Anglicans and Presbyterians. The data shows that Evandale's Anglican clergy were all library subscribers; the exception being Henry Plow Kane, the headmaster of the Launceston Church Grammar School, who was relieving for a period while the parish was awaiting a new appointment. The clergy followed the example of the Reverend George Wilkinson, who arrived in the district shortly after Russell, and was among the library's most frequent borrowers. It is also suggested that Wilkinson borrowed on behalf of his household, and also, probably, the school pupils in his care. Clearly the two men possessed a relationship which was of wider community benefit, given that Presbyterians and Anglicans were similarly represented in the library membership.

¹⁶Some of her works are believed to have been placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*. See *DNB*, vol.LVII, p.34.

Variations in borrowing were greater than those of membership. Similarly, there is no uniformity of monthly or seasonal loans. It is proposed that variations in borrowing were the result, both of economic and political circumstances, in particular the aftermath of convict transportation and events leading to representative government, and the result of new works arriving or not arriving from Britain - periodicals ceased altogether. It is argued that variations in borrowing were because subscribers had less incentive, given the absence of new titles, and many were occupied with their work and public duties. It is noted that the reduced purchasing coincided with Russell's temporary absence from the colony, which may have led to the library committee taking action at this time, that Russell may have resisted had he been present.

Also, at this time, subscribers were active in their response to financial distress in Scotland, with material assistance and support for Scottish emigration. No doubt subscribers acted both from generosity towards the less well-off and their kinfolk in Scotland, and from self-interest in seeking free-born labour for their enterprises.

It was also stated at the outset that Russell sought to give physical expression to the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment in the church that he planned and built for Evandale, and that the conjoined library-schoolhouse building was similarly evocative of the same traditions of education and self-improvement. It must be remembered that at the time of Russell's arrival at Evandale the township had only the most basic resources. There he built a church, two preaching stations, a school and a library. The data reveals a commonality and strength of patronage for those institutions from within the Evandale community. While the library was possessed of books that expressed the objectives of the Scottish Enlightenment, this position was not exclusive when compared with superior libraries generally. Books that led to an 'improvement of man's understanding of himself, both body and mind, both the individual and the social self; and improvement of his understanding of the natural world'¹⁷ were held by libraries elsewhere in the colony. What this study demonstrates is that Russell

¹⁷ David Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones (eds.), *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730 - 1790. A Hotbed of Genius*, Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996, p.2.

established multiple institutions, foremost a library, which he regarded as necessary for a civilised, literate and confident community.

There is little doubt that it was the example of the Bothwell library and of Captain Wood and the Reverend James Garrett that crystallised the idea of a library for Russell. Having brothers in the colony doubtless encouraged him to emigrate, but it was Wood who engaged him as his children's tutor. The long sea voyage would have allowed the two men to discuss matters of mutual interest. Russell was both a cleric and a scholar. Wood's interests and disposition were such that he assisted in founding the earliest country community-based library in Tasmania. No doubt they conversed about this and other matters, and Russell learned of Wood's experiences at Bothwell.

While there is no direct evidence to link Garrett with Russell's founding of the Evandale Library, they were clearly of like mind. In contrast to their homeland, Tasmania was a new society in the making. For many settlers it offered what could not be achieved, materially or socially, in Britain. For some, the accumulation of wealth came at the expense of all else. Russell spoke of this when he lamented 'the worship that is universally paid to wealth - and more especially in *young countries*.'¹⁸ In a similar statement, Garrett cautioned that 'young Gentlemen ... were not born merely to inherit their father's fortunes, but also to fill those stations in Society which shall be left open to them, when their fathers are no more'.¹⁹ In both instances the clerics emphasised the joint worth of personal attributes and social responsibility.

The Evandale Library was modelled upon the experiences of Bothwell in a very practical sense. In Chapter VIII it has been shown that differences in the collection were minor and likely to have been more the result of the passing of time, learned experience and personal preference, than difference of purpose. In like fashion, the rules differed more in presentation than intent. A major difference between the two institutions was that Bothwell established a lecture series and a museum which Evandale did not. The reason was no doubt because of Evandale's proximity to

¹⁸ Superior Education. The Report of the Commission, *Journals of the Legislative Council (with papers)*, 1860, p.39.

Launceston and its successful Mechanics' Institute. Dr Kenworthy who officiated at both the Launceston Mechanics' Institute and the Evandale Library probably discouraged a rival series of lectures. It is also likely, considering the repetition of speakers, that Bothwell had trouble sustaining the lecture series. The evidence suggests that the reason that Evandale did not follow Bothwell and establish a museum was that it was incidental rather than central to its purpose. In all cases, Evandale, some thirteen years later, had the advantage of Bothwell's experience. Importantly, this study had brought recognition to the Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish tradition in the ideals and practices exercised in the founding of both communities.

It was stated in the Introduction that the other notable influence was that of British publishers and booksellers, in this instance Orger and Meryon, who, by their marketing procedures, shaped the reading habits of colonial readers and maintained the standards and bonds of Empire.²⁰ Despite the gains made by Tasmanian publishers, colonial readers were still largely dependent upon Britain. Of greatest interest in the colony (and still regularly consulted by historians) were the yearly almanacs produced by Ross, Elliston, Melville and others. There is also a degree to which locally published books and periodicals were tainted by the political events and controversy that surrounded newspapers, the proprietors of which later became book publishers. These events included government dictates, convict transportation and religious controversy that were often undercurrents in local publications.

Despite evidence of increased colonial bookselling the practice did not seriously challenge London suppliers until the 1850s. Elizabeth Webby has confirmed that many colonists 'preferred to by-pass local booksellers' and place orders directly with London.²¹ Evidence supports this, with colonial stationers' book labels becoming increasingly noticeable from mid-century. In addition to the greater range available

¹⁹ Mary Ramsay, 'The Bothwell Literary Society and its library', unpublished paper presented to THRA, at TMAG, Hobart. n.d., p.1

²⁰ This matter is the subject of a forthcoming article by the author, 'Orger and Meryon, Booksellers to the Colony', due for publication in the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand *Bulletin* in 2004.

²¹ Elizabeth Anne Webby, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century', Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971, vol.2, p.155

from London, reasons must include the favour shown by colonists to London booksellers as a means of maintaining their bonds with Britain. Large library orders also probably attracted a discount or some financial incentive.

In particular, the London booksellers, Orger and Meryon, promoted their services through local newspapers and supplied community-based and private libraries in Tasmania with books and periodicals. They took advantage of a marketing opportunity by developing commercial relationships in the colony; in so doing they helped to shape the reading habits of colonial readers and maintained intellectual associations. It is argued that Orger and Meryon, through their marketing procedures, contributed towards the popularity of *Bray's Novels* at Evandale. There is nothing to suggest, either in Webby's research or elsewhere, that the series was popular elsewhere in the colonies, or why it should have been included among the library's earliest purchases. Robert Campbell Gunn attests to Orger and Meryon's role as booksellers and their provision of practical benefits to private collectors. For authors, Orger and Meryon allowed William Henty to reach a greater audience and, perhaps more importantly, to gain recognition in Britain. Enquiry in Britain has failed to locate their business records or information concerning their export activities.²² As a result of this study more is known of their business dealings, particularly those in the colony, than from any evidence in London.

Of the library officials, the founding of the Evandale Benevolent Society testifies to their role in alleviating the effects of financial hardship within the wider Evandale community. Their willingness to contribute towards relieving financial distress in Scotland and support for Scottish emigration has already been noted. Of the Benevolent Society, its principal office bearers: Dr Kenworthy, Robert Hunter and John Saffrey Martin were among the library's most active participants. Similarly, its managing committee, for 1851, were all library subscribers, and the society's annual general meeting, held January 1851, was held in the library premises. Kenworthy was the founding president of both institutions. Clearly the role of Dr Kenworthy must not be underestimated.

While John Saffrey Martin's role was vital in the early years, that of William Hepburn Kidd must also not be underestimated. Kidd, like Russell, arrived in the colony from Scotland as a young man, with superior education and training, to pursue his professional calling. The party of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows who, in 1859, visited what they termed the 'school and library' named Russell as its 'creator' and noted the 'able supervision and management of Mr Kidd'.²³ It was under Kidd's management that the borrowing was raised to an even and sustained level.

It is probable that Dr Kenworthy was responsible, either directly or by example, for library subscribers becoming members of the Royal Society of Tasmania, in that his membership preceded that of John Saffrey Martin, F. M. Innes and J. H. Wedge. The records of the Royal Society, held in the archives of the University of Tasmania, in Hobart, show that the membership was mostly confined to the south of the colony, members being able to access the society's library, museum and gardens as well as monthly talks. Martin's membership is otherwise surprising considering that he was less likely to have engaged in activities in Hobart, whereas Innes, Wedge and fellow parliamentarian, William Henty, of Launceston, also a member, were engaged in public affairs beyond the north: their membership is consistent with their public roles. Robert Russell was not a member, which adds support to the argument that the aims upon which he established the Evandale Library were those akin to communities and improvement, rather than to aspects of scientific interest or research, or indeed that he sought public engagement outside his particular community or vocational role.

There is no explanation as to why, in 1856, Kenworthy chose to return to England. Possibly homesickness was an influence, or the failure of the colony to live up to his expectations. Possibly his wife's inheritance enabled him to fulfil long held social ambitions, or as the daughter of a convict mother her origins remained an impediment to her and their children while the family remained in the colony.

²²Orger and Meryon are not known to the John Murray Archive, the St Bride Printing Library, the Guildhall Library or private sources contacted by the writer.

²³ *Launceston Examiner* 29 October 1859.

In contrast to Dr Kenworthy, Russell maintained his work at Evandale, despite frequent bouts of sickness due to overwork, and probably neglect of his health, for thirty four years. His familial support was his brother in mainland Australia with whom he regularly corresponded, but from whom he remained parted (except for recuperation and brief holidays) until his work was done. On at least one occasion in the 1840s he refused a posting to Launceston. Arriving in the colony in 1838, his first leave taken in Scotland was in 1861. Upon his death he bequeathed his property to the Evandale Church.

His employment of a black convict servant while with David Gibson and, later, at his manse, is curious. The Reverend Benjamin Carvosso, who was instrumental in founding the Wesleyan Library in Hobart, and who had earlier attempted Thomas Day's rehabilitation, was prompted to help the prisoner, then awaiting execution, Carvosso having experienced "shuddering horror" at the sight of chained prisoners' upon his arrival in Hobart.²⁴ Duffield's suggestion that Day may have considered himself a "trophy", to be exhibited as a useful, docile, well-trained black gelding"²⁵ may speak for Day, but is inappropriate for Russell given what this study reveals of his character.

It must be said of Russell that just as the colony offered many emigrants, both emancipist and free, the opportunity to enhance their personal circumstances, often through the gain of land and labour on generous terms, it enabled him to achieve both public position and financial security to a level not likely to have been achieved had he remained in Scotland. As a son of a tenant farmer he had neither wealth nor status. In Tasmania, while wealth was clearly not his ambition, in the company of his brothers he achieved a high degree of financial security. In the pursuit of his missionary and community ambitions he gained position and respect and thereby status at all levels.

It must also be said that he failed to engage with what was happening intellectually or culturally in the colony, beyond his own domain. This is suggested on two accounts.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.39.

²⁵ Ian Duffield, 'Daylight on Convict Lived Experience; The History of a Pious Negro Servant', *Exiles of Empire*, Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Studies, vol.6, No.2, 1999, p.43.

Firstly, his library was founded upon British principles and its collection was similarly modelled on British works. Even his recognition of fiction was in keeping with change in Britain, largely the result of the acceptance of Walter Scott. While it is conceded that colonial publishing was in its infancy, with almost no exception neither books nor periodicals of colonial content or by colonial authors gained a place in the collection. To this extent Russell too, had his eyes firmly fixed on Britain.

Secondly, the Royal Society of Tasmania was, in the words of Michael Roe, 'the outstanding learned body in the [Australian] colonies'.²⁶ Its membership included the Reverend James Garrett, who was also among the founders of the Bothwell Literary Society. The Reverend John Lillie, the senior Presbyterian cleric in the colony, was a foundation vice-president and secretary of the society in 1845-48. While Russell's greater distance from Hobart may have led him not to join, such reasons did not deter Dr Kenworthy, F. M. Innes, J. H. Wedge and J. S. Martin, who were all members.

A criticism to be levelled at the Evandale Library is that it failed to engage with the social and educational strata to which Russell referred when reporting to the committee into superior education. There he spoke of 'bringing the children of the rich and poor together, and thus "leavening the lump" [as a means of bringing] inestimable benefits to all classes of the community'.²⁷ Firstly, Table 18 shows that at no time did the active membership exceed 43 subscribers. In 1842 the Morven district comprised 1968 inhabitants²⁸ Even considering the 'multiplier effect' for each household, caused by shared loans, the readership was therefore probably no more than ten per cent of the population. Secondly, Table 11 shows that almost half the subscribers were farmers, of these many owned substantial estates. A further number were of professional or merchant status. It is clear that library subscribers were a minority in the community and that those of lesser status were less well represented.

Reasons why the library membership was not greater or more evenly distributed must include lack of interest, financial restraints, insufficient time and opportunity. That 25

²⁶ Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, p.157.

²⁷ 'Superior Education. The Report of the Commission', p.39.

²⁸ *The Van Diemen's Land Census of the Year 1842*.

subscribers are unidentified and probably of lower social status suggests that the library adopted an egalitarian attitude towards its membership in a manner, to be expected of a Scottish pastor. It may have been, however, that the library, firstly situated in the police office, and later in the schoolhouse, could have intimidated some people - particularly those with low levels of literacy or of low social caste. Moreover, the absence of a reading room no doubt restricted social intercourse that may otherwise have led to increased interest. What remains unanswered is the extent to which Russell's periods of poor health and Kenworthy's departure for Britain may have left the library lacking in energy and leadership. That is whether the founders believed they had achieved all that could be reasonably expected or if, despite their good intentions, their own social aspirations led them to accept a degree of comfort in the situation of preferment that developed.

Afterword

On 18 February 2003, to coincide with John Glover's birth date, a bronze statue of the artist was unveiled by the Governor of Tasmania, the Honourable Sir Guy Green, in Evandale. Funds for the statue were provided by the recently defunct Evandale Agricultural Society, which had outlived its original purpose, and by the recently formed John Glover Society, established to honour the artist, and by the Tasmanian Government. In attendance was an invited audience and others who came to witness the proceedings. Accompanying the event was a book launch, by the society, of the *John Richardson Glover Sketchbook of Evandale*, containing reproductions of original drawings. The original sketchbook, in the possession of the society's chairman, has assisted this study in the identification of library subscribers' residences. The images, the majority associated with library subscribers, demonstrate the extent to which much of the character the earlier era is retained. Similarly, the number and nature of the attendance at the unveiling showed the extent to which the earlier social fabric has survived.

Today, arguably the most worthy set of buildings in the township are those for which Robert Russell was responsible. His church is cared for by devoted trustees, but much reduced in congregation, a reflection of modern times. It is no longer served by a resident pastor but by the visits of those from outside the district. His manse has been preserved by careful owners as a private family residence. The schoolhouse-library building, now also a private home, has lately been restored to its former style by settlers from interstate. All three are memorials to their builder.

Although Archers, Camerons, Gibsons, Mackinnons and Youls still farm the land, the estates their ancestors established are no longer home to such a large labouring population, the result of mechanisation, higher wages and falling agricultural prices. In some respects their present is their heritage, the colonial houses and the land they have worked to retain. In contrast, Glover's estate of *Patterdale* is in the possession of

absentee landlords, his modest homestead now a farm dwelling, a new manager's residence having been built nearby. The district surrounding *Patterdale* is romanticised by being designated 'Glover country'. James Cox's *Clarendon*, devoid of its acreage, is in the ownership of the National Trust of Tasmania and is its centrepiece.

At the time of writing the population of Evandale is 1057,²⁹ nearly half the 1968 inhabitants in 1842. A large number of the present inhabitants commute to Launceston and beyond for their daily employment. Most finding employment in the district do so in association with tourism rather than agriculture. In an era in which governments at all levels adopt Heritage Tourism as a means of economic survival, particularly for country regions, Evandale's founders have left them much on which to build their case.

²⁹ Northern Midlands Council records.



1. View at Evandale from below the house of Robert Russell, by L. Casey

Watercolour, c.1853

Inscribed on verso: *Sketch by my dear wife Letitia taken about 1853 from Cambock, Evandale; residence of our friend Dr Kenworthy. View of bend on the South Esk, from below the house of the Revd Robt Russell, in the direction of Mr David Gibsons. C. Gavin Casey. Launceston, Tasmania. 15th October 1863.*

Collection: QVMAG. Reproduced with permission



2. The Reverend Robert Russell

Photograph, undated

Collection: QVMAG. Reproduced with permission



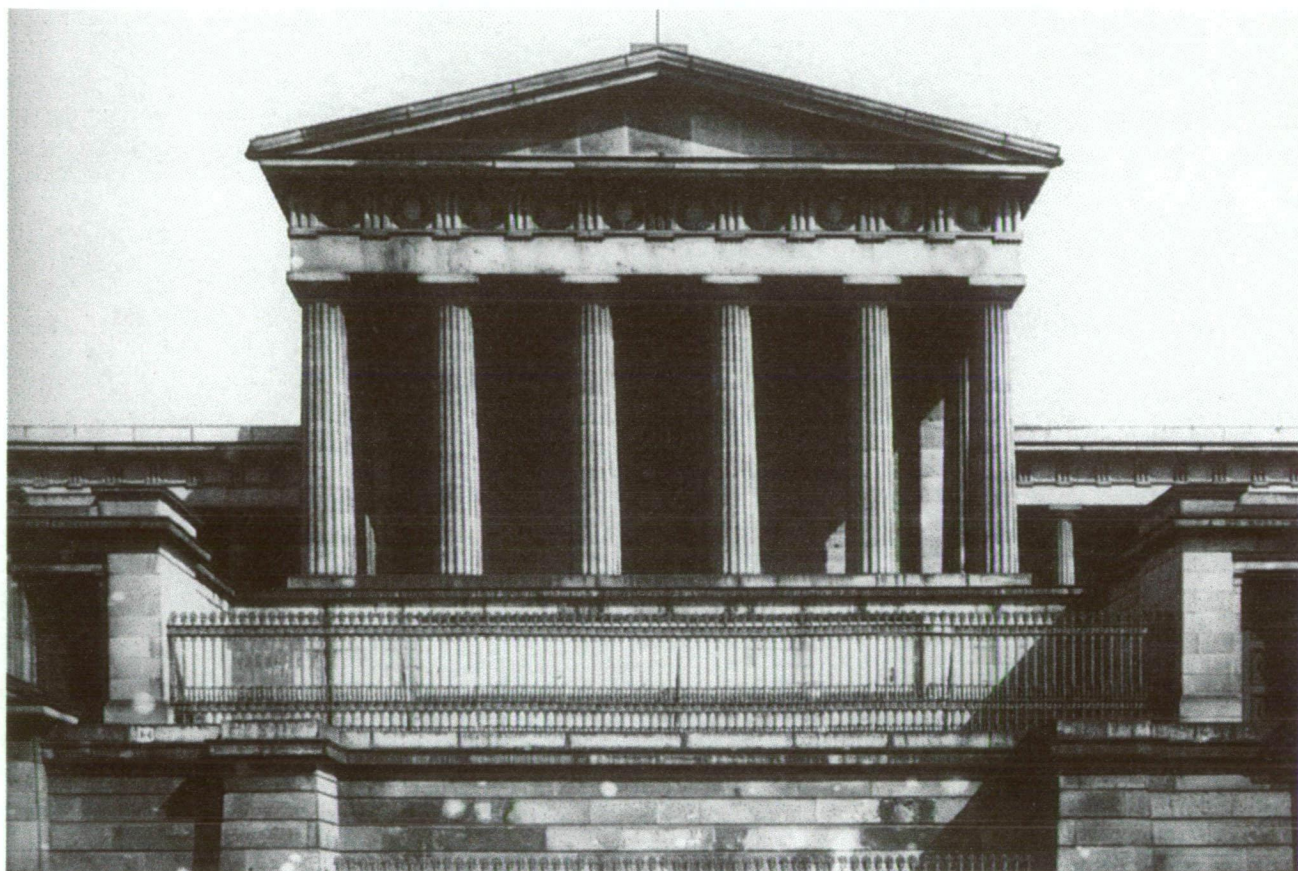
3. Fields behind *Clunie Mains Farm*, near Kirkcaldy, Scotland

Photograph: the author, September 1999



4. Frontispiece to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd ed., 1788

From *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790 A Hotbed of Genius*, Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996



5. Edinburgh High School

From J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival*, London: John Murray, 1995. Reproduced with permission of John Murray (Publishers) Ltd



6. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Evandale

Photograph: the author, September 2002



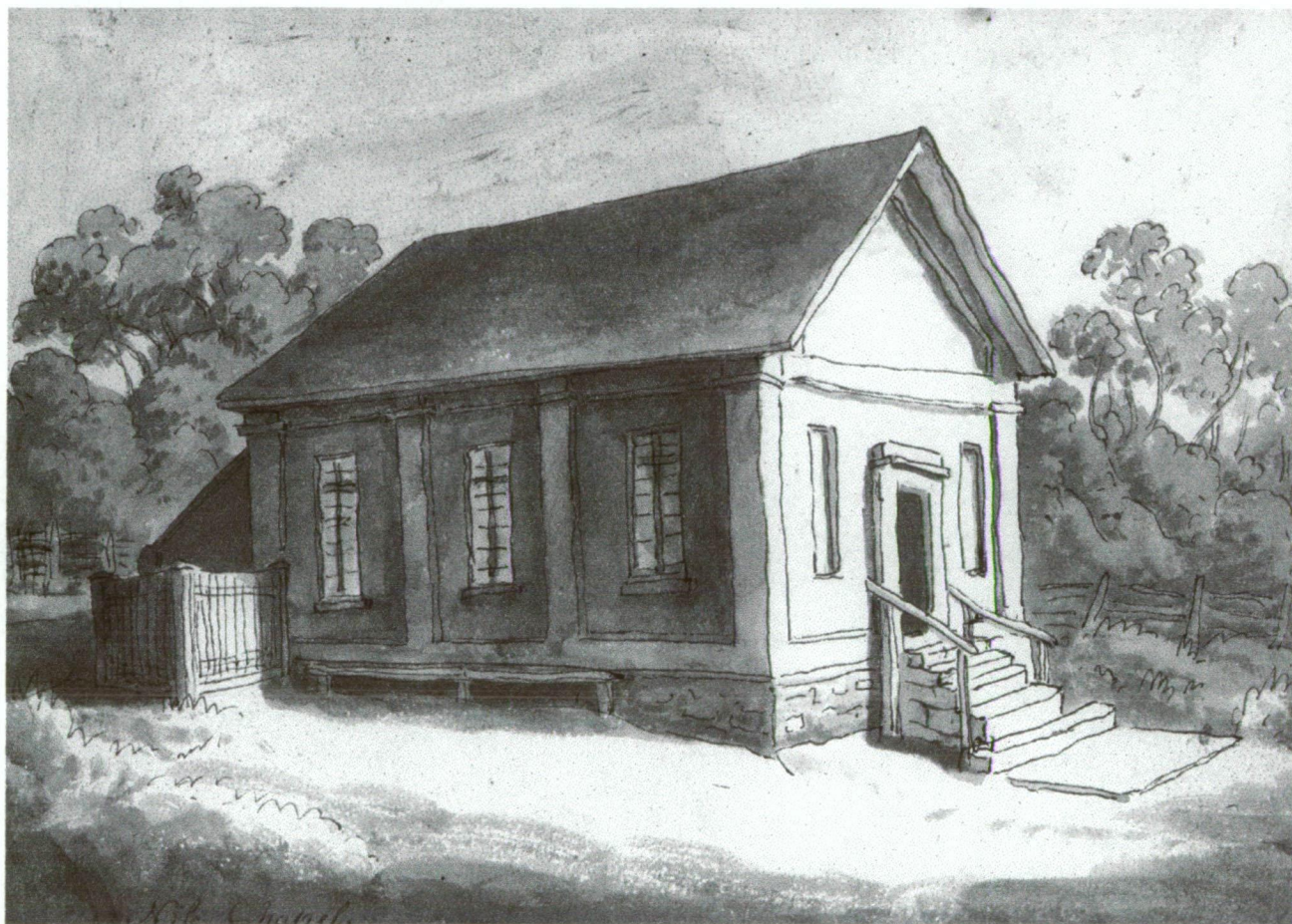
7. The house of Robert Russell, Evandale

Photograph: the author, September 2002. By kind permission by Jill and Harry Atherton



8. The schoolhouse and library building, Evandale (c.1946)

From *Australia's National Trusts. Historic Places*, Canberra: Australian Council of National Trusts, 1993.
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9. The Nile (or Deddington) Chapel, attributed to John Richardson Glover

Pen and ink wash, undated

Private collection. Photograph: John Leeming



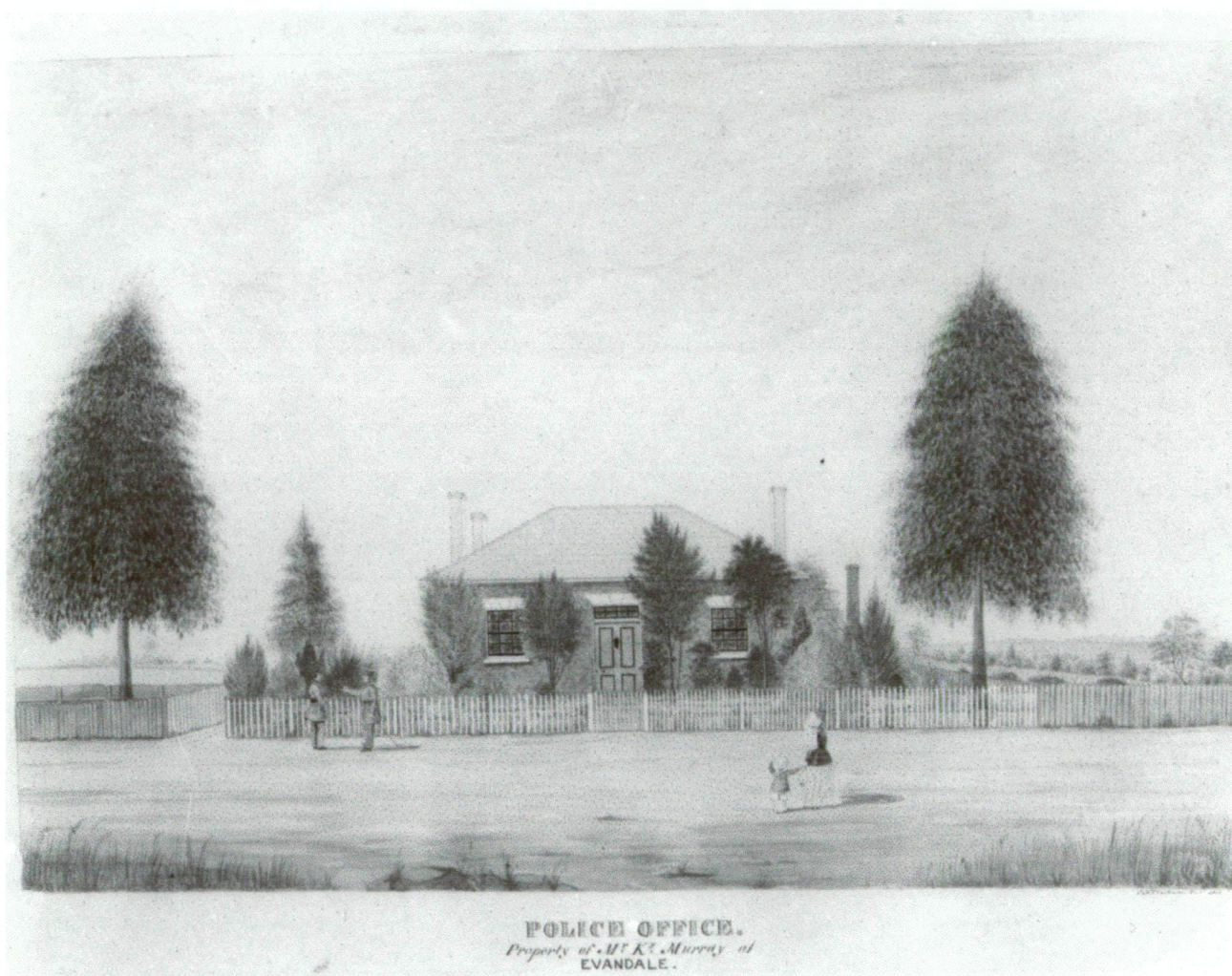
10. The Russell Monument at Evandale

Photograph: the author, September 2002



11. *A View of the Artist's House and Garden, in Mills Plains, Van Diemen's Land*, 1835, by John Glover

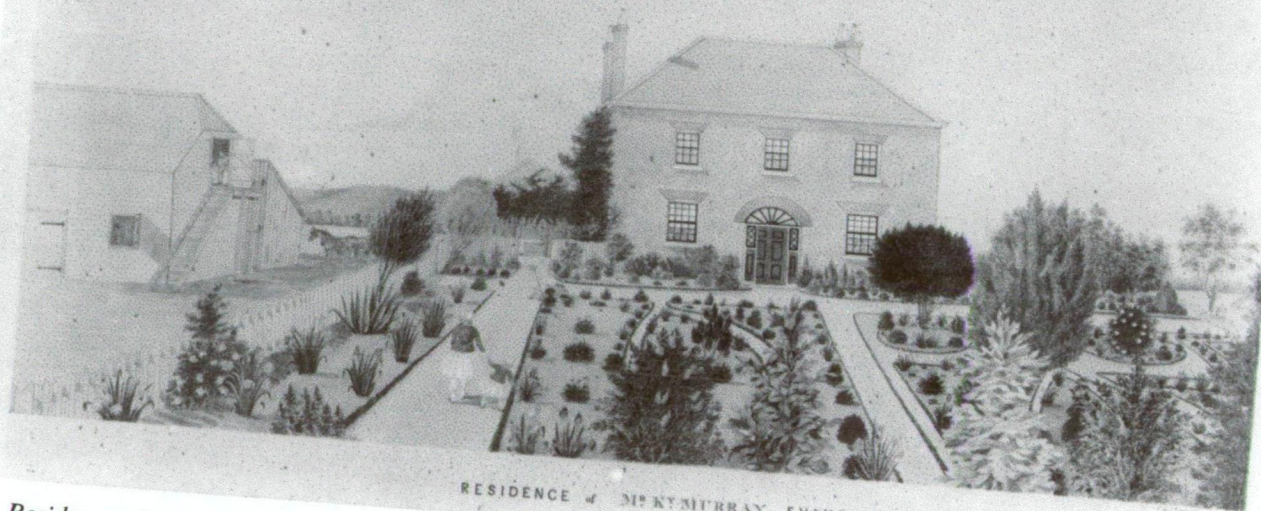
oil on canvas, 76.4 x 114.4 cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide; Morgan Thomas Bequest Fund 1951.
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12. *Police Office. Property of Mr Ky Murray at Evandale 1852*, by C. H. T. Costantini (c.1803-?)

Watercolour, 32 x 47.5 cm.

Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, State Library of Tasmania. Reproduced with permission



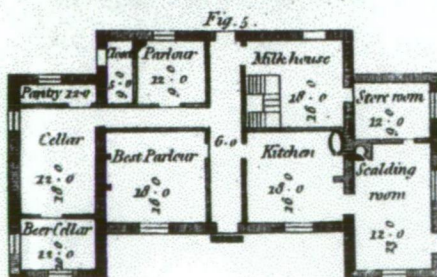
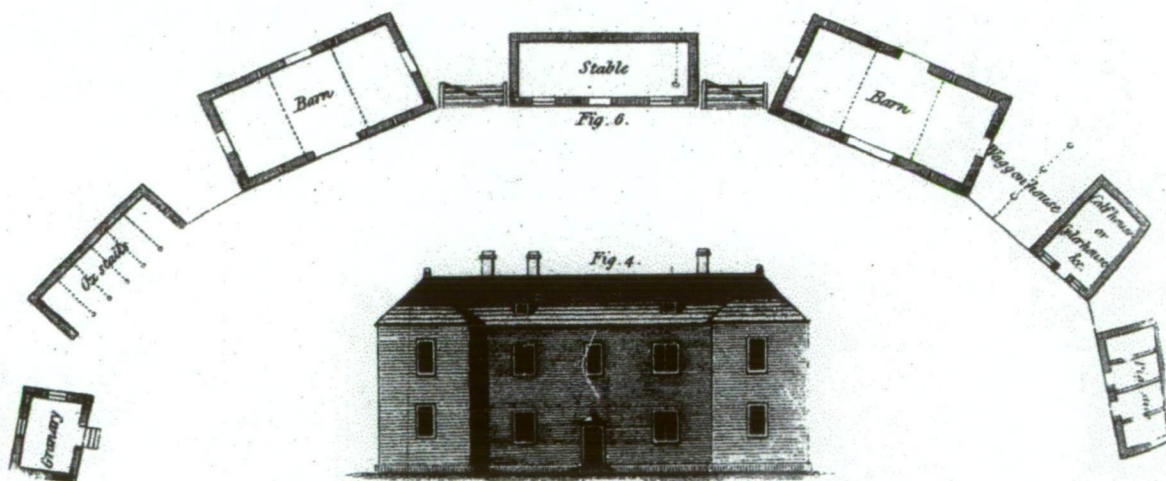
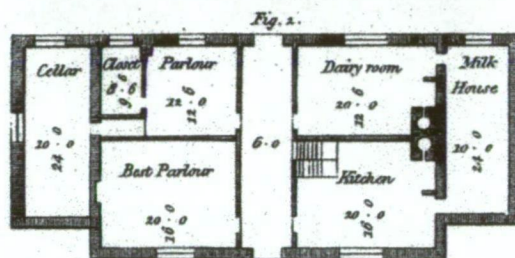
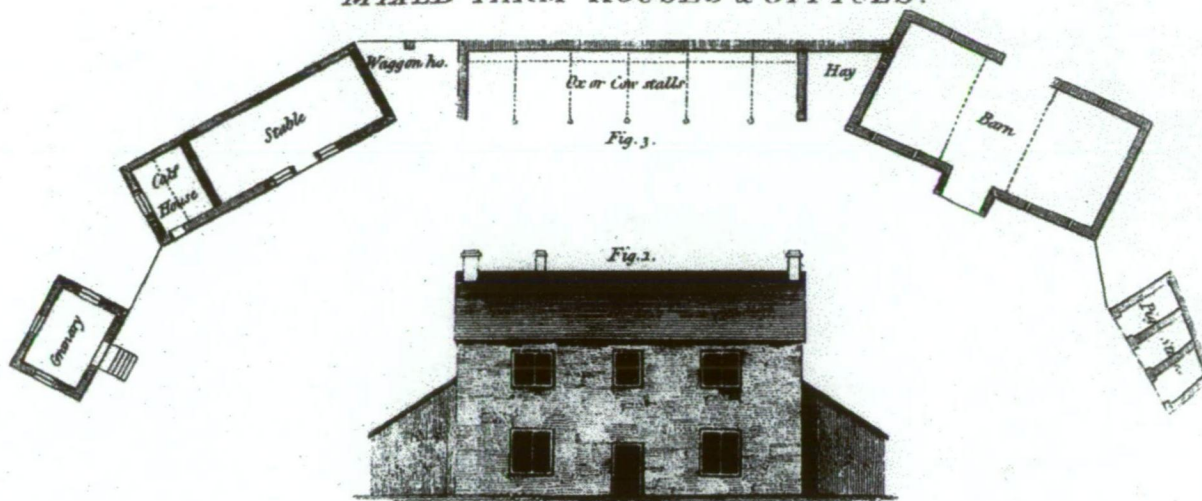
RESIDENCE of MR KY MURRAY. EVANDALE.

13. *Residence of Mr Ky Murray. Evandale, 1852, by C. H. T. Costantini (c.1803-?)*

Watercolour, 35 x 49 cm.

Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, State Library of Tasmania. Reproduced with permission

MIXED FARM HOUSES & OFFICES.



MORVEN ELECTION.

TO THE Independent Electors OF THE DISTRICT OF MORVEN.

FELLOW-ELECTORS,—

Mr. Sinclair tells you that in my letter of the 17th instant I have imputed to him a want of courtesy in not apprising Mr. Cox of his intention to appear as a candidate. I cannot by my silence acquiesce in this statement. I imputed, and do now impute to Mr. Sinclair "a departure from that straightforward line of conduct I had heretofore known him to pursue, by allowing a secret canvass to be made in his own favor, after he had, by his unqualified declarations to Mr. Cox, in the presence of his friends and supporters, induced them to believe that he would not in any way oppose that gentleman's election, and thereby prevented them from taking those active measures to ensure the same, which would otherwise have been deemed necessary." In my letter referred to I stated my belief, that Mr. Sinclair had been induced to adopt this unworthy proceeding by the representations and persuasions of certain unscrupulous parties to whom he had deferred his own better judgment, and to whose dictates and guidance, if I may judge by his recent communication of the 16th instant, inserted in the *Hobart Town Advertiser*, as well as by his letter of the 20th instant, in the *Examiner*, he unhappily appears to have now implicitly resigned himself. Having read those communications, I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction, founded upon an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Sinclair's style of writing, THAT NOT ONE LINE OF THE SAME WAS EITHER DICTATED OR WRITTEN BY HIM, but that the jesuitical evasive productions referred to, were concocted by the versatile genius of Mr. F. M. Innes, patched up by the more sober effusions of Mr. Edward Macdowell, and dove-tailed in with the unblushing fallacies of "Dr. Dion," already inflicted upon the public by that notorious political charlatan. As it is upon the effusions of the last-mentioned worthy that Mr. Sinclair appears to have pinned his political faith and has solicited your support, I would, Fellow-Electors, briefly direct your attention, to one or two of the more prominent points on which this "penny-a-liner" has presumed to insult the common sense of the community. The one object of his writings has been to secure the continuance of transportation and to vilify the conduct and impugn the motives of those who have more prominently opposed the same. In seeking to effect this object he over and over again tells you that a number of your fellow-colonists, amongst whom he names Thomas Archer, James Cox, William Henty, James Robertson, Philip Oakden, J. W. Glendow, and Rev. H. Dowling,—men who are known to you and to the public as possessing, to say the least, an ordinary share of intelligence and sustaining an unblemished reputation, against which the venomous shafts of "Dion" fall harmless,—were in 1839 desirous that transportation under the assignment system should continue, and petitioned accordingly. He then exultingly tells you that in 1847 these very men became the most distinguished amongst the opponents of transportation, and thereupon proceeds to infer the weakness of their cause and to denounce them as a set of "incapables" or "rampant hypocrites." But what is the natural conclusion which every impartial mind will arrive at from this statement? Is it not that the colonists referred to had some very powerful reasons for so altering their declared opinions upon the subject of transportation? And are not these reasons known to the whole community? Was it not between the years 1839 and 1847 that the accursed probation system was carried out in our devoted colony,—a system under which

thirty thousand British felons were forced upon us, and twelve thousand originally free and emancipated persons driven out? Was it not during this period that those abominations were perpetrated, the official revelations of which excited the astonishment and execrations of the whole civilised world, and drew forth those powerful denunciations from the British press which, rather than the perpetration of the enormities themselves, would appear to have so especially excited the righteous indignation of Messrs. "Dion" and Sinclair, and some of which are set forth by the latter in his chosen vehicle the *Hobart Town Advertiser* as unequalled atrocities. I would, however, refer Mr. Sinclair and his friend "Dion" to the official reports of the state of things existing in the depots of male and female convicts during the period referred to, as justifying these denunciations to the very uttermost. It was this knowledge of the facts I have briefly hinted at, which forced itself upon the colonists referred to, and caused them to shrink from the appalling evils which were thus invading them and their children, throughout the length and breadth of the land, and impelled them, despite their former impressions and prejudices in favor of transportation, earnestly to strive for its immediate and total abolition.—And is not this fact a powerful argument in favor of the anti-transportation cause and of the sincerity of these its supporters—instead of, as "Dion" has the audacity to assert, an instance of the weakness of the one and the insincerity of the other? But what is the motive fabricated by "Dion" and retailed by Mr. Sinclair, as influencing the colonists in their change of opinion? Having first made it their main stay in advocating the continuance of transportation that its cessation would involve ruinously high prices of labor, they have the unblushing effrontery to assert that those colonists who have striven for the abolition of transportation have so striven because they have to pay sixpence per day for the convict labor now at their command. This absurdity requires no further comment than that it is a fair sample of the gross falsehoods and misrepresentation of the unprincipled "Dion," who would sell the best interests of the colonists to perpetuate a system; through which he derives his support from an insulted community—and it is only astonishing that his glaring absurdities should not have been detected by Mr. Sinclair, who, upon all matters apart from the Convict question, is considered a man of good sense and discernment.

But leaving the patriotic "Dion" with a recommendation to return to the discreet obscurity in which he has heretofore shrouded himself, and quietly to eat his dearly bought Mess of Pottage, I would ask the small and tenant-farmers of Morven, whose sympathies and support Mr. Sinclair most pathetically implores, what this boasted cheap convict labor—this vaunted Government expenditure, which alone can save them from irretrievable ruin, has hitherto done for them, or for their candidate, Mr. Sinclair? who wedged, as he is said to be, to the Convict system, must certainly have had his full share of "connubial bliss" in the happy probation era that is past? I will tell you what it has done for you, and you will, I am sure, allow that, so far as the "small and tenant-farmers of Morven are concerned, I have had, from my extensive connection with a great number of them (for many years past), a better opportunity of forming an opinion than any other man in the district.

What, then, has this "cheap" convict labor done for them? They have been deluded and ensnared by

it. It has induced them, during a series of years, to take charge of, for the Government, feed and pay, a vast number of convicts, employing them upon large tracts of inferior land in the cultivation of grain, which has upon an average of years realised a price under the cost of production, and at the end of each year left the tenant farmer, his toiling wife and uneducated and half-clothed children, in a worse situation than they were at the beginning. The Government and the convicts alone have profited. TENANT FARMERS has not this been the case?

And what has the "Government Expenditure" done for you or the community at large? Merely excited an absurd competition as to who should be the happy individuals to obtain the privilege of supplying the convicts of the British Empire on the hands of the Government with their bread and meat at prices which have been ruinous to the producers, that the money obtained for such supplies might go towards defraying the support and wages of those convicts who have been employed by the settlers in producing them. This, I assert, without fear of contradiction, is a true picture of the application of the Convict Expenditure, and the advantages it has entailed upon the colony. And now what has the pick and choice of this cheap labor and this coveted Convict Expenditure done for the Candidate for your suffrages, Mr. Sinclair? I unhesitatingly tell you that it had so far "done for him" that, although without "chick or child," had it not happened that he had a large stock of last year's wheat on hand which commanded the high prices of the present season of scarcity, he could not have qualified as your Representative.

And will you, by your votes for Mr. Sinclair, endeavor to perpetuate this state of things—will you advocate the continuance of a system which will drive out your children from the land of their birth, a system which has excited the attention and aroused the opposition, not only of a large majority of your fellow-colonists, whose opinions on other matters you would not undervalue, but of the whole of the Australian Colonies,—a system which is now tottering to its base, and will, ere long, inevitably fall, leaving the miserable remnant who would fain bolster it up, an object of scorn and derision to the whole civilised world.

Now, then, Brother Electors, whilst yet an opportunity is afforded you, avoid this reproach and everlasting shame, range yourselves on the side of FREEDOM. VOTE FOR MR. COX, who has brought up amongst you a numerous family, whose interests are identical with those of your children; who has established about him a circle of THRIVING TENANTRY, which he is desirous to extend; who has been the employer of a large amount of free labor and mechanical skill; who is notoriously THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND; and who has on all occasions come forward to advocate or support the best interests of his fellow-colonists.

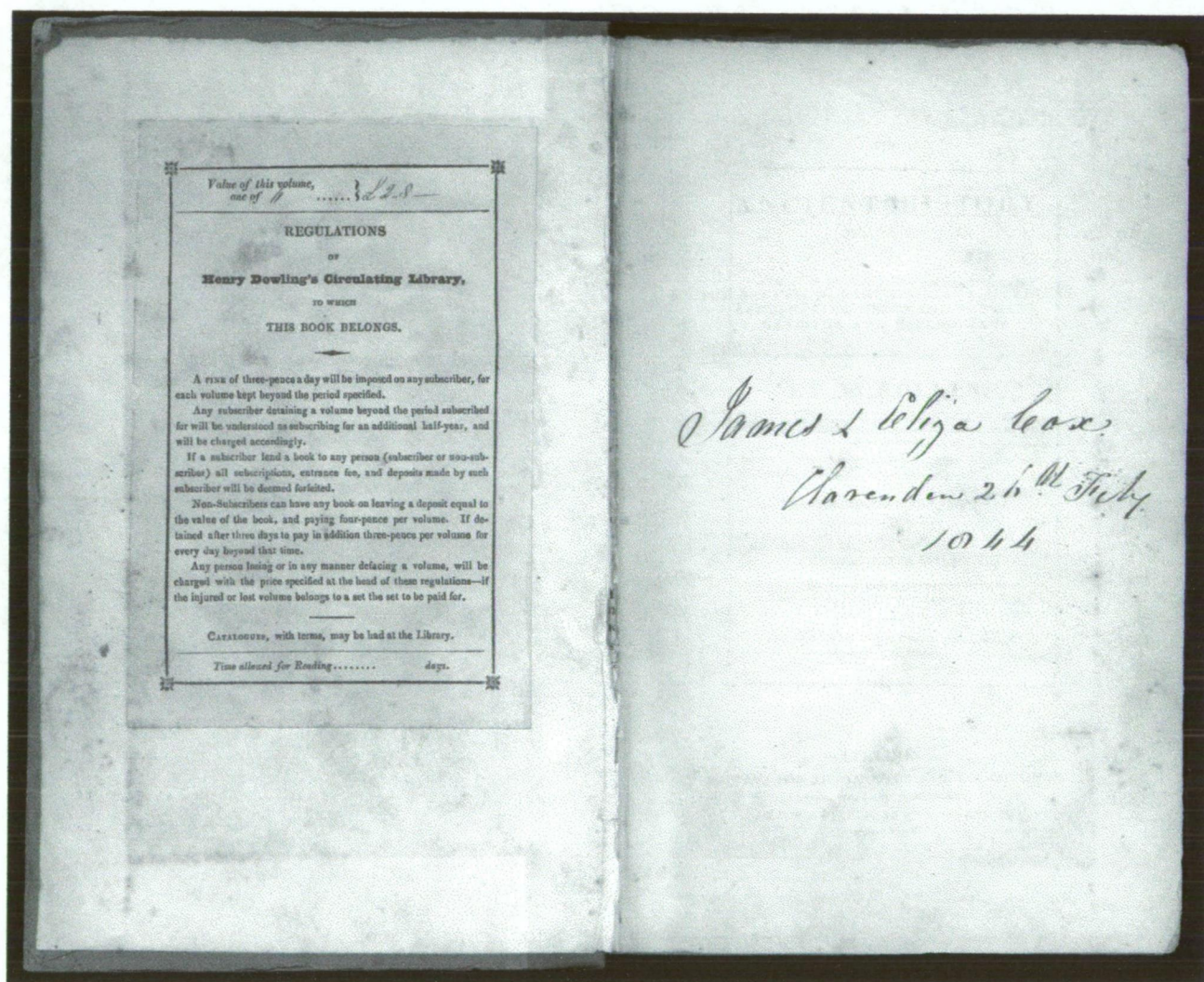
Leave Mr. Sinclair to employ his DEAR convict labor, and avail himself of the exertions of the half-paid convict mechanics so long as he can get them, and come forth prepared to GIVE THE LABORER THE FULL AMOUNT OF HIS HIRE, and to pay the free mechanic and artisan those wages to which their skill and industry fairly entitle them, and then and then only can you expect to prosper.

I remain,
Fellow Electors,
Your sincere friend and well-wisher,

THEODORE BARTLEY.

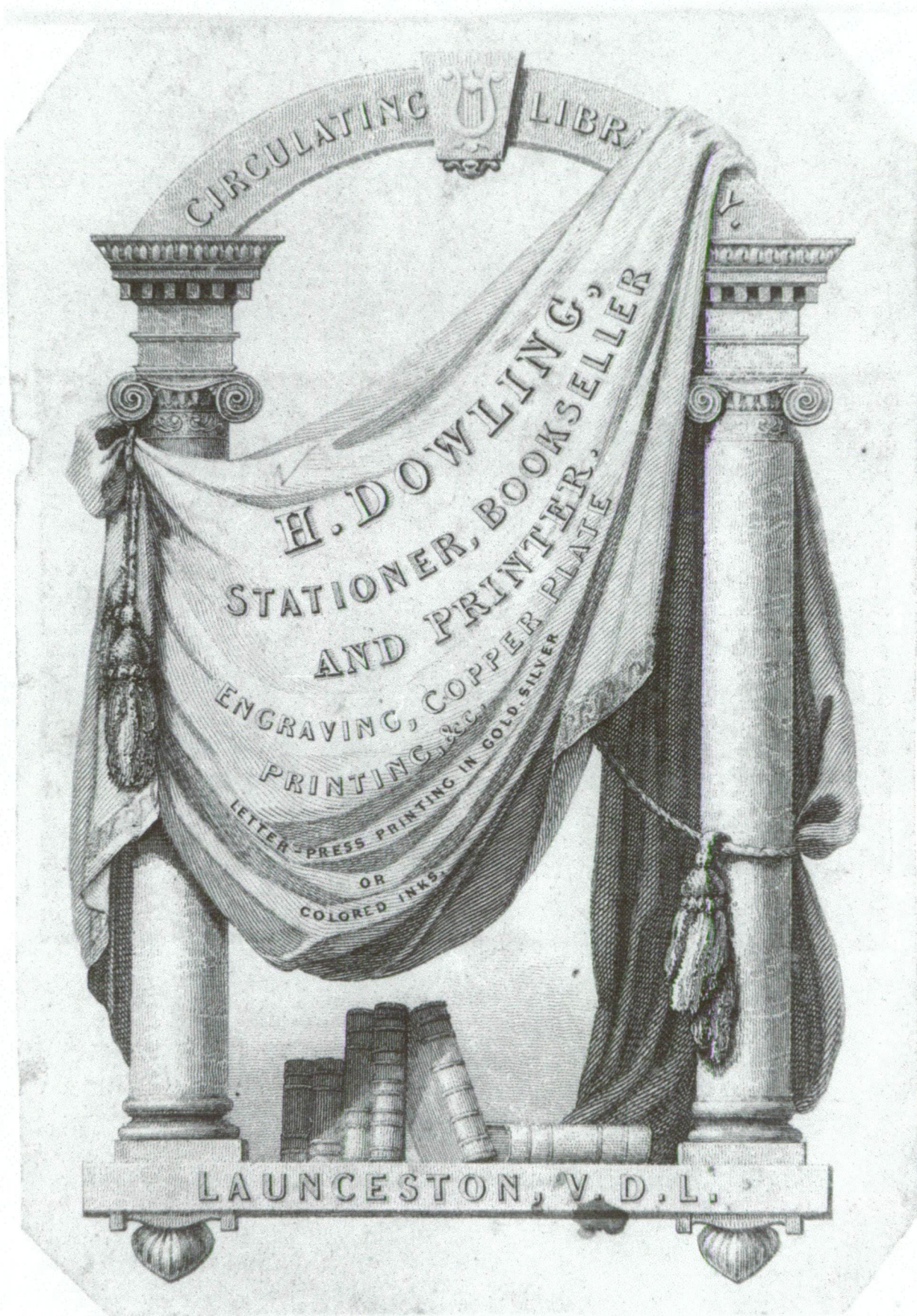
Kerry Lodge, October 23.

Printed and Published at the LAUNCESTON EXAMINER Office, situate in Charles-street, in Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, by JONATHAN STANBRO WADDELL, residing in Patterson-street, in Launceston aforesaid, Printer.



16. Bookplate of Henry Dowling's Circulating Library. Type 1

From volume in the collection of the National Trust of Australia (Tasmania), at Clarendon. Reproduced with permission



17. Bookplate of Henry Dowling's Circulating Library. Type 2

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18. Booksellers label of Orger and Meryon

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| Fine Bath Post " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Satin Post, Tinted or Plain " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thick Post, Laid, Yellow, and Blue Wove .. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Thin Post " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Thick " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Extra Large Thin " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large Bank Post, for Foreign Corres- pondence } | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Extra Large Bank Post " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Best Foolscap 4 Rm. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ditto, Extra Thick | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fine Foolscap | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Outside Foolscap | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Line ditto, or Brief, (36 & 42 lines) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fine Laid and Yellow Wove Pot .. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Copying Paper, Large Post 4to. ... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Copying Paper, Foolscap | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Copy or Draft Paper, Laid and Blue Wove 4to } | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Superfine Blotting, Red and White | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Outside Yellow Wove Printing Demy for Apothecaries } | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Coloured Demy & Coloured Foolscap | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Filtering Paper 4 Rm. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tissue Paper, Plain and Coloured | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stout Brown Papers, large and small, for Packing } | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cartridge, Small-hand, or Whitened Brown } | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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Letter Copying Machines with Stand,
constructed on the newest principles
Inkstands in Pewter, Ebony, and Bronze
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Best Office Pencils
Red Tape
Envelopes
Hones and Strogs

Wax Tapers and Stands
Mahogany Bill Boxes, with divisions
Russia and Morocco Pocket Books, with
spring clasps and catches
Bankers' Cases
Japan, Tin, and Chip Wafer Boxes
Notarial Seals and Presses
Invitation and other Compliment Notes
Black Roan and other Blotting Portfolios
Wafer Stamps with or without Initials
Superfine Writing Ink

Superfine Copying Ink
Ditto Red Ink
Green and Black Ebony Rulers
Improved Wire Brass Map and Plan
Files
Wedgwood's Portable Manifold Letter
Writers
Blank Forms of Police, Post, and
Quarto
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Mordan's ditto.

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HHH for Architects
HH for Engineering & Outlining
BB extra for Deep Shading
FF ditto for Light ditto
HB Hard and Black for Drawing

H Hard for Drawing
B Deep Shading ditto
M Medium ditto
F General use

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Elephant 28 .. 25 1/2

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Double Elephant 40 .. 32 1/2
Antiquarian 43 .. 35 1/2
Ditto, extra large 50 .. 40 1/2

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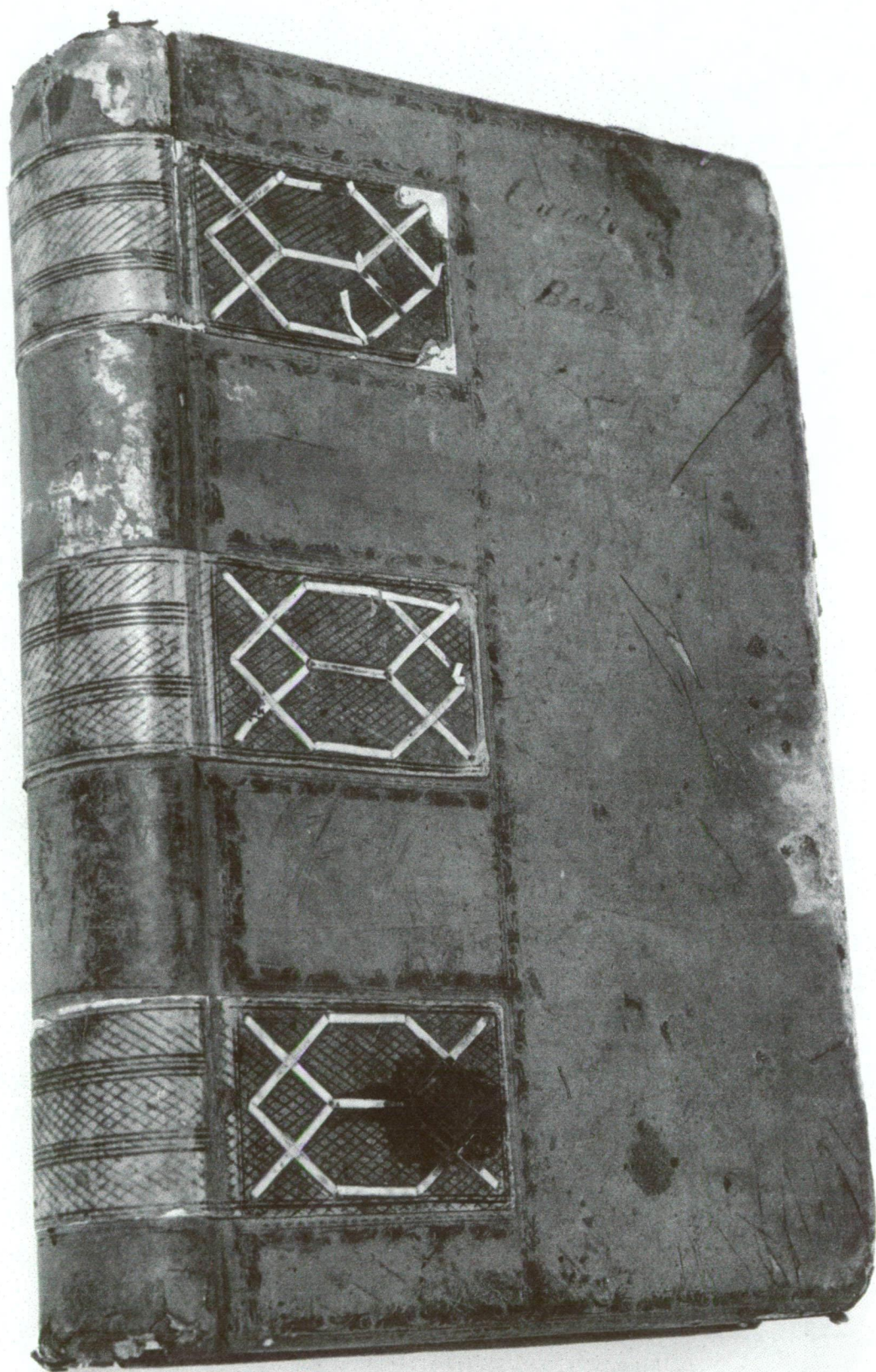
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20. Matthew Ralston

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21 The *Catalogue* of the Evandale Subscription Library

Collection: QVMAG. Reproduced with permission

Donations of Books

presented to the

Evangelical Subscription Library

by

Robert Wales Esquire

The Hermitage London 2 vols.
Eve Effingham 3 vols
Waverley 3 vols
Roderick 1 vol
Waterwitch 1 vol
Peter Pindar's Works 1 vol
Rurus (David) Poetry 1 vol
Two Years in Ara 1 vol
Modern Europe 6 vols
Watson's Chemical Essays 5 vols
Guardian 2 vols
Humbler 1 vol
Observer 1 vol

J. R. Salmon Esq^r

Pastor's friends 12 vols
Roche Blanche 3 vols
Adventure 3 vols
World 3 vols
Cannibalism 3 vols
Jolly 1 vol
Minn 2 vols
Younger 2 vols
Olla Podrida 1 vol
Winter Evenings 3 vols

(Continued)

Periodicals

| Name | Date | Date Rec'd | Date | Date Rec'd | Date | Date Rec'd |
|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------|
| Atlas | March 11 ¹⁸⁴⁸ | July 12 ¹⁸⁴⁸ | Dec 2 ¹⁸⁴⁸ | April 11 ¹⁸⁴⁹ | Sep 15 ¹⁸⁴⁹ | July 17/50 |
| " | 18 | " | 9 | " | Oct 13 | Feb 7 |
| " | 25 | " 15 | Oct 21 | " 21 | " 20 | " |
| " | 4 | " | " 28 | " | " 27 | " |
| April 15 | Aug 9 | Nov 4 | " | " 6 | March 2 | " |
| " 22 | " | Dec 30 | May 24 | Sep 22 | " | " |
| " 29 | " | Feb 3 49 | " 26 | Nov 10 | April 1 | " |
| " 1 | " 26 | Jan 6 | June 23 | " 17 | " | " |
| " 8 | " 28 | " 13 | " | Dec 1 | " 17 | " |
| May 6 | Sep 18 | " 20 | " | " 8 | " | " |
| " 27 | Oct 10 | " 27 | " | " 15 | " | " |
| " 13 | " 12 | Feb 10 | " | Nov 3 | May 18 | " |
| " 20 | " | " 17 | " | Jan 5/50 | June 20 | " |
| June 3 | " 19 | " 24 | " | " 12 | " | " |
| " 10 | " | Mar 17 | July 3 | " 19 | " | " |
| " 24 | " | " 24 | " | Feb 2 | " | " |
| July 1 | Nov 8 | " 3 | Aug 14 | Jan 26 | July 14 | " |
| " 8 | " 20 | " 10 | " | Feb 9 | " | " |
| " 15 | " | May 5 | " 30 | " 16 | Sept | " |
| " 22 | " | March 31 | Sep 7 | " 23 | " | " |
| " 29 | Dec 6 | April 7 | " | Mar 2 | July 30 | " |
| Aug 6 | " | " 14 | " | " 16 | " | " |
| " 12 | " 16 | " 21 | " | " 23 | " | " |
| " 26 | Jan 6 ¹⁸⁴⁹ | " 28 | " | " 30 | " | " |
| Sep 2 | " | May 12 | " | April 6 | Aug 5 | " |
| " 9 | " 16 | June 2 | Oct 16 | " 27 | " 20 | " |
| " 16 | " | " 23X | Nov 1 | " 20 | " 27 | " |
| Aug 19 | " | July 7 | " 26 | " 13 | " | " |
| Sep 23 | " 23 | " 14 | " | May 11 | Sep 16 | " |
| " 30 | " | " 24 | Dec 3 | " 18 | " | " |
| Oct 7 | Feb 6 | Aug 4 | " | May 15 | Oct 11 | " |
| " 14 | " 26 | " 11 | " | June 29 | " | " |
| Nov 18 | Apr 7 | July 28 | " 20 | " 8 | " 15 | " |
| " 25 | " | Aug 25 | Jan 17/50 | " 22 | " | " |
| Dec 16 | " | Sep 1 | " | " 1 | " 31 | " |
| Nov 11 | " 11 | " 8 | " | July 6 | Nov 6 | " |

James H. H. H.

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[illegible]

Ralston Elizabeth

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|
| 25/1/48 | 2/3/48 | 18/5/48 | 31/5/48 | 15/6/48 | 29/6/48 | 13/7/48 | March |
| No of books | 1/2061x | (1816.1819) | (1818.1819) | (1820) | (1821) | (1822) | |
| Returned | 20/3/48 | 31/3/48 | 23/6/48 | 29/6/48 | 13/7/48 | 15/7/48 | |
| 15/7/48 | 1/7/48 | 21/5/48 | 18/6/48 | 25/7/48 | 2/10/48 | 13/11/48 | 2/10/48 |
| (1807) | (1804.1806) | (1813.1815) | (1819) | (1841) | (1884) | 1887 & 1888 | 1888 |
| 17/7/48 | 12/8/48 | 11/9/48 | 25/9/48 | 9/10/48 | 16/10/48 | 27/10/48 | 10/11/48 |
| 25/10/48 | 9/12/48 | 25/12/48 | 6/1/49 | 20/1/49 | 24/1/49 | 2/2/49 | 2/3/49 |
| 266 | (88) | (88) | (264) | (264) | (23) | (1893) | (1873) |
| 9/12/48 | 25/12/48 | 6/1/49 | 20/1/49 | 2/2/49 | 7/2/49 | 2/3/49 | 27/3/49 |
| 1/4/49 | 25/4/49 | 3/4/49 | 2/5/49 | 31/5/49 | 14/6/49 | 28/6/49 | 27/7/49 |
| 1894 | (1834) | (1222) | 266 | 1812 & 1895 | (1829 & 1885) | 1894 | 1894 |
| 25/4/49 | 30/4/49 | 13/5/49 | 15/5/49 | 14/6/49 | 28/6/49 | 2/7/49 | 2/8/49 |
| 2/8/49 | 2/9/49 | 22/9/49 | 29/9/49 | 20/10/49 | 31/10/49 | 4/11/49 | 4/11/49 |
| 1894 | 1894 | 34 | 1892 & 30 | (278.279) | 28241039 | 548995 | |
| 2/9/49 | 15/9/49 | 20/10/49 | 23/10/49 | 31/10/49 | 2/11/49 | 20/11/49 | 30/11/49 |
| 10/11/49 | 31/10/49 | 20/11/49 | 27/11/49 | 5/12/49 | 18/12/49 | 16/2/50 | 21/2/50 |
| (1914 1222) | 275.279 | 1920 1921 | 1908 | 273 | 288 | (1908) | (1923) |
| 16/11/49 | 21/11/49 | 13/11/49 | 27/11/49 | 8/12/49 | 19/12/49 | 27/12/49 | 20/2/50 |
| 11/3/50 | 25/3/50 | 28/3/50 | 10/4/50 | 19/4/50 | 24/4/50 | 6/5/50 | 6/5/50 |
| (244) | 1296 | (1905) | (1927) | (1230) | 1910 | 1897 | 1857 1858 |
| 25/3/50 | 8/4/50 | 8/4/50 | 23/4/50 | 26/4/50 | 11/5/50 | 16/5/50 | 16/5/50 |
| 16/5/50 | 27/5/50 | 28/5/50 | 7/6/50 | 17/6/50 | 25/6/50 | 8/7/50 | 9/7/50 |
| 1898.1899 | (1910) | (1902) | 1908 | 295 & 296 | 1909 | 1902 | (1902) |
| 25/5/50 | 10/6/50 | 7/6/50 | 14/6/50 | 20/6/50 | 9/7/50 | 8/8/50 | 25/7/50 |
| 23/8/50 | 16/9/50 | 16/9/50 | 16/9/50 | 16/12/50 | 8/1/51 | | |
| 1833 1050 | 1623 & 1624 & 536 | (1833.1050) | | 708 | 1948.1950 | | |
| 16/9/50 | 16/9/50 | 3/10/50 | 30/12/50 | 18/1/51 | | | |
| 18/1/51 | 31/1/51 | 24/1/51 | 4/2/51 | 14/2/51 | 28/2/51 | 29/3/51 | 18/3/51 |
| (1951) | 1951 (1908.1950) | 1953 1954 | 1957 | 1912 | 1054 | 1904 1054 | 1937.1939 |
| 31/1/51 | 14/2/51 | 10/2/51 | 10/2/51 | 24/2/51 | 30/2/51 | 29/3/51 | 26/3/51 |
| 6/4/51 | 26/6/51 | 4/9/51 | 4/9/51 | 10/9/51 | 1/10/51 | 30/10/51 | |
| 1947 (1914) | 1929 | 1906 | 21 | 1945-1925 | 310 1895 | | (1968) |
| 20/4/51 | 30/4/51 | 20/9/51 | 14/9/51 | 20/9/51 | 21/9/51 | 12/9/51 | 1/11/51 |
| 2/3/52 | 15/4/52 | | | 22/2/53 | 4/3/53 | 22/3/53 | |
| (1626 1893) | (339 346 1913 1960) | 1950 | 706 2014 | 2014 | 22 1891 | | |
| 10/3/52 | 26/4/52 | | 4/3/53 | 12/3/53 | 80/3/52 | | |
| 30/3/53 | (1891 1959 1258) | | 27/8/55 | | | | |
| (1953) | 1/6/53 | | 385 | | | | |
| 12/4/53 | 20/6/53 | | 27/1/55 | | | | |

25. Page from the Catalogue, showing Elizabeth Ralston's borrowing

| | | | |
|---------------|------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| 29/7/56 | 11/8/56 | 11/8/56 | 8/9/56 |
| (402 - 403) | 1134, 1236 | 396 397 | 1135 1146 1147 1148 |
| 11/8/56 | 8/9/56 | 8/9/56 | |
| 1134, 1135 | | | |
| 9/27/56 | 9/4/59 | 9/4/59 | 9/4/59 |
| 1134, 1135 | 1360, 9.15. | 1850, J.R. | 1848, J.R. 2297 Aub. P. |
| | 9/4/59 | | |
| | 1212 San Har. 1655, 20 | | |
| | J. Sal. J. Mac. | | |
| 14, 1239 | | | |
| Dec. 27, 1240 | | | |
| 1219 July 7 | | | |
| 1230 July 7 | | | |
| 1241 July 7 | | | |
| 1242 July 7 | | | |
| 1243 July 7 | | | |
| 1244 July 7 | | | |
| 1245 July 7 | | | |
| 1246 July 7 | | | |
| 1247 July 7 | | | |
| 1248 July 7 | | | |
| 1249 July 7 | | | |
| 1250 July 7 | | | |
| 1251 July 7 | | | |
| 1252 July 7 | | | |
| 1253 July 7 | | | |
| 1254 July 7 | | | |
| 1255 July 7 | | | |
| 1256 July 7 | | | |
| 1257 July 7 | | | |
| 1258 July 7 | | | |
| 1259 July 7 | | | |
| 1260 July 7 | | | |
| 1261 July 7 | | | |
| 1262 July 7 | | | |
| 1263 July 7 | | | |
| 1264 July 7 | | | |
| 1265 July 7 | | | |
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| 1268 July 7 | | | |
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| 1270 July 7 | | | |
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| 1280 July 7 | | | |
| 1281 July 7 | | | |
| 1282 July 7 | | | |
| 1283 July 7 | | | |
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| 1287 July 7 | | | |
| 1288 July 7 | | | |
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| 1290 July 7 | | | |
| 1291 July 7 | | | |
| 1292 July 7 | | | |
| 1293 July 7 | | | |
| 1294 July 7 | | | |
| 1295 July 7 | | | |
| 1296 July 7 | | | |
| 1297 July 7 | | | |
| 1298 July 7 | | | |
| 1299 July 7 | | | |
| 1300 July 7 | | | |

26. Page from the Catalogue, showing W. H. Kidd's borrowing

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Evered's Subscription Library

Catalogue

| No | Names | Vol |
|-----------------------|---|-----|
| <u>Encyclopaedias</u> | | |
| 18 | Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopaedia | 18 |
| 19 | Voyage up the Amazon & Wayside Notes | 1 |
| 20 | The Wanderer's Sketch | 1 |
| 21 | Gleij's Waterloo | 1 |
| 22 | Laromoin Tales & Philip's Magazine | 1 |
| 23 | Adventures on Mexico & Boston | 1 |
| 24 | Melville's Marquesas Islands | 1 |
| 25 | Persia by Sir J. Malcolm | 1 |
| 26 | Ford's Thru | 1 |
| 27 | Portugal & Galicia by Carl Lammert | 1 |
| 28 | Memoirs of Father Kippa & his West Indies | 1 |
| 29 | Omoo by Melville | 1 |
| 30 | Borrow's Bible in Spain | 1 |
| 31 | War of Liberation in Germany | 1 |
| 32 | Fish & Mangles, travels & ship of the world | 1 |
| 33 | Meredith's New South Wales & Parramatta of Madras | 1 |
| 34 | Aug. & Geo. Heber's Narrative | 2 |
| 35 | Fluy's Morocco & Letters from the Beldia | 1 |
| 36 | Darwin's Journal of Researches | 1 |
| 37 | Salis Brigade & Letters from Madras | 1 |
| 38 | The French in Algiers & Fate of the Jesuits | 1 |
| 39 | Head's Pamphlets & the Sieges of Vienna | 1 |
| 40 | Borrow's Gypsies of Spain | 1 |
| 41 | Delaney's India & British Campaigns at | 1 |
| 42 | Washington No | 1 |
| 43 | Mahon's Life of Condé | 1 |
| 44 | Bracebridge Hall | 1 |
| 45 | Wild Sports in the Highlands | 1 |
| | | 15 |

Murray's Home & Colonial Library

Tables

Table 1

Subject categories of books in the Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861 and their relative popularity in percentage terms

| Category | Percentage of the total bookstock | Percentage borrowed from the collection |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Agriculture and Botany | 1.4 | 0.4 |
| Arts and Sciences | 5.6 | 1.3 |
| Biography | 15.4 | 9.4 |
| Encyclopaedias, Libraries, &c. | 6.2 | 6.0 |
| Fiction and Poetry | 21.0 | 49.0 |
| History | 13.3 | 8.2 |
| Magazines, Essays, and Letters | 15.7 | 13.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 4.8 | 2.8 |
| Moral and Natural Philosophy | 4.0 | 2.1 |
| Theology | 3.5 | 1.1 |
| Voyages and Travels | 9.1 | 6.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 2

Subject categories of books in the Bothwell Literary Society library, as listed in the published catalogue of 1856, in percentage terms.

The Bothwell and Evandale library catalogues present data using different methods both of categorisation and presentation and therefore, do not offer direct comparisons. The percentages given are for titles not volumes in the case of multi-volume works.

| Category | Percentage of the total bookstock |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Agriculture | 1.0 |
| Biography, Memoirs, &c. | 9.4 |
| Cyclopaedias, Dictionaries, &c. | 1.2 |
| Fiction, Novels, Tales, Romances | 19.5 |
| Geology | 1.1 |
| History, Antiquities, Mythology, Topography | 17.4 |
| Moral and Mental Philosophy, Criticisms, Essays, Letters, and Miscellaneous Literature | 6.3 |
| Natural History, Botany, Physiology | 6.7 |
| Periodicals, Reviews, Magazines, &c. | 4.5 |
| Poetry and Drama | 6.3 |
| Science, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Physical Geography, &c.-Arts, Manufacture, &c. | 5.6 |
| Theology, Polemics, Church History, &c. | 3.6 |
| Voyages, Travels, &c. | 17.4 |
| Total | 100 |

Table 3

Titles most frequently borrowed from the Evandale Subscription Library 1847 - 1861 in order of popularity

The popularity of books acquired in the late 1850s is likely to be under-reported

Problem with identification. *Bound as one volume. □ As listed in the ESL catalogue

All titles are works of fiction unless followed by +

Ω Borrowing statistics for *Annals of the Parish* by John Galt are not available because of catalogue discrepancies

Authors not listed in the *Catalogue* have been located in the Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue Series I&II (1801-1870)

| <i>Title</i> | <i>Author</i> | <i>No. of loans</i> |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>The Bivouac</i> | W. H. Maxwell | 49 |
| <i>Ten Thousand a Year</i> | S. Warren | 49 |
| <i>Rory O'More</i> | S. Lover | 49 |
| <i>Tremaine</i> | R. P. Ward | 45 |
| <i>The Disowned</i> | E. B. Lytton | 44 |
| <i>Zanoni</i> | E. B. Lytton | 43 |
| <i>Stories of Waterloo</i> | W. H. Maxwell | 42 |
| <i>Courtenay of Walreddon.</i> | Mrs Bray | 42 |
| <i>The Talha</i> | Mrs Bray | 41 |
| <i>The White Hoods</i> | Mrs Bray | 41 |
| <i>Warleigh</i> | Mrs Bray | 40 |
| <i>Family Secrets</i> | S. (Stickney) Ellis | 39 |
| <i>Jane Eyre</i> | C. Bronte | 39 |
| <i>Abbotsmere</i> | M. Gertrude | 38 |
| <i>The Refugee in America</i> | Mrs Trollope | 37 |
| <i>Trials of the Heart</i> | Mrs Bray | 37 |
| <i>Rienzi</i> | E. B. Lytton | 37 |
| <i>Now and Then</i> | S. Warren | 35 |
| <i>De Foix</i> | Mrs Bray | 35 |
| <i>Fitz of Fitz-Ford</i> | Mrs Bray | 35 |
| <i>Trelawney of Trelawne</i> | Mrs Bray | 35 |
| <i>The Pastor's Fireside</i> | J. Porter | 35 |
| <i>Father Clement</i> | G. Kennedy | 35 |
| <i>The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay</i> | J. Wilson | 34 |
| <i>The Smuggler</i> | G. P. R. James | 34 |
| <i>Temper and Temperament</i> | S. (Stickney) Ellis | 33 |
| <i>The Protestant</i> | Mrs Bray | 33 |
| <i>Martin Chuzzlewit</i> | C. Dickens | 33 |
| <i>Castle Dangerous / Surgeon's Daughter *</i> | W. Scott | 32 |
| <i>Derry</i> | Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 32 |
| <i>Roche Blanche</i> | A. M. Porter | 31 |
| <i>The Fair Maid of Perth</i> | W. Scott | 30 |
| <i>Bracebridge Hall</i> | W. Irving | 30 |
| <i>The Gallery of Nature +</i> | T. Milner | 30 |

| | | |
|--|---|----|
| <i>Richelieu</i> | G. P. R. James | 30 |
| <i>Devereux</i> | E. B. Lytton | 30 |
| <i>Agnes Moreville</i> | S. Wilson | 30 |
| <i>The Betrothed</i> | W. Scott | 29 |
| <i>Eve Effingham</i> | J. F. Cooper | 29 |
| <i>The Hermit in London</i> | F. McDonogh | 29 |
| <i>The Talisman</i> | W. Scott | 28 |
| <i>Ireland</i> + | Mr and Mrs Hall | 28 |
| <i>Percival Keene</i> | F. Marryat | 28 |
| <i>The Old Curiosity Shop</i> | C. Dickens | 28 |
| <i>A Legend of Montrose</i> | W. Scott | 27 |
| <i>Confessions of a Pencil Case</i> | J. J. Reynolds | 27 |
| <i>The Bravo</i> | J. F. Cooper | 27 |
| <i>The Last Days of Pompeii</i> | E. B. Lytton | 27 |
| <i>The Pirate</i> | W. Scott | 26 |
| <i>Waverley</i> | W. Scott | 26 |
| <i>Adventures in Mexico</i> + | G. F. Ruxton | 26 |
| <i>Domestic Manners of the Americans</i> + | Mrs Trollope | 26 |
| <i>Little Peddlington</i> | J. Poole | 26 |
| <i>The Pilot</i> | J. F. Cooper | 26 |
| <i>Coelebs in search of a wife</i> | H. More | 26 |
| <i>The Subaltern</i> | G. R. Gleig | 26 |
| <i>Midshipman Easy</i> | F. Marryat | 26 |
| <i>Eugene Aram</i> | E. B. Lytton | 26 |
| <i>Memoirs of Count Grammont</i> + | A. Hamilton | 26 |
| <i>Sketch Book</i> + | # [A title used by various authors, probably by Irving] | 26 |
| <i>Arrah Neil</i> | G.P.R. James | 26 |
| <i>Passages from the diary of a late Physician</i> + | S Warren | 25 |
| <i>The Spanish Conscript</i> + | J. Strickland | 25 |
| <i>Typee</i> + | H. Melville | 25 |
| <i>The Bride of Lammermore</i> | W. Scott | 24 |
| <i>Tales of a Grandfather</i> | W. Scott | 24 |
| <i>Henry De Pomeroy</i> | Mrs Bray | 24 |
| <i>Omoo</i> + | H. Melville | 24 |
| <i>Secrets of the Confessional</i> + | C. P. Lasteyrie Du Saillant | 24 |
| <i>Nicholas Nickleby</i> | C. Dickens | 24 |
| <i>Queen Victoria from her Birth to her Bridal</i> + | A. Strickland | 24 |
| <i>Ann of Gierstein</i> | W. Scott | 23 |
| <i>Nigel</i> | W. Scott | 23 |
| <i>Livonian Tales/Philip Musgrave</i> + * | E. Rigby/J. Abbot | 23 |
| <i>Anecdotes of Dogs</i> + | E. Jesse | 23 |
| <i>Shirley</i> | C. Bronte | 23 |
| <i>Recollections of a French Marchioness</i> + | P.M. Cousin De Courchamps | 23 |
| <i>The Highland Widow</i> | W. Scott | 22 |
| <i>Ivanhoe</i> | W. Scott | 22 |
| <i>Lionel Lincoln</i> | J. F. Cooper | 22 |
| <i>Tales of the Irish Peasantry</i> | Carlton # □ | 22 |
| <i>Guy Mannering</i> | W. Scott | 21 |
| <i>The Heart of Midlothian</i> | W. Scott | 21 |
| <i>Kenilworth</i> | W. Scott | 21 |
| <i>Evenings with Prince Cambaceres</i> + | Langon | 21 |
| <i>The Borderers</i> | J. F. Cooper | 21 |
| <i>Personal Recollections</i> + | Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 21 |
| <i>My Novel</i> | E. B. Lytton | 21 |
| <i>Sir Roland</i> | C. R. Forrester | 21 |
| <i>Charles O' Malley</i> | C. J. Lever | 21 |
| <i>Eothen</i> + | A. W. Kinglake | 21 |

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------|----|
| <i>Elgin and Phegaleian Marbles</i> + | H. Ellis [British Museum] | 21 |
| <i>Rob Roy</i> | W. Scott | 20 |
| <i>Walks in a Forest</i> | T. Gisborne | 20 |
| <i>History of China and India</i> + | J. Corner | 20 |
| <i>Peveril of the Peak</i> | W. Scott | 19 |
| <i>History of England</i> + | T. B. Macaulay | 19 |
| <i>Journal of an overland expedition in Australia</i> + | L. Leichhardt | 19 |
| <i>The Last of the Mohicans</i> | J. F. Cooper | 19 |
| <i>The Pioneers</i> | J. F. Cooper | 19 |
| <i>The Dog Fiend</i> | F. Marryat | 19 |
| <i>Nineveh and its Palaces</i> + | A. H. Layard | 19 |
| <i>The Monastery</i> | W. Scott | 18 |
| <i>Old Mortality</i> | W. Scott | 18 |
| <i>The Miser's Daughter</i> | W. H. Ainsworth | 18 |
| <i>Notes and Sketches of New South Wales</i> +/- <i>Life of Drake</i> + * | L. A. Meredith/J. Barrow | 18 |
| <i>Etchings of a Whaling Cruise</i> + | J. R. Browne | 18 |
| <i>The Bridal and the Bride</i> | J. B. Harwood | 18 |
| <i>The Country Curate</i> | G. R. Gleig | 18 |
| <i>Gowrie</i> | G. P. R. James | 18 |
| <i>Poems</i> | F. D. Hemans | 18 |
| <i>Recollections of Caulaincourt</i> + | A. A. L de Caulaincourt | 18 |
| <i>The Black Dwarf</i> | W. Scott | 17 |
| <i>Cinq Mars</i> | W. Hazlitt | 17 |
| <i>Voyage up the River Amazon</i> +/- <i>Wayside Cross</i> + * | W. H. Edwards / E. A. Milman | 17 |
| <i>Margaret Maitland</i> | Mrs Oliphant | 17 |
| <i>Sense and Sensibility</i> | J. Austen | 17 |
| <i>The Zincali</i> + | G. H. Borrow | 17 |
| <i>Japhet in Search of a Father</i> | F. Marryat | 17 |
| <i>A Man made of Money</i> | D. Jerrold | 17 |
| <i>Little Dorrit/The Pickwick Papers</i> * | C. Dickens | 17 |
| <i>Connaught Rangers</i> + | R. Cannon | 17 |
| <i>Count Robert of Paris</i> | W. Scott | 16 |
| <i>Tynney Hall</i> | T. Hood | 16 |
| <i>Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan</i> + | R. Sale | 16 |
| <i>Father Eustace</i> | Mrs Trollope | 16 |
| <i>North and South</i> | Mrs Gaskell | 16 |
| <i>History of the French Revolution</i> + | L. A. Thiers | 16 |
| <i>Journey to India</i> + | J. Skinner | 16 |
| <i>Surveying Voyage of HMS Fly</i> + | J. B. Jukes | 16 |
| <i>Emma</i> | J. Austen | 16 |
| <i>Stories of the Battle of Waterloo</i> + | G. R. Gleig | 16 |
| <i>Arabella Stuart</i> | G. P. R. James | 16 |
| <i>English Martyrology</i> + | Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 16 |
| <i>The Daltons</i> | C. J. Lever | 16 |
| <i>The Natural History of Man</i> | James C. Prichard | 16 |
| <i>St Ronan's Well</i> | W. Scott | 15 |
| <i>Antonina</i> | W. Collins | 15 |
| <i>Tom Brown's Schooldays</i> | T. Hughes | 15 |
| <i>The Protector</i> + | M. D'Aubigne | 15 |
| <i>Voyage to the Southern Seas</i> | J. Ross | 15 |
| <i>Valentine Vox</i> | H. Cockton | 15 |
| <i>Chelsea Hospital, and its Traditions</i> + | G. R. Gleig | 15 |
| <i>Pasha of Many Tales</i> | F. Marryat | 15 |
| <i>The Caxtons</i> | E. B. Lytton | 15 |
| <i>Lives of remarkable youth</i> + | D. E. Williams | 15 |
| <i>Pendennis</i> | W. Thackeray | 14 |
| <i>The Antiquary</i> | W. Scott | 14 |

| | | |
|---|---------------------------|----|
| <i>Quentin Durward</i> | W. Scott | 14 |
| <i>The Amber Witch</i> + | W. Meinhold | 14 |
| <i>Annals of the Peninsular Campaign</i> + | T. Hamilton | 14 |
| <i>Essays</i> + | T. B. Macaulay | 14 |
| <i>Handy Andy</i> | S. Lover | 14 |
| <i>History of the Reformation</i> + | M. D'Aubigne | 14 |
| <i>Travels in Central America</i> + | J. L. Stevens | 14 |
| <i>Tales of the Colonies</i> | J. Howison | 14 |
| <i>The Hussar</i> | G. R. Gleig | 14 |
| <i>Woman's Friendship</i> | G. Aguilar | 14 |
| <i>Newton Forster</i> | F. Marryat | 14 |
| <i>Memoirs of Napoleon</i> + | F. de Bourrienne | 14 |
| <i>Wild Sports of the Highlands</i> + | C. St. John | 14 |
| <i>Memoirs of Kirkcaldy of Grange</i> | Kirkcaldy | 14 |
| <i>Woodstock</i> | W. Scott | 13 |
| <i>Blue Jackets</i> + | W. H. Kingston | 13 |
| <i>Nature and Human Nature</i> | T. Haliburton | 13 |
| <i>Women of England</i> + | S. (Stickney) Ellis | 13 |
| <i>Pencillings by the Way</i> + | N. Willis | 13 |
| <i>Mysteries of City Life</i> | J. Rees | 13 |
| <i>The City of the Sultan</i> + | J. Pardoe | 13 |
| <i>Franklin's Scenic Expedition</i> + | J. Franklin | 13 |
| <i>The Water Witch</i> | J. F. Cooper | 13 |
| <i>Northanger Abbey</i> | J. Austen | 13 |
| <i>The Minister's Wooing</i> | H. Stowe | 13 |
| <i>Deerbrook</i> | H. Martineau | 13 |
| <i>Brigade in Afghanistan</i> +/ <i>Letters from Madras</i> + * | G.R. Gleig/J. C. Maitland | 13 |
| <i>The New Zealanders</i> + | G. L. Craik | 13 |
| <i>Harry Coverdale's Courtship</i> | F. Smedley | 13 |
| <i>The Phantom Ship</i> | F. Marryat | 13 |
| <i>The Pirate and the Three Cutters</i> | F. Marryat | 13 |
| <i>Lady Lee's Widowhood</i> | E. B. Hamley | 13 |
| <i>Missionary travels in South Africa</i> + | D. Livingstone | 13 |
| <i>Travels in the Holy Land</i> + | C. L. Irby and J. Mangles | 13 |
| <i>Alton Locke</i> | C. Kingsley | 13 |
| <i>Bleak House</i> | C. Dickens | 13 |
| <i>The Adventures of Mr. Ledbury</i> | A. R. Smith | 13 |
| <i>Time the Avenger</i> | A. Marsh | 13 |
| <i>Confessions of Con Cregan</i> | C. J. Lever | 13 |
| <i>Priests, Women, and Families</i> + | T. Michelet | 13 |
| <i>Romantic Tales</i> | # | 13 |
| <i>The Girondists</i> + | M.L. Lamartine De Prat | 13 |
| <i>Edinburgh Encyclopaedia [volume 1]</i> | Brewster | 13 |
| <i>Heads of the People</i> | Wood # □ | 12 |
| <i>Italy in the 19th Century</i> | Whiteside # □ | 12 |
| <i>Redgauntlet</i> | W. Scott | 12 |
| <i>William the Conqueror</i> | W. Napier | 12 |
| <i>Border Tales and Legends</i> | W. H. Maxwell | 12 |
| <i>Home Education</i> | Taylor # □ | 12 |
| <i>Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees</i> + | S. (Stickney) Ellis | 12 |
| <i>Romance of the Forum</i> + | P. Burke | 12 |
| <i>Belgium and Western Germany in 1833</i> + | Mrs Trollope | 12 |
| <i>Sketches of Persia</i> + | J. Malcolm | 12 |
| <i>My Courtship and its consequences</i> + | H. Wikoff | 12 |
| <i>Life of Lord Eldon</i> + | H. Twiss | 12 |
| <i>My Schools and Schoolmasters</i> + | H. Miller | 12 |
| <i>Peter Simple</i> | F. Marryat | 12 |

| | | |
|--|------------------------------------|----|
| <i>Chapters on Flowers</i> + | Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 12 |
| <i>Glimpses of the Past</i> + | Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 12 |
| <i>A Woman's thoughts about Women</i> + | D. Mulock | 12 |
| <i>Its never to late</i> | C. Reade | 12 |
| <i>Manzoni's novels</i> | A. Manzoni | 12 |
| <i>The Count of Monte Christo</i> | A. Dumas | 12 |
| <i>Menageries: Quadrupeds</i> + | # [Lib. of Entertaining Knowledge] | 12 |
| <i>Kingdom of Grace, and Elijah</i> + | # | 12 |
| <i>The Adventures of Mr and Mrs Sandboys</i> | H. Mayhew | 12 |
| <i>The Abbot</i> | W. Scott | 11 |
| <i>Philosophy of Sleep</i> + | R. M' Nish | 11 |
| <i>Sir Andrew Wylie</i> | J. Galt Ω | 11 |
| <i>Frank Fairleigh</i> | F. Smedley | 11 |
| <i>Letters on Natural Magic</i> + | D. Brewster | 11 |
| <i>Adventures in Borneo</i> + | C. Gore | 11 |
| <i>History of Europe</i> + | Arch. Alison | 11 |
| <i>The Kelly's and the O'Kelly's</i> | A. Trollope | 11 |
| <i>The Historical Works of William Robertson</i> + | W. Robertson | 10 |
| <i>Victories of the British Armies</i> + | W. H. Maxwell | 10 |
| <i>Cruise in the Mozambique</i> + | R. N. Barnard | 10 |
| <i>Anatomy of Drunkenness</i> + | R. M' Nish | 10 |
| <i>Letters and Works of Lady Montagu</i> + | Lord Wharnccliffe | 10 |
| <i>Historical Essays</i> + | Lord Mahon | 10 |
| <i>The French in Algiers</i> + / <i>Fall of the Jesuits</i> + * | Lady Gordon (trans.)/A. S. Priest | 10 |
| <i>Dictionary of Practical Medicine</i> + | J. Copland | 10 |
| <i>Canada</i> + | J. Buckingham | 10 |
| <i>Recollections of Bush Life in Australia</i> +/ | H. W. Haygarth/H. Steffens | 10 |
| <i>Adventures on the road to Paris</i> + * | | |
| <i>Redburn</i> | H. Melville | 10 |
| <i>Out of the Depths</i> | H. G. Jebb | 10 |
| <i>Lavengro</i> | G.H. Borrow | 10 |
| <i>Sorrows of Gentility</i> | G. E. Jewsbury | 10 |
| <i>Residence at the Court of Peking</i> +/ <i>Residence in the West Indies</i> + * | Father Ripa/M. G. Lewis | 10 |
| <i>Diaries and Letters of Madam D'Arblay</i> + | F. D'Arblay | 10 |
| <i>Passing Thoughts</i> + | Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 10 |
| <i>Life of Wellington</i> + | Clarke # □ | 10 |
| <i>Celebrated Crimes</i> + | A. Dumas | 10 |
| <i>Mind among the Spindles</i> + | C. Knight (editor) | 10 |
| <i>Mooriana</i> + | J. Moore | 10 |
| <i>Rome</i> + | # | 10 |
| <i>Traits of American Humour</i> | T. C. Haliburton | 10 |
| <i>Subaltern in the Punjaub</i> + | D. Sandford | 10 |
| <i>The Jesuit Conspiracy</i> + | J. Leone | 10 |

Table 4**Acquisitions to December 1848 by number of volumes: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 - 1861**

| Category | Donated | Purchased | Total |
|--------------------------------|---------|-----------|-------|
| Agriculture and Botany | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| Arts and Sciences | 11 | 1 | 12 |
| Biography | 25 | 30 | 55 |
| Encyclopaedias, Libraries, &c. | 25 | 81 | 106 |
| Fiction and Poetry | 47 | 62 | 109 |
| History | 27 | 19 | 46 |
| Magazines, Essays, and Letters | 72 | 5 | 77 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 | 4 | 16 |
| Moral and Natural Philosophy | 24 | 7 | 31 |
| Theology | 17 | 1 | 18 |
| Voyages and Travels | 15 | - | 15 |
| Total | 281 | 212 | 493 |

Table 5**First borrowing of individual titles by year: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 - 1861**

The library contained 1910 books in the period, 1847-1861 and of these, 405 books were either not borrowed or their borrowing dates were unrecorded.

| Year | Loans |
|------|-------|
| 1848 | 252 |
| 1849 | 186 |
| 1850 | 117 |
| 1851 | 101 |
| 1852 | 56 |
| 1853 | 20 |
| 1854 | 40 |
| 1855 | 134 |
| 1856 | 76 |
| 1857 | 36 |
| 1858 | 93 |
| 1859 | 154 |
| 1860 | 132 |
| 1861 | 107 |

Table 6

**Most popular authors alphabetically arranged: Evandale Subscription Library
1847 - 1861**

****** Includes *Household Words* (89) **#** Likely understated due to catalogue discrepancies.

***** Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

| Author | Titles | Loans* |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Austen, Jane | 5 | 55 |
| Bray, Anna Eliza, Mrs | 10 | 363 |
| Bronte, Charlotte | 3 | 71 |
| Cooper, James Fenimore | 8 | 176 |
| Dickens, Charles | 8 ** | 206 |
| Elizabeth, Charlotte [Phelan] | 7 | 112 |
| Ellis, Sarah (Stickney) Mrs | 8 | 123 |
| Gleig, George | 9 | 117# |
| Irving, Washington | 13 | 53 # |
| James, George Payne Rainsford | 6 | 133 |
| Lever, Charles | 3 | 50 |
| Lover, Samuel | 3 | 63 # |
| Lytton, Bulwer | 8 | 243 |
| Marryat, Frederick | 14 | 157 # |
| Martineau, Harriet | 3 | 25 |
| Maxwell, William Hamilton | 4 | 113 |
| Melville, Herman | 4 | 65 |
| Scott, Walter | 29 | 565 |
| Trollope, Mrs | 4 | 91 |
| Warren, Samuel | 4 | 111 |

Table 7
Murray's Home and Colonial Library.

Loans alphabetically by title: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861

Problems with identification. *Bound as one volume.

| Title(s) | Author | Loans |
|--|-----------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Adventures in Mexico</i> | G. F. Ruxton | 26 |
| <i>Adventures in the Libyan Desert</i> | B Saint John | 6 |
| <i>The Bible in Spain</i> | G. H. Borrow | 8 |
| <i>Bracebridge Hall</i> | W. Irving | 30 |
| <i>Brigade in Afghanistan + /Letters from Madras *</i> | G.R. Gleig/J. C. Maitland | 13 |
| <i>Recollections of Bush Life in Australia / Adventures on the road to Paris *</i> | H. W. Haygarth/H. Steffens | 10 |
| <i>The French in Algiers /Fall of the Jesuits *</i> | Lady Gordon (trans.)/A. S. Priest | 10 |
| <i>Gatherings from Spain</i> | R. Ford | 7 |
| <i>The Zincali</i> | G. H. Borrow | 17 |
| <i>Historical Essays</i> | Lord Mahon | 10 |
| <i>Journal of Researches</i> | C. Darwin | 7 |
| <i>Journals in India (2 vols)</i> | Bishop Heber | 7 |
| <i>Journey across the Pampas The Sieges of Vienna *</i> | F. B. Head/ Lord Ellesmere | 6 |
| <i>Journey in Portugal and Galicia</i> | Lord Caernarvon | 5 |
| <i>Life of Conde</i> | Lord Mahon | 7 |
| <i>Life of Goldsmith</i> | W. Irving | 7 |
| <i>Life of Lord Clive</i> | G.R. Gleig | 9 |
| <i>Life of Sir Thomas Munro</i> | G. R. Gleig | 4 |
| <i>Lives of the Poets</i> | Thos Campbell | 1 |
| <i>Livonian Tales/Philip Musgrave *</i> | E. Rigby/J. Abbot | 23 |
| <i>Manners and Customs of India /Campaigns at Washington *</i> | C. Acland/ G.R. Gleig | 5 |
| <i>Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton</i> | T. F. Buxton | 7 |
| <i>Omoo</i> | H. Melville | 24 |
| <i>Residence at Sierra Leone</i> | E. H. Melville | 0 |
| <i>Residence at the Court of Peking /Residence in the West Indies *</i> | Father Ripa/M. G. Lewis | 10 |
| <i>Notes and Sketches of New South Wales / Life of Drake *</i> | L. A. Meredith/J. Barrow | 18 |
| <i>Sketches of Persia</i> | J. Malcolm | 12 |
| <i>Stokers and Pokers</i> | F. B. Head | 8 |
| <i>Stories of the Battle of Waterloo</i> | G.R. Gleig | 16 |
| <i>Tales of a Traveller</i> | W. Irving | 3 |
| <i>The Amber Witch</i> | W. Meinhold | 14 |
| <i>Travels in the Holy Land</i> | C. L. Irby and J. Mangles | 13 |
| <i>Typee</i> | H. Melville | 25 |
| <i>Voyage up the River Amazon /Wayside Cross *</i> | W. H. Edwards / E. A. Milman | 17 |
| <i>War of Liberation in Germany</i> | A. Duff-Gordon | 6 |
| <i>Western Barbary /Letters from the shores of the Baltic *</i> | J. D. Hay/ E. Rigby | 3 |
| <i>Wild Sports of the Highlands</i> | C. St. John | 14 |

Table 8

Library of Entertaining Knowledge

Loans alphabetically by title: Evandale Subscription Library 1847-1861

Titles are listed as given in *The London Catalogue of Books 1816-1851*, London: Thomas Hodgson, 1851, p. 335.

| Title | Loans |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Back Woods of Canada</i> | 1 |
| <i>Bird Architecture</i> | 3 |
| <i>British Costume</i> | 8 |
| <i>Criminal Trials</i> | 3 |
| <i>Davis's China</i> | 0 |
| <i>Distinguished Men</i> | 5 |
| <i>Egyptian Antiquities</i> | 3 |
| <i>Elgin and Phegaleian Marbles</i> | 21 |
| <i>Facilities of Birds</i> | 9 |
| <i>Habits of Birds</i> | 5 |
| <i>Historical Parallels</i> | 7 |
| <i>Insect Architecture</i> | 0 |
| <i>Insect Miscellanies</i> | 8 |
| <i>Insect Transformations</i> | 4 |
| <i>Lane's Modern Egyptians</i> | 3 |
| <i>Manners of the Hindoos</i> | 6 |
| <i>Menageries</i> | 12 |
| <i>New Zealanders</i> | 13 |
| <i>Paris</i> | 2 |
| <i>Pompeii</i> | 2 |
| <i>Pursuit of Knowledge</i> | 2 |
| <i>Secret Societies, Middle Ages</i> | 8 |
| <i>Townley Gallery</i> | 2 |
| <i>Vegetable Substances</i> | 7 |

Table 9**Periodicals borrowed, listed alphabetically by title : Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861**

Counted by the number of catalogued volumes borrowed. Each volume would contain a series of issues. Excludes periodicals borrowed in parts

| Title | Number of Loans |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Athenaeum</i> | 7 |
| <i>Bentley's Miscellany</i> | 191 |
| <i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i> | 47 |
| <i>Chambers' Edinburgh Journal</i> | 203 |
| <i>Chambers' Miscellany</i> | 171 |
| <i>Christian Lady's Magazine</i> | 17 |
| <i>Dublin University Magazine</i> | 35 |
| <i>Hogg's Instructor</i> | 41 |
| <i>Illustrated London News</i> | 14 |
| <i>New Monthly Magazine</i> | 95 |
| <i>Quarterly Review</i> | 14 |
| <i>Sharpe's London Magazine</i> | 161 |
| Total | 996 |

Table 10

Borrowers (alphabetically by surname), their occupations and no. of loans to them within their period of active borrowing: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861

Problems with identification

* Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

| Surname | Given name(s) etc. | Occupation | From | To | Loans* |
|----------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| Archer | John Kinder | Farmer | 3/48 | 4/52 | 207 |
| Arthur | Charles | Magistrate | 6/56 | 1/57 | 14 |
| Ashworth | Henry | Postmaster | 3/50 | 1/51 | 18 |
| Atkins | William | Farmer | 10/50 | 7/54 | 27 |
| Ayre | Robert McKenzie | Farmer | 3/58 | 11/61 | 65 |
| Ayton | H. | # | 7/58 | 9/58 | 5 |
| Barrett | William | Blacksmith | 10/55 | 10/55 | 2 |
| Baxter | Howell | Farmer | 9/51 | 2/56 | 48 |
| Beaton | Donald | Storekeeper | 9/50 | 10/61 | 237 |
| Bell | John | Blacksmith | 12/57 | 11/61 | 41 |
| Beveridge | Mrs | Farmer | 10/48 | 4/53 | 98 |
| Bishton | Rev. J. | Clergyman | 2/56 | 11/56 | 77 |
| Boston | Adam | # | 6/61 | 11/61 | 17 |
| Brickwood | Rev. W. | Clergyman | 5/60 | 11/61 | 124 |
| Bruce | Mrs | Farmer | 4/58 | 9/58 | 9 |
| Bryan | John | Farmer/Butcher | 3/48 | 8/60 | 85 |
| Burnett | # | # | 1/51 | 9/51 | 4 |
| Cameron | Robert | Farmer | 9/58 | 1/61 | 69 |
| Cameron | Donald senior | Medical | 9/54 | 2/56 | 87 |
| Cameron | Donald junior | Farmer | 3/49 | 11/60 | 269 |
| Clemons | J. N. | Schoolmaster | 4/60 | 8/61 | 43 |
| Collins | George | Farmer | 4/48 | 8/56 | 131 |
| Coope | James | Farmer | 7/61 | 11/61 | 30 |
| Cox | James | Farmer | 9/48 | 12/60 | 170 |
| Crear | James junior | Farmer | 8/50 | 2/57 | 105 |
| Culverhouse | Gregory E | # | 8/58 | 3/59 | 87 |
| Davis | James | # | 7/58 | 10/61 | 37 |
| Donaldson | Joseph | Undertaker | 11/57 | 11/61 | 67 |
| Duffell | John | Innkeeper | 7/58 | 7/60 | 23 |
| East | William | Brewer | 12/60 | 11/61 | 21 |
| Fall | Thomas | Farmer/Innkeeper | 3/53 | 7/59 | 47 |
| Ford | James | Farmer | 10/49 | 3/56 | 94 |
| Franks | Mrs | # | 2/51 | 2/52 | 78 |
| Frazer | Simon | Farmer/Innkeeper | 5/58 | 4/59 | 15 |
| Gibson | William H. | Farmer | 3/60 | 3/60 | 1 |
| Gibson | George | Farmer | 6/50 | 10/51 | 34 |
| Gibson | David senior | Farmer | 3/48 | 8/59 | 70 |
| Gibson | David junior | Farmer | 3/49 | 6/49 | 3 |
| Gleadow | George Thomas | Farmer | 1/52 | 9/61 | 222 |

| | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|-------|-----|
| Glover | John Richardson | Farmer/Artist | 3/48 | 10/61 | 376 |
| Grice | George | Postmaster | 10/60 | 7/61 | 21 |
| Henderson | # | # | 8/56 | 8/61 | 73 |
| Hogarth | Thomas | Farmer | 7/58 | 1/61 | 64 |
| Holmes | William | Shoemaker | 9/51 | 5/54 | 16 |
| Hood | Mrs | # | 3/58 | 11/61 | 129 |
| Hopkins | Henry junior | Farmer | 4/48 | 4/60 | 105 |
| Hunter | Robert | Miller | 3/48 | 11/61 | 780 |
| Huxtable | Dr William J. | Medical | 1/55 | 10/61 | 283 |
| Huxtable | Charles H. | # | 3/48 | 4/48 | 3 |
| Innes | Frederick M. | Farmer | 8/50 | 8/57 | 35 |
| Kenworthy | Dr James R. | Medical | 8/48 | 11/55 | 250 |
| Kidd | William Hepburn | Schoolmaster | 7/56 | 4/59 | 36 |
| King | # | # | 10/55 | 11/56 | 5 |
| Kirkby | Joseph | Farmer | 3/48 | 4/50 | 50 |
| Lauder | George | # | 10/59 | 2/61 | 7 |
| Lette | Samuel H. | Farmer | 11/48 | 9/51 | 102 |
| Light | Charles | Schoolmaster | 1/50 | 2/53 | 14 |
| Mackinnon | Allan | Farmer | 9/48 | 9/61 | 719 |
| Martin | John Saffrey | Police clerk | 2/48 | 3/51 | 24 |
| McGillivray | # | # | 10/58 | 10/58 | 3 |
| McKenzie | Charles Ross | Farmer | 5/49 | 5/52 | 111 |
| McLeod | # | # | 8/55 | 6/56 | 7 |
| Morey | Abraham | Farmer | 1/58 | 6/58 | 7 |
| Morrison | John N. | Farmer/Carrier | 3/48 | 8/57 | 80 |
| Murray | Wm K | Farmer | 9/50 | 3/52 | 44 |
| Murray | Kennedy | Farmer | 3/48 | 3/53 | 384 |
| Oliver | Alexander | # | 12/59 | 12/59 | 5 |
| Owen | Dr Robert | Medical | 7/56 | 11/58 | 28 |
| Peck | William | Farmer/Innkeeper | 8/49 | 7/50 | 36 |
| Perkins | Thomas | Police Constable | 10/55 | 7/56 | 10 |
| Phillips | Robert | # | 1/49 | 10/49 | 25 |
| Pyke | James | Farmer | 3/48 | 4/49 | 57 |
| Pyke | Henry | Farmer | 3/48 | 12/48 | 10 |
| Ralston | Mrs (Elizabeth) | Farmer | 3/48 | 1/57 | 150 |
| Ralston | Matthew | Farmer | 3/48 | 12/61 | 426 |
| Ralston | John | Farmer | 2/48 | 11/61 | 365 |
| Ritchie | Thomas | Miller | 9/51 | 9/51 | 6 |
| Robertson | Charles D. | Storekeeper | 7/59 | 11/61 | 28 |
| Robotham | George senior | Farmer | 3/48 | 10/61 | 58 |
| Robotham | George junior | Farmer | 4/61 | 9/61 | 19 |
| Rogers | David | Farmer | 7/50 | 9/59 | 232 |
| Rose | Alexander | Farmer | 6/48 | 1/60 | 120 |
| Russell | Rev. Robert | Clergyman | 2/48 | 10/61 | 303 |
| Salmon | Dr John R. | Medical | 9/48 | 11/61 | 250 |
| Sargent | Frederick | # | 8/51 | 2/52 | 5 |
| Scott | Joseph | Farmer | 9/49 | 7/50 | 13 |
| Sealey | Charles | Schoolmaster | 10/48 | 6/49 | 38 |
| Sidebottom | William | Innkeeper | 10/61 | 10/61 | 7 |
| Sinclair | John | Farmer | 2/48 | 8/54 | 50 |
| Skeene | James | # | 11/54 | 9/56 | 108 |
| Slessor | James | # | 10/57 | 10/57 | 2 |
| Soden | Bartholomew | Postmaster | 3/48 | 1/49 | 15 |
| Solomon | Joseph | Farmer | 9/50 | 10/56 | 96 |
| Stancombe | George | Farmer | 11/57 | 2/58 | 7 |
| Stevenson | Henry | Farmer | 8/48 | 11/48 | 10 |
| Stronack | # | # | 9/48 | 7/50 | 18 |
| Strong | Rev. R. | Clergyman | 12/58 | 1/60 | 24 |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Sutton | Mrs | # | 10/57 | 5/58 | 40 |
| Thomas | Jocelyn B. | Farmer | 3/48 | 10/61 | 340 |
| Thompson | John | Storekeeper | 6/54 | 8/61 | 188 |
| Thompson | Alexander | # | 6/54 | 11/55 | 14 |
| Thomson | Rev. A. C. | Clergyman | 6/52 | 8/52 | 3 |
| Wales | Robert | Magistrate | 3/48 | 12/54 | 402 |
| Wales | Thomas | # | 5/48 | 7/49 | 26 |
| Wedge | John H. | Farmer | 10/55 | 11/61 | 243 |
| Weller | # | # | 7/56 | 10/58 | 29 |
| Whitehead | John | Farmer | 5/48 | 4/54 | 137 |
| Whitehead | James B. | Farmer/Innkeeper | 4/48 | 11/54 | 258 |
| Wigan | Dr E. A. | Medical | 10/57 | 11/61 | 187 |
| Wilkinson | Rev. George | Clergyman | 8/48 | 8/52 | 295 |
| Williatt | John | Innkeeper | 9/49 | 11/61 | 399 |
| Winter | George | # | 1/49 | 12/50 | 19 |
| Wright | William | Innkeeper | 1/54 | 1/57 | 22 |
| Youl | John junior | Farmer | 3/49 | 8/52 | 12 |
| Youl | James A. | Farmer | 3/49 | 6/51 | 27 |
| Total | | | | | 11,671 |

Table 11

Occupations of borrowers: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 - 1861

| Occupation | Number |
|----------------------|--------|
| Blacksmith | 2 |
| Brewer | 1 |
| Clergyman | 6 |
| Farmer | 46 |
| Farmer/Artist | 1 |
| Farmer/Butcher | 1 |
| Farmer/Carrier | 1 |
| Farmer/Innkeeper | 4 |
| Innkeeper | 4 |
| Magistrate | 2 |
| Medical practitioner | 6 |
| Miller | 2 |
| Police Clerk | 1 |
| Police Constable | 1 |
| Postmaster | 3 |
| Schoolmaster | 4 |
| Shoemaker | 1 |
| Storekeeper | 3 |
| Undertaker | 1 |
| Unidentified | 25 |
| Total | 115 |

Table 12

**Most frequent borrowers arranged by number borrowed and surname:
Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861**

Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

Borrowers' occupations and period of borrowing are given in Table 6.

| Surname | Given name(s) etc. | Loans |
|----------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Hunter | Robert | 780 |
| Mackinnon | Allan | 719 |
| Ralston | Matthew | 426 |
| Wales | Robert | 402 |
| Williatt | John | 399 |
| Murray | Kennedy | 384 |
| Glover | John Richardson | 376 |
| Ralston | John | 365 |
| Thomas | Jocelyn B. | 340 |
| Russell | Rev. Robert | 303 |
| Wilkinson | Rev. George | 295 |
| Huxtable | Dr William J. | 283 |
| Cameron | Donald junior | 269 |
| Whitehead | James B. | 258 |
| Kenworthy | Dr James R. | 250 |
| Salmon | Dr John R. | 250 |
| Wedge | John H. | 243 |
| Beaton | Donald | 237 |
| Rogers | David | 232 |
| Gleadow | George Thomas | 222 |
| Archer | John Kinder | 207 |

Table 13

**Loans by Robert Russell, by category, compared with the library average:
The Evandale Subscription Library 1847-1861**

| Category | Percentage of Robert Russell's borrowing | Percentage of loans for the library overall |
|--------------------------------|--|---|
| Agriculture and Botany | - | 0.4 |
| Arts and Sciences | 2 | 1.3 |
| Biography | 23 | 9.4 |
| Encyclopaedias, Libraries, &c. | 8.5 | 6.0 |
| Fiction and Poetry | 33.3 | 49.0 |
| History | 11.2 | 8.2 |
| Magazines, Essays, and Letters | 5.6 | 13.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 3.6 | 2.8 |
| Moral and Natural Philosophy | 3 | 2.1 |
| Theology | .3 | 1.1 |
| Voyages and Travels | 9.5 | 6.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 14

**Women borrowers arranged by name and number of titles borrowed:
Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861**

Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

| Surname | Given name, etc. | Loans |
|-----------|------------------|-------|
| Ralston | Mrs Elizabeth | 150 |
| Hood | Mrs | 129 |
| Beveridge | Mrs | 98 |
| Franks | Mrs | 78 |
| Sutton | Mrs | 40 |
| Bruce | Mrs | 9 |

Table 15

**Borrowing of *Bray's Novels* Sept. - Oct. 1848: Evandale Subscription Library
1847-1861**

| <i>Catalogue no.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Borrower</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1883 | <i>The White Hoods</i> | 11/9/48 | Dr Salmon |
| 1884 | <i>De Foix</i> | 11/9/48 | Dr Salmon |
| 1891 | <i>Henry De Pomeroy</i> | 12/9/48 | J. Pyke |
| 1885 | <i>The Protestant</i> | 12/9/48 | H. Hopkins |
| 1886 | <i>Fitz of Fitzford</i> | 12/9/48 | H. Hopkins |
| 1890 | <i>Trials of the Heart</i> | 13/9/48 | A. Rose |
| 1887 | <i>The Talba</i> | 15/9/48 | Kennedy Murray |
| 1888 | <i>Warleigh, or the Fatal Oak</i> | 15/9/48 | Kennedy Murray |
| 1889 | <i>Trelawney of Trelawne</i> | 16/9/48 | J. Ralston |
| 1892 | <i>Courtney of Walreddon</i> | 19/9/48 | J. Pyke |
| 1885 | <i>The Protestant</i> | 22/9/48 | J. K. Archer |
| 1886 | <i>Fitz of Fitzford</i> | 22/9/48 | J. K. Archer |
| 1883 | <i>The White Hoods</i> | 23/9/48 | M. Ralston |
| 1884 | <i>De Foix</i> | 23/9/48 | M. Ralston |
| 1891 | <i>Henry De Pomeroy</i> | 27/9/48 | A. Rose |
| 1889 | <i>Trelawney of Trelawne</i> | 28/9/48 | Dr Salmon |
| 1890 | <i>Trials of the Heart</i> | 28/9/48 | Dr Salmon |
| 1888 | <i>Warleigh, or the Fatal Oak</i> | 28/9/48 | J. Cox |
| 1887 | <i>The Talba</i> | 28/9/48 | J. Cox |
| 1884 | <i>De Foix</i> | 2/10/48 | Elizabeth Ralston |
| 1885 | <i>The Protestant</i> | 6/10/48 | J. S. Martin |
| 1886 | <i>Fitz of Fitzford</i> | 7/10/48 | M. Ralston |
| 1887 | <i>The Talba</i> | 13/10/48 | Elizabeth Ralston |
| 1888 | <i>Warleigh, or the Fatal Oak</i> | 13/10/48 | Elizabeth Ralston |
| 1892 | <i>Courtney of Walreddon</i> | 16/10/48 | R. Wales |
| 1884 | <i>De Foix</i> | 17/10/48 | J. Ralston |
| 1889 | <i>Trelawney of Trelawne</i> | 19/10/48 | J. Cox |
| 1891 | <i>Henry De Pomeroy</i> | 19/10/48 | H. Hopkins |
| 1892 | <i>Courtney of Walreddon</i> | 19/10/48 | H. Hopkins |
| 1886 | <i>Fitz of Fitzford</i> | 19/10/48 | Dr Salmon |
| 1885 | <i>The Protestant</i> | 20/10/48 | J. K. Martin |

Table 16

Loans, by year: Evandale Subscription Library 1847- 1861

Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| 1890 | <i>Trials of the Heart</i> | J. Morrison | 21/10/48 |
| 1888 | <i>Warleigh, or the Fatal Oak</i> | Elizabeth Ralston | 27/10/48 |
| 1887 | <i>The Talba</i> | J. R. Glover | 27/10/48 |
| 1883 | <i>The White Hoods</i> | Mrs Beveridge | 28/10/48 |
| 1884 | <i>De Foix</i> | H. Hopkins | 30/10/48 |
| 1886 | <i>Fitz of Fitzford</i> | H. Hopkins | 30/10/48 |
| 1885 | <i>The Protestant</i> | Dr Salmon | 30/10/48 |

| Year | Loans |
|-------------|--------|
| 1847 | nil |
| 1848 | 882 |
| 1849 | 1525 |
| 1850 | 1767 |
| 1851 | 1172 |
| 1852 | 449 |
| 1853 | 324 |
| 1854 | 330 |
| 1855 | 566 |
| 1856 | 644 |
| 1857 | 324 |
| 1858 | 754 |
| 1859 | 974 |
| 1860 | 972 |
| 1861 | 939 |
| Unspecified | 49 |
| Total | 11,671 |

Table 17**Loans by month: Evandale Subscription Library 1847- 1861**

Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

Ω 514 loans not recorded (4.4 per cent) due to catalogue irregularities

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | April | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct | Nov. | Dec |
|-------|------|------|------|-------|-----|------|------|------|-------|------|------|-----|
| 1848 | - | 7 | 53 | 57 | 56 | 72 | 68 | 60 | 135 | 140 | 132 | 101 |
| 1849 | 99 | 101 | 93 | 112 | 98 | 99 | 129 | 97 | 141 | 162 | 209 | 181 |
| 1850 | 172 | 70 | 123 | 130 | 170 | 150 | 123 | 152 | 137 | 163 | 205 | 169 |
| 1851 | 155 | 103 | 153 | 169 | 98 | 73 | 64 | 26 | 87 | 84 | 81 | 54 |
| 1852 | 63 | 78 | 102 | 68 | 13 | 19 | 19 | 64 | 7 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| 1853 | - | 33 | 33 | 8 | 20 | 65 | 18 | 38 | 25 | 29 | 31 | 17 |
| 1854 | 28 | 25 | 40 | 8 | 5 | 27 | 34 | 24 | 23 | 44 | 60 | 12 |
| 1855 | 71 | 34 | 18 | 35 | - | 1 | 4 | 44 | 71 | 156 | 86 | 44 |
| 1856 | 53 | 34 | 57 | 15 | 29 | 64 | 64 | 84 | 65 | 68 | 45 | 19 |
| 1857 | 10 | 13 | 29 | 5 | 15 | 10 | 28 | 8 | - | 60 | 68 | 44 |
| 1858 | 60 | 50 | 51 | 78 | 34 | 30 | 64 | 107 | 87 | 111 | 76 | 39 |
| 1859 | 43 | 53 | 71 | 57 | 86 | 32 | 79 | 101 | 79 | 83 | 78 | 104 |
| 1860 | 33 | 79 | 80 | 51 | 57 | 70 | 57 | 63 | 74 | 64 | 78 | 74 |
| 1861 | 74 | 41 | 66 | 76 | 56 | 116 | 130 | 48 | 121 | 84 | 50 | 1 |
| Total | 861 | 721 | 969 | 869 | 737 | 828 | 881 | 916 | 1052 | 1262 | 1201 | 860 |
| Ω | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 18**Subscribers registered by year: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861**

| Year | New borrowers | Lapsed borrowers | Active at year end |
|-------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1848 | 37 | 3 | 34 |
| 1849 | 11 | 6 | 39 |
| 1850 | 10 | 6 | 43 |
| 1851 | 6 | 6 | 43 |
| 1852 | 2 | 7 | 38 |
| 1853 | 1 | 3 | 36 |
| 1854 | 4 | 6 | 34 |
| 1855 | 6 | 3 | 37 |
| 1856 | 7 | 11 | 33 |
| 1857 | 6 | 7 | 32 |
| 1858 | 13 | 8 | 37 |
| 1859 | 3 | 8 | 32 |
| 1860 | 5 | 7 | 30 |
| 1861 | 4 | - | 34 |
| Total | 115 | 81 | |

Table 19

**Donors and donations arranged alphabetically by donor surname: Evandale
Subscription Library 1847 - 1861**

Ω library borrowers

Identification problems

| Donor surname | Donor given name, etc. | Titles | Volumes |
|---------------|------------------------|--------|---------|
| Barnett # | Mr | 1 | 2 |
| Blake # | Mr | 1 | 2 |
| Cairnduff | Rev. | 1 | 1 |
| Cameron Ω | Robert | 2 | 4 |
| Crear | Captain James | 1 | 1 |
| Dickson # | Miss | 2 | 2 |
| Glover | John senior | 17 | 46 |
| Glover | Mrs | 1 | 10 |
| Huxtable Ω | Charles H. | 7 | 15 |
| Innes Ω | Frederick M. | 5 | 6 |
| Kenworthy Ω | Dr James R. | 25 | 32 |
| Kenworthy | Mrs | 9 | 9 |
| Mackinnon Ω | Allan | 1 | 4 |
| Miles # | Miss | 1 | 2 |
| Pooler # | Mr J. | 6 | 6 |
| Ralston Ω | John | 1 | 10 |
| Ralston Ω | Matthew | 1 | 5 |
| Rose Ω | Alexander | 1 | 18 |
| Russell Ω | Rev. Robert | 22 | 30 |
| Salmon Ω | Dr John R. | 10 | 25 |
| Sinclair Ω | John | 6 | 9 |
| Thomas Ω | Jocelyn B. | 2 | 5 |
| Wales Ω | Robert | 13 | 28 |
| Wild # | Mr | 1 | 2 |
| Wilkinson Ω | Rev. George | 7 | 7 |
| Total | | 144 | 281 |

Table 20

**Donations made by Robert Russell and loans made to subscribers: Evandale
Subscription Library 1847 -1861**

Identification problems

| Author | Title | Loans |
|---------------------|---|-------|
| Bulwer Lytton, E.G. | <i>Devereux</i> | 30 |
| More, H. | <i>Coelebs in Search of a Wife</i> | 26 |
| Langon, La Mothe | <i>Evenings with Prince Cambaceres</i> | 21 |
| Skinner, T. | <i>Journey to India</i> | 16 |
| Williams, D.E. | <i>Lives of Remarkable Youth</i> | 15 |
| Trollope, A. | <i>Belgium and Western Germany in 1833</i> | 12 |
| McNish, R. | <i>Philosophy of Sleep</i> | 11 |
| Robertson, W. | <i>The Historical Works of William Robertson</i> | 10 |
| McNish, R. | <i>Anatomy of Drunkenness</i> | 10 |
| Wharncliffe, Lord | <i>Letters and Works of Lady Montagu</i> | 10 |
| Buckingham, J. | <i>Canada</i> | 10 |
| Gillies, R. P. | <i>Recollections of Sir Walter Scott</i> | 9 |
| Buchanan, J. | <i>Memoirs of Dr Buchanan</i> | 8 |
| Williams # | <i>Religion #</i> | 6 |
| Milton, J. | <i>Poetical Works</i> | 4 |
| Hervey, J. | <i>Theron and Aspasio</i> | 4 |
| Russell, A. | <i>A Tour through the Australian Colonies in 1839</i> | 4 |
| Temple, G. | <i>Algiers and Tunis</i> | 4 |
| Fullerton, J. | <i>Lectures on Puseyism</i> | 2 |
| Franklin, B. | <i>Works</i> | 2 |
| # | <i>Hints for Forming the Character of Education of Young Princes</i> | 1 |
| Brcton, W. H. | <i>Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Diemens Land</i> | 0 |

Table 21

**Donated volumes, compared with library holdings, by category, in percentage
terms: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861**

* Magazines, Essays and Letters are underreported because those held in parts, and not catalogued as volumes, have not been included.

| Category | Library total | Donated volumes |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Agriculture and Botany | 1.4 | 2.1 |
| Arts and Sciences | 5.6 | 3.9 |
| Biography | 15.4 | 8.9 |
| Encyclopaedias, Libraries, &c. | 6.2 | 8.9 |
| Fiction and Poetry | 21.0 | 16.8 |
| History | 13.3 | 9.6 |
| Magazines, Essays, and Letters | 15.7 * | 25.6 |
| Miscellaneous | 4.8 | 4.3 |
| Moral and Natural Philosophy | 4.0 | 8.6 |
| Theology | 3.5 | 6 |
| Voyages and Travels | 9.1 | 5.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 22

Titles donated by John Glover and loans to subscribers: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 - 1861

Identification problems

| Author | Title | Loans |
|------------------------------|---|--------------|
| Robertson, W | <i>The History of Scotland</i> | 8 |
| Williams, Miss H. M | <i>France</i> # | 5 |
| Thicknesse, P | <i>A journey through France and part of Spain</i> | 3 |
| Southey, R. | <i>Essays, Moral and Political</i> | 3 |
| Butler, Bishop | <i>Analogy of Religion</i> | 2 |
| Dyer, G. | <i>A Restoration of ... Bestowing Names</i> | 2 |
| Edgeworth, R. | <i>Essays on Professional Education</i> | 2 |
| Bacon, Lord | <i>Lord Bacon's Works</i> | 2 |
| Carter/Talbot | <i>Mrs Carter and Miss Talbot's letters</i> | 2 |
| Dickson, R. W. | <i>Practical Agriculture</i> | 2 |
| Moore, T. | <i>The Life of Sheridan</i> | 2 |
| Aristotle | <i>The Art of Poetry</i> | 1 |
| Hayley, W. | <i>The Life of Cowper</i> | 1 |
| Cowley, A. | <i>Poetical Works</i> | 1 |
| Tillotson, Archbishop | <i>Sermons</i> | 0 |
| Steuart, Sir Henry | <i>The Planter's Guide</i> | 0 |
| Stanhope | <i>Thomas a Kempis</i> | 0 |
| Donated by Mrs Glover | | |
| Hawkins, Sir John | <i>The Works and Life of Samuel Johnson</i> | 3 |

Table 23

Books from the library of John Glover at *Patterdale*, now in private ownership

Ω *The Talisman* was vol. 3 in the 4 volume series *Tales of the Crusader*

The Antiquary, *The Abbot* and *The Monastery* were published in 3 volumes

Peveril of the Peak was published in 4 volumes

| Title | Published | Vol. | Inscribed (1) | Inscribed (2) |
|----------------------------|------------------------|------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>The Talisman</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1825 | Ω | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>The Antiquary</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1818 | 2 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>The Antiquary</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1818 | 3 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>Peveril of the Peak</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1822 | 4 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>The Abbot</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1822 | 1 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>The Abbot</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1822 | 2 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>The Monastery</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1820 | 2 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>The Monastery</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1820 | 3 | John Glover 1837 | George Taylor PD |
| <i>Waverley</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1817 | 1 | | George Taylor PD |
| <i>Waverley</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1817 | 2 | | George Taylor PD |
| <i>Waverley</i> | Edin.: Constable, 1817 | 3 | | George Taylor PD |

Table 24

Books advertised for sale and auction in the Tasmanian Press, 1820-1849

Collation of the statistics given in Elizabeth Webb, Elizabeth Anne Webb, 'Literature and the Reading Public in Australia 1800-1850: A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture during the earlier Nineteenth Century', Sydney: Ph.D Thesis, 1971, vol. 4, Appendix. Webb advises (p. 1) that 'the convict population has been omitted [from these figures] on the assumption that they did not buy books'.

| Year | Total volumes | Literary volumes | Free population |
|------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1820 | 0 | 0 | 2512 |
| 1821 | 10 | 3 | 3358 |
| 1822 | 60 | 7 | 3616 |
| 1823 | 285 | 122 | - |
| 1824 | 30 | 14 | 6705 |
| 1825 | 2050 | 0 | 7667 |
| 1826 | - | - | 8550 |
| 1827 | 98 | 30 | 9873 |
| 1828 | 78 | 33 | 10959 |
| 1829 | 189 | 84 | 11781 |
| 1830 | 221 | 146 | 14309 |
| 1831 | 7190 | 1045 | 14812 |
| 1832 | 416 | 27 | 16373 |
| 1833 | 299 | 286 | 18750 |
| 1834 | 1449 | 350 | 22261 |
| 1835 | 598 | 117 | 23315 |
| 1836 | 563 | 219 | 26284 |
| 1837 | 4383 | 373 | - |
| 1838 | 672 | 273 | - |
| 1839 | 37 | 37 | 27034 |
| 1840 | 12243 | 672 | 28354 |
| 1841 | 5041 | 458 | 35108 |
| 1842 | 4019 | 290 | 38570 |
| 1843 | 2690 | 425 | - |
| 1844 | 4140 | 470 | - |
| 1845 | 4164 | 791 | - |
| 1846 | 7572 | 1997 | - |
| 1947 | 3904 | 1542 | 45976 |
| 1848 | 21754 | 5169 | 46282 |
| 1849 | 13684 | 1033 | - |

Table 25

Adult church petitioners to Robert Russell’s clerical appointment and their library loans: Evandale Subscription Library 1847 -1861

Twenty-six of the church petitioners were between six and fourteen years of age. Five of the petitioners could not write and made their mark. None were subscribers, and are not listed

- * Andrew Barclay died in 1839.
- ** Probably Dr Donald Cameron, not his son, of the same name

*** The church petitioner was probably Kennedy Murray (junior). It is argued in this study that the library subscriber was Kennedy Murray (senior). Both men lived at *Prosperous*. In this instance, given that this study has shown that library loans were household rather than individual loans, the loans of Kenned Murray (senior) are those included in this table.

Figures represent the borrowing of individual titles and does not take into account that many were multi-volume works.

| Surname | Given name(s) etc. | Loans |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------|
| Barclay | Andrew | nil * |
| Cameron ** | Donald | 87 |
| Gibson (senior) | David | 70 |
| Mackinnon | Allan | 719 |
| Murray *** | Kennedy | 384 |
| Ralston | John | 365 |
| Sinclair | John | 50 |

Appendix

Appendix A

Rules of the Evandale Subscription Library as amended in 1852.¹

1. That the Library be denominated "The Evandale Subscription Library."
2. That the office-bearers of the Library shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, to be elected or re-elected (as the case may be) at each annual general meeting.
3. That each member shall contribute to the Funds of the Library one pound as entrance money, and one pound annually, both sums to be paid in advance.
4. That the power of admitting new or additional members be invested in the office-bearers.
5. That the Annual General Meeting be held on the First Wednesday of October, in each successive year; and that those that shall be admitted after the termination of that month shall pay the entrance-money in full, but be allowed an abatement from the year's subscription in proportion to the time.
6. That Ladies may become members
7. That at all meetings members may vote by proxy.
8. That the business of the Library be conducted by a Committee of twelve members, to be elected annually at the General Meeting in October; that the Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be, *ex officio*, members of the said Committee-three to form a quorum; and that the Committee hold regular meetings once a quarter, or oftener, if deemed necessary.
9. That the Treasurer shall receive all monies payable to the Library, and that he shall never retain in his own hands any sum exceeding five pounds; but as often as the monies received shall amount to that sum, he shall deposit the same, to the account of the Library, with a Banker named by the Committee.

¹ *Rules and Catalogue of the Evandale Subscription Library, Launceston: J. S. Waddell, 1857, pp., iii-vi.*

10. That the Treasurer shall keep a general cash book, showing in detail his receipts and payments, which book shall be laid before the Committee at each of their meetings.
11. That the Committee shall cause to be kept minutes of their transactions, and of all receipts and payments on account of the Library; that they shall cause the accounts to be made up yearly at the beginning of October; and that they shall lay these, together with the minute books and all orders and vouchers relative thereto, before the Annual General Meeting in October for the inspection and consideration of the members.
12. That the property of the Library be vested in Trustees for the use and benefit of the members, the Trustees being the members of the Committee annually elected and appointed as aforesaid.
13. That the interest of members in the Library be transferable, such transfer to be in writing addressed to the Secretary, and the individual or individuals to whom such interest shall be transferred shall be subject to the rules for the admission of new members.
14. That no resolution for breaking up the Library, or alienating any portion of the property, shall be considered as binding unless consented to at two successive General Meetings by four-fifths of the whole members - such consent to be signified either in writing or by actual vote.
15. That Special General Meetings may be called at any time by the Secretary, on the written requisition of any five members; and that notice of all such meetings, and of the Annual General Meeting, shall be given by the Secretary at least fourteen days previous to the day of the meeting.
16. That at each Annual General Meeting members shall have the liberty of submitting books for approval; and that the Secretary be authorised to transmit the funds to an agent in London, for the purchase of such works as shall have been submitted to the meeting and approved of.
17. That the books shall be given out every Saturday (on other days at the pleasure or convenience of the Librarian) - that periodicals, newspapers, and new books (all works to be considered new until they have been twelve months in the Library) shall be returned within fourteen days, and other works within one month - members failing to do so within the prescribed periods, and residing within five miles of the Library, shall be subjected to a fine of sixpence per week, and beyond that distance of threepence per week, so long as they continue to hold them.
18. That any member defacing or losing one or more volumes of a work, shall pay the value of the works or replace the volume or volumes.
19. That any member lending a book or books shall for every such offence pay a fine of five shillings.

20. That the Librarian shall keep a register or catalogue of all books belonging to the Library, and from time to time enter such works as shall be added thereto - together with a careful and correct account of such books as may be issued to the members under their respective names - the days of issue, and the days on which they may have been returned: and that he also be authorised to receive the fines, and enjoined to pay the same within one month into the hands of the Treasurer.
21. That the member who first applies for a book shall be entitled to receive it; and that should the book happen at the time to be in circulation, he may enter his name as an applicant in a book kept for the purpose, so that if the same work should be afterwards asked for by others it may still be issued to the first applicant, provided he applies for it within seven days after its return from the Library.
22. That to enable the Librarian to keep a correct account of all works issued from the Library, any member removing books or periodicals without first producing them to the Librarian be liable to pay a fine of two shillings for each volume so taken
23. That not more than six old and three new volumes be issued to members at any one time.
24. That no transfer of books from one member to another be permitted, except where the members reside beyond five miles from Evandale; and that then only *one* transfer shall be allowed, the member transferring giving notice of such transfer to the Librarian, and holding himself responsible for the state of the work on its return to the Library. Any member offending against this rule to pay a fine of two shillings for each volume so transferred.
25. That for neglecting to pay the Annual Subscription or fines, after due notice shall have been given by the Secretary, a fine of 2s.6d. for one month, 5s. for two months, and so on, be imposed; and that no books shall be issued to any member who has incurred penalties until he shall produce to the Librarian, the actual amount, or the Treasurer's receipt for the same.
26. That none of the foregoing Rules be altered or superseded unless by the authority of a General Meeting convened for the purpose.

Appendix B

Rules of the Bothwell Literary Society, agreed 21 March 1836.²

- 1st That this Society be denominated the “Bothwell Literary Society”.
- 2nd That the business of the Society be managed by a committee of seven members elected half-yearly, including the Treasurer and Secretary any three of whom to form a quorum.
- 3rd That each person on paying the sum of one pound entrance, and one pound annual subscription shall become a member.
- 4th That subscribers may transfer their interest in the Society to any person who may be approved of by the committee.
- 5th That the annual subscriptions be paid to the Treasurer on the first Tuesday in September. - A proportion of not less than a quarter subscription to be paid by any member entering at an intermediate period.
- 6th That the funds of the Society be remitted to an agent in London by the Treasurer for the purpose of purchasing books voted by the Society at any general meeting.
- 7th That the half-yearly meeting of the Society take place on the last Thursday in the months of February and August at the library, at which each member shall have the liberty of submitting a list of books for approval.
- 8th That the books be given out every Wednesday - Periodicals and Newspapers to be returned within one week, and other works within fourteen days and in default a fine of six pence per diem to be levied.
- 9th Any member defacing or losing one or more volumes of a work to be compelled to pay the value of the work or to replace the volume.
- 10th That the subscriptions of ladies be received.
- 11th That books presented by any member of the Society and approved of, may be received in lieu of entrance and subscription money, to the amount of the value of the books.
- 12th That a quorum of the Committee or five members of the Society may call a general meeting by requisition addressed to the Secretary of which fourteen days notice shall be given.
- 13th. That members might vote by proxy to be considered further.
- 14th That the Committee shall have full powers to conduct the affairs of the Society provided they do not act in opposition to its laws.
- 15th That any person desirous of becoming a member of the Society must be proposed by a member and elected by ballot of a majority of the Society at the next meeting.
- 16th That the books deposited for the formation of the library be permanently attached to the Society and unalienable.
- 17th That any member lending a book to a non subscriber be fined ten shillings.
- 18th That no laws of the Society shall be dispensed with or altered, unless by the authority of a general meeting convened for the purpose.

² *Minute Book of the Bothwell Literary Society 26 June 1834 - 8 October 1856.* AOT, N.S. 75/1.

Appendix C

Rules of the Bothwell Literary Society, as amended 1856.³

I. The Society shall be denominated The Bothwell Literary Society; and shall consist of those who are now on its books as Members, and of those who may, from time to time, be admitted Members. New Members to be proposed and admitted by general vote at the Annual General Meeting in October.

II. The Office-bearers of the Society shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian. The Chairman shall be elected by general vote at each Meeting. The Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be elected yearly, also by general vote, at the Annual General Meeting in October.

III. Every Member shall contribute, annually, towards the Funds of the Society, as his Subscription, *One Pound*-payable, in advance, in October. Members not paying their Subscription before the first of January shall forfeit the use of the Library from that date, and until the said Subscription be paid. The year to begin with the first of October.

IV. The Business of the Society shall be managed by an Acting Committee of Six or more Members, to be elected Yearly, at the Annual General meeting in October. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be, *ex officio*, Members of Committee; three to form a quorum. The Committee for the year then existing shall continue in force until the Committee for the ensuing year is appointed. The Committee shall meet as often as shall be found necessary.

V. The Treasurer (who may also be the Secretary) shall receive all monies payable to the Society.

VI. The Treasurer shall keep a Cash-book, showing in detail all his receipts and payments; which book shall be laid before the Acting Committee at each of their meetings. He shall make up his accounts yearly to the end of September, in order that the same may be laid before the Annual General Meeting in October.

VII. The Acting Committee shall audit the Treasurer's Accounts one week at least before the Annual General Meeting. The Acting Committee shall keep Minutes of all their transactions, which Minutes shall be engrossed in the Record Book for the inspection of all the Members.

VIII. The property of the Society shall be, and is, vested in Trustees for the use and benefit of the Members, actual and prospective. The Trustees shall be the Acting Committee of the Society.

IX. There shall be an Annual General Meeting of the Society on the Second Wednesday of October, if convenient; or, if not convenient, on any other day in

³ *An alphabetical classified Catalogue of the Library of the Bothwell Literary Society, with the rules*, Hobart Town: C. Best 1856.

October which the Acting Committee shall appoint. Notice shall be given by the Secretary to the Members at least one week before the day of the Meeting.

X. Special General Meetings may be called by the Secretary at any time on the written requisition of Five members.

XI. No resolution for breaking up the Society, or for alienating of (by sale or otherwise) any portion of its books or property, shall be held valid or legal.

XII. The books shall be issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 12 to 2 o'clock. Periodicals and *new books* (all books to be accounted *new* until twelve months in the Library) shall be returned within three weeks, and other books within six weeks. If not returned within the prescribed time, the Member or Subscriber neglecting the Rule shall pay a fine of *Sixpence* per week for each volume or number so kept by him.

XIII. Any Member or Subscriber defacing or losing a Book, or Volume of a Work, or Number of a Periodical, shall repay the value of the book or work so injured or lost, or replace the book, volume, or number so injured or lost, within the period specified by the preceding Rule, - that is, within three weeks, or six weeks, as it may be.

XIV. Any Member or Subscriber lending a book or books, or a number or numbers of a Periodical, to a Non-subscriber shall, for each breach of Rule, be subjected to a fine of *Two Shilling* and *Sixpence*.

XV. The Librarian shall keep a Catalogue of all Books belonging to the Society; and, from time to time, enter therein such books as shall be added to the Library. Books shall be issued to applicants in the order of their written applications.

XVI. All fines imposed by the foregoing Rules shall be exacted by the Librarian, and paid over by him to the Treasurer. All fines must be paid within a month after demand. Parties neglecting to pay their fines shall forfeit the privileges of members or Subscribers until payment is made.

XVII. Parties not being Members of the Society may obtain the use of the Library, on payment of subscription, for any period from one to twelve months.

XVIII. The Members of the Acting Committee shall have the power to admit strangers visiting the township or neighbourhood to the free use of the Library during their temporary residence.

Appendix D

Books that John Glover donated to the Evandale Subscription Library

John Glover was the library's largest single donor, giving 17 titles, comprising 46 volumes. These included *France*, by Helen Maria Williams, who wrote many such titles. Miss Williams lived chiefly in France after 1788, where she 'adopted the principles of the Revolution with enthusiasm'.⁴ It is said that her impressions were 'frequently formed on very imperfect, one-sided, and garbled information, travestied by the enthusiasm of a clever, badly educated woman'.⁵ While Williams may have possessed the enthusiasm of the convert, her writings embraced the democratic flavour of the event.

Another work of travel was Thicknesse's *Journey through France and part of Spain*, first published in 1777. Glover's copy was one of the fourth edition, published 1798.⁶ Philip Thicknesse spent his adult life in government service in the West Indies and in the Mediterranean before settling in Britain. There he met Thomas Gainsborough in 1754 'and the next twenty years constituted him the patron of the artist, of whose genius he considered himself the discoverer'.⁷ Thicknesse is described by one commentator as 'a man of probity and honour, whose heart and purse were always open to the unfortunate'; another describes him having 'had in a remarkable degree the facility of lessening the number of his friends and increasing the number of his enemies'.⁸ *A Journey through France and part of Spain* comprises a series of letters, rather than chapters, which provide a collection of observations.⁹ The letters are followed by a series of 'General Hints to Strangers who travel in France' written from the viewpoint of an upper-class Englishman.

⁴Robin Myers, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to 1840*, London: Pergamon, 1970, vol.1, p.915.

⁵ *DNB*, vol 61, p.404.

⁶ In this instance, the donated volumes carry the inscription and printed label of William Glover. John Glover's son, William, migrated to the colony, arriving 11 July 1829. John Glover's father was also William. It is probable that John Glover's son was the previous owner.

⁷ *DNB*, vol.56, p.132.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.133.

⁹ Philip Thicknesse, *A Journey through France and part of Spain*, London: Baynes and Barker, 1798. Vols held QVMAG.

Works of literature included Robert Southey's *Essays, Moral and Political*, first published in 1831. Glover's edition was published in 1832.¹⁰ Southey was a major English literary figure, a contemporary of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Poet Laureate. *Essays, Moral and Political* ranks among his principal works.¹¹ The work deals with: parliamentary reform, military and naval reform; the state of the poor; Catholic emancipation; emigration; popular disaffection and public opinion.¹²

Thomas Moore's *Life of Sheridan*, published in 1825, was another donation. Moore was a song-writer and poet, who came to prominence with his publication of *Lalla Rookh; an Oriental romance* in 1817. He was a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, born 1751, was an Irish dramatist and author. Moore's biography was based mostly on material supplied by Sheridan's son (a friend of Moore's) and details supplied by Sheridan's youngest sister and her daughter.¹³ Sheridan and his biographer both enjoyed literary reputations.¹⁴

Mrs Carter and Miss Talbot's Letters comprise correspondence conducted over the period 1741-1787, between accomplished women friends (Mrs Carter, Miss Talbot and Mrs Vesey), edited by Mrs Carter's nephew and executor, Montague Pennington, and published in 1809, following the death of the two women. Mrs Carter was the daughter of a clergyman, a 'blue-stocking, poet, classical scholar and letter-writer [and] friend of Dr Johnson'.¹⁵ In addition to discussing domestic matters and polite society, the letters display a lively interest in religion, literature, philosophy, education and politics, from the perspective of acute observers and participants.

Aristotle's *On the Art of Poetry*, written in the third century BC, discusses the characteristics of poetry, in particular epic poetry and tragedy. *On the Art of Poetry* is one of Aristotle's principal works. Brewer states: 'The equivalent of epic in poetry and

¹⁰ Glover's copy held QVMAG.

¹¹ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1973, p.771.

¹² See Robert Southey, *Essays, Moral and Political*, London: John Murray, 1832, vols 1&2.

¹³ Thomas Moore, *Memoirs of the Life of The Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1826, pp. v-vi.

¹⁴ Sheridan's play *School for Scandal* remains a classic in the dramatic repertoire.

¹⁵ Myers, *A Dictionary of Literature in the English Language from Chaucer to 1840*, vol. 1, p.158.

tragedy in theatre, history painting usually represented a crucial moment of moral choice, often derived from a classical or biblical source'.¹⁶ Aristotle was concerned with man's public role, government, and democracy.¹⁷ Given the parallels between literature and art this work invites investigation of Glover's portrayal of the Aborigines in his landscape paintings. Glover's arrival in the colony coincided with the demise of the Aboriginal race as a result of disease and murder and the loss of their land to European settlers. Glover almost certainly would have observed the few remaining survivors of the race marched through Hobart after which they were located on Flinders Island in Bass Strait. It is noteworthy that Brian Plomley's scholarly study of the Flinders Island Aboriginal settlement is aptly named *Weep in Silence*, a title that echoes the notion of tragedy.¹⁸

Bishop Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion* was published in 1736. The work 'represents a broad attempt to bring the latest knowledge and techniques from science and from philosophy ... to the problems of religion'.¹⁹ Butler's works were standard reading at Oxford and Cambridge before the publication of the evolutionary theories of Darwin and others in the 1860s.²⁰ Butler was also acquainted with Mrs Carter and Miss Talbot whose published letters Glover donated.²¹ Glover also donated John Tillotson's *Sermons*. Tillotson was Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in 1694. His *Sermons* were published posthumously in various editions. Tillotson's own publications included *The Hazard of being Saved in the Church of Rome* and *A Discourse against Transubstantiation*.²²

Gilbert Dyer's *Restoration of the Ancient Modes of Bestowing Names*, published in 1805, is a treatise on the ancient methods of naming the rivers, hills, valleys and plains of Britain, prefixed with the principles whereby names were formed from their Celtic

¹⁶ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, London: Harper Collins, 1997, p.206.

¹⁷ Roger Scruton, *A Dictionary of Political Thought*, London: Pan Books, 1982, p.25.

¹⁸ N. B. J. Plomley, *Weep in Silence*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1987.

¹⁹ Earnest C. Mossner in his introduction to Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion*, New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961, p. ix.

²⁰ loc.cit.

²¹ *DNB*, vol.8, p.68.

²² NSTC 2T12670; 2T12676.

roots.²³ Glover's possession of the book probably stemmed from a personal and professional interest in Britain and its landscape; he may have considered it of interest to others because of the proliferation of British place-names in the colony.

The Planter's Guide by Sir Henry Steuart, published in 1828, is a treatise on trees, their management, their transplanting and removal, to create a natural landscape.²⁴ Glover's copy carries the stationer's label of E. Evans, Bookseller and Stationer, 19 Dorset Street, Portman Square, London.²⁵ The work was originally intended to provide advice suitable for the climate of Scotland (Steuart's place of residence). Steuart was a correspondent of Sir Walter Scott's, who reviewed *The Planter's Guide* 'enthusiastically' in the *Quarterly Review* in March 1828.²⁶ It was also 'favourably reviewed' in the *Westminster Review*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (April 1828) and the *Edinburgh Review* (March 1829).²⁷ Possibly Glover may have wanted to plant his property with English trees, and afterwards thought that others might wish to do so. *The Planter's Guide* is one of a number of Glover's books that also warrants a study in relation to his art, particularly the imagining and construction of landscape.

Richard Lovell Edgeworth's *Essays on Professional Education* was written by the father of the successful novelist, Maria Edgeworth, who is believed to have co-authored the work. Her role is not acknowledged in the publication.²⁸ Richard Edgeworth was a member of the landed gentry whose life was spent mostly in administering his estates and in technological invention. *Essays on Professional Education* followed *Practical Education*, based upon the ideas of Rousseau, which he published in 1798 in conjunction with his daughter. Stern describes *Essays on Professional Education* thus:

The book examines, chapter by chapter, the kind of education that would be suitable for the country gentleman, the professional man who seeks a career in the church, the armed services or the law, the statesman and the prince.

²³ G. Dyer, *A Restoration of the ancient modes of bestowing names on the rivers, hills, vallies, plains, and settlements of Britain*, Exeter, 1805, p. 1.

²⁴ Sir Henry Steuart, *The Planter's Guide*, Edinburgh and London: John Murray, 1828.

²⁵ Volume held QVMAG.

²⁶ *DNB*, vol. 54, p. 226.

²⁷ loc. cit.

²⁸ See Jeffrey Stern's Introduction to Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Essays on Professional Education*, Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994, pp. v-vii.

Rousseau's sense of freedom has all but been left behind: 'children should not be ...suffered to run wild colts for a certain time, and then taken and broken in by most harsh, violent and unskilled methods. Parents should with real kindness and affectionate foresight begin as early as possible to prepare their children for school education...' ²⁹

Edgeworth places the responsibility for careers upon parents, suggesting that following judicious care, children should be directed and prepared for the career most suitable for their talents and circumstances. It is probable that Glover was acquainted with Edgeworth while at Lichfield. Edgeworth was introduced to Lichfield society by physician and poet Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802). Edgeworth wrote that during a visit he 'was introduced to some literary persons, who then resided at Lichfield, and among them foremost to Miss Seward. The next evening the same society re-assembled at another house, and for several ensuing evenings I passed my time in different agreeable companies in Lichfield'. ³⁰ Brewer states: 'All of the Lichfield circle were interested in Education'. ³¹ Again, this work invites attention concerning Glover's beliefs.

Noteworthy for its application at *Patterdale*, is the donation of Dickson's *Practical Agriculture*, published 1805; a substantial work covering such aspects as farm buildings, tenancing, enclosures, roads and embankments, drainage, paring and burning, fallowing and the cultivation of land. ³² The text is accompanied by 53 illustrations. Building plans and detailed costing (for Britain) are provided, based upon practicality and function. Of all Glover's books, given the architecture of the *Patterdale* homestead (Illustration 11) and the design of its surroundings, and its similarity to Dickson's plans (Illustration 14), this work can most readily be related to Glover's life in the colony, and reinforces the view that he based much of his life on books.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. vi

³⁰ Quoted in Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p.596.

A further connection to the Lichfield Cathedral Library is that '[a]mong the women who borrowed books was Honora Sneyd, a distant relative of the Swards who lived with them [and who] finally married Richard Lovell Edgeworth'. Paul Kaufman, 'Readers and Their Reading in Eighteenth-Century Lichfield', *The Library*, Fifth series, vol.28, p.113.

³¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p.597-8.

³² R. W. Dickson, *Practical Agriculture*, London: Richard Phillips, 1807.

Given that the great majority of books, whose publication dates can be stated with any degree of certainty, were published before his departure from England, it is likely that a number were brought to the colony by him. Those with publication dates later than his departure in 1830 were apparently acquired while at *Patterdale*. It is interesting that the majority of the books now held in the collection of the QVMAG, published before his departure, are inscribed and dated, probably by Glover, during his years at *Patterdale*. While there can be no certainty which books were brought to the colony by Glover and which were acquired later, it is clear that his *Patterdale* library spanned both periods of his life. It is also possible that, in his mature years, in Tasmania, he chose to autograph books previously in his possession.

John Glover died at *Patterdale* on 9 December 1849. Robert Russell was co-executor of his estate. His obituary, written by John West, the editor of the *Launceston Examiner* stated: 'For some years past, Mr Glover had all but ceased from original painting, and spent the most of his time in reading, principally books of a religious kind'.³³ Surviving volumes, in private ownership, bearing the inscription 'John Glover 1837', indicate that Glover acquired a number of Scott's novels while at *Patterdale*.³⁴ In addition to the Glover provenance, the volumes carry the inscription of George Taylor who subsequently acquired the property. The books, all quarter bound with leather spines and corners and marbled paper boards, were: *The Talisman*, *The Antiquary*, *Peveril of the Peak*, *The Monastery* and *The Abbot*. In addition, with Taylor's inscription, matching binding and similarly acquired, was Scott's *Waverley*. There is every reason to suppose it also was Glover's.

³³ *Launceston Examiner* 5 January 1850. See also Henry Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam*, J. Walch and Sons, Hobart; A. W. Birchall and Sons, Launceston; Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., Ltd., London, 1909, p.121. Button, who was acquainted with Glover (married to his grand-daughter), recalled that in his final years Glover 'derived pleasure and comfort from reading, which was confined almost exclusively to religious books'.

³⁴ A number of books held in private ownership show that books from Glover's personal library remained at *Patterdale* following his death. A number bearing his inscription were acquired by their present owner's forebears who 'bought the books after the Glovers left *Patterdale*'. I am indebted to the present owner for this information and for allowing me to examine the volumes (February 1998).

Appendix E

Part 1

Books from the library of John Glover in the collection of the QVMAG

- Brown, William, *Antiquities of the Jews* inscribed: 'John Glover 1836'. (First published London, 1820. Glover's copy is missing preliminary pages and pp.1-4.) Ω
- Burke, E., *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful with an introductory discourse concerning taste; and several other additions*, London, 1793. Inscribed: 'J. Glover, 1836'.
- Burnett, James, *A practical treatise on painting in three parts consisting of hints on composition, chiaroscuro, & colouring*, London: James Carpenter, 1837. Inscribed: 'John Glover 1837'.
- Chambers, E., *Practical perspective; or an easy method of representing natural objects according to the rules of art*, London: Bowles and Carver, [n.d.] 7th edition. Inscribed: 'John Glover'.
- Gartside, Mary. *An essay on a new theory of colours, and on composition in general; illustrated by coloured blots showing the application of the theory to composition of flowers, landscapes, figures &c. in three parts*, London: T. Gardiner, W. Miller, I. & A. Arch, 1808. Inscribed: (1) 'John Glover/presented by the author', (2) 'With the authors respects' [outside front cover].³⁵
- Laidler, S., and Massie, J.W., *Religion in India: a voice directed to Christian Churches for millions in the east*, London: John Churchill, 1827. Inscribed: 'John Glover 1838'. Ω
- Lyell, Charles, *Principles of Geology being an attempt to explain the former changes of the earth's surface, by reference to causes now in operation*, London: John Murray, 1830 [vol.1] and 1832 [vol.2]. Inscribed: vol.1, 'John Glover from Lady Guilford Sept 1st, 1830'; vol.2, 'John Glover Esqr from Lady Guilford June 29, 1832'.
- Malone, Edward, *The Works of Joshua Reynolds, containing his discourses, ideas, a journey to Flanders & Holland, (now first published) & his commentary on Du*

³⁵ For Mary Gartside see Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 217-224. I am indebted to David Hansen for this reference.

Fresnoy's art of painting in two volumes, London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1797, vol.2. Inscribed: 'John Glover/1837'.

- Price, Uvedale, *Essays on the picturesque as compared with the sublime and the beautiful; and on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape*. London: J. Robson, 1794, vol.2. Inscribed: John Glover, Litchfield.
- Southey, Robert, *Essays, moral and political*, London: John Murray, 1832, 2 vols. Inscribed [perhaps by another hand]: 'John Glover, 1837'.
- *The history and adventures of the renowned Don Quixote with a preface by Dr Smollett in 5 volumes*, London: C. Cook, [1755]. Inscribed: vols 1 & 2, 'John Glover/Patterdale/Van Diemen's Land/ 1842'; vol.3 missing; vol.4, 'J. Glover 1842'; vol.5, 'John Glover 1842'.
- *The letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero to several of his friends: with remarks by William Melmoth*, London, R. Dodesley, 1753, 3 vols. Vols 1 & 2 inscribed in pencil [perhaps by another hand] 'J Glover' [n.d.]. Ω
- *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, London; Charles Knight, 1835, vol.3. Inscribed: 'John Glover, 1837'.
- *The Rambler*, London: J. Walker, 1796, 4 vols. Inscribed: 'John Glover, 1800'.
- *The whole works of Josephus*, [no publisher, no date]. Inscribed: 'John Glover'.

Part 2

Books from the library of John Glover in the collection of the Launceston Library

- William Smith (translator), *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime*, London, 1770. Inscribed: 'John Glover Mills Plains 1835'.

All inscriptions in ink and located on inside board except where stated.

Ω Denotes books that also carry the inscription of the Evandale Subscription Library. They are not listed in the *Catalogue* as donations. *The letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero* and *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime* also carry the inscription of William Hepburn Kidd, appointed librarian in 1855. It is probable that the books entered the library sometime after Glover's death, possibly the gift of John Richardson Glover.

Appendix F

Books donated by Dr James Ryley Kenworthy to the library of Christ College

- Arnott, Neil. *Elements of physics or natural philosophy*, London: Longman, 1833.
- Bakewell, Robert. *An introduction to geology*, London: Longman, 1838. Ω
- Baker, E. *Employment for the microscope*, 1753.
- Barrow, Isaac. *Sermons on various subjects*, London: Baynes 1823.
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- Bell, Jacob (ed.), *Pharmaceutical journal and transactions*, London: Churchill, 1851-1854.
- Bird, Golding. *Elements of natural philosophy*, London: Churchill, 1844.
- Blair, Hugh. *Sermons*, London: Strahan & Cadell, 1842.
- Blomfield, George B. *Sermons*, London: Hatchard, 1841. Ω
- *Book of science laid open*, London: Jones, 1835.
- Burrow, E. I. *Elgin Marbles*, London: Duncan, 1837.
- Carpenter, William B. *Manual of physiology*, London: Churchill, 1846.
- Carpenter, William B. *Vegetable physiology and botany*, London: Churchill, 1844.
- Cavallo, Tiberius. *Complete treatise on electricity in theory and practice*, London: Dilly, 1777.
- Chalmers, Charles. *Thoughts on electricity with notes on experiments*, Eding: Sutherland & Knox, 1851.
- Crabb, George. *A dictionary of general knowledge; or, an explanation of words & things connected with all the arts and sciences*, London: Thomas Tegg, 1839. Ω.
- Children, John George. *Essay on chemical analysis*, London: Phillips, 1819.
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Ω Denotes volumes (many not listed in the library catalogues) found to contain both Kenworthy's bookplate and the binder's label on the inside front board:

*Bound by J. G. Sutton
No 25 Paradise Street
Next door to the chapel
Liverpool*

It is probable that this listing is underreported, in that both the donor records and cataloguing are incomplete concerning provenance; nor has the extant library (9/2001) in the Rare Books and Materials Library of the University of Tasmania been examined in its entirety by this writer. In some cases, works published in multi-volume format are incomplete in the extant collection. Kenworthy's provenance is established by his two bookplates, the smaller of the two being a simplified version of the larger.³⁶

³⁶ For library catalogues see *Catalogue of the Christ's College Library in the Diocese of Tasmania, Van Diemen's Land*: G. W. Elliston, 1848; *Lady Franklin Library Catalogue*, Hobart: Christ College Trust, n.d. [1991?], unpublished; Jan Rees (compiler), *The Library of the Franklin Museum at Ancanthe, and at Christ's College, Bishopsbourne*, Hobart: Christ's College 2 vols, n.d., unpublished

Appendix G

Robert Wales and *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*.

The authorship of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, published under the pseudonym "Pindar Juvenal", has always been in doubt. The work was published in Hobart by Andrew Bent in 1827. Those considered the most likely author are Evan Henry Thomas, author of *The Bandit of the Rhine*, the first recorded printed play in Australia, discussed in Chapter III, and Robert Wales, one-time editor of the *Launceston Advertiser*, Evandale police magistrate, and a library donor and subscriber.³⁷

The story describes, in jocular terms, the exploits of a civilian hunting party intent on capturing the notorious bushranger Matthew Brady. The party are mistaken for Brady and his gang and are captured: 'The soldiers take them to the nearest magistrate, who releases them with some caustic comment'.³⁸ The following day, the soldiers, upon actually happening upon Brady, are captured, given lashes, 'deprived of their trousers, and made to walk back to Launceston thus stripped'.³⁹ George Mackaness states that there is no evidence that the story is factual. It was once thought, but unproven, that the work was considered libellous, doubtless because it presented the military in poor light, and that it was banned and copies burned. Just four copies have survived.⁴⁰

The Mitchell Library copy carries the handwritten inscription of Robert Wales on the title page. Morris Miller, commenting upon the inscription, suggests the likelihood of Wales being the author 'inasmuch as his flair for writing would be known through his editorship'.⁴¹ When attempting to explain the pseudonym 'Pindar Juvenal', Morris

³⁷ For discussion on the likelihood of Robert Wales and Evan Henry Thomas as the likely authors of the work, see E. Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1952, pp.88-92. See also E. Flinn, *ADB*, vol.2, pp.515-6.

³⁸ George Mackaness (ed.), *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1944, p.18. Mackaness discusses (pp. 17-21) the satire in brief but without resolving its authorship.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.18

⁴⁰ Copies are held by: the British Museum; the National Library, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; and a private collector in Tasmania.

⁴¹ Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, p.92.

Miller explored Virgil's *Aeneid* seeking its classical associations.⁴² He noted: 'The pseudonym itself has little direct connection either with the contents of the poem or with the manner of its composition and treatment'.⁴³ For Morris Miller, though, the authorship issue remains unresolved. Similarly, Mackaness notes the Wales connection, his official status, and unrelated correspondence, but states: 'So much for Wales'.⁴⁴

However, books donated to the Evandale Library by Wales support the argument that he was the author. Wales's donation included both *The Hermit in London* and *Peter Pindar's Works*. The inclusion of *Peter Pindar's Works* is revealing inasmuch as it provides weight to the claim for Wales's authorship of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*. Peter Pindar was the pseudonym adopted by author John Wolcot (1738-1819), described as having 'a gift for the comical and mischievous exposure of foibles'.⁴⁵ Given the knowledge of Wales's donation of *Peter Pindar's Works* to the library at Evandale, it seems likely that the derivation of the pseudonym, also rests closer in time and that 'Pindar Juvenal' derives partly from the pseudonym *Peter Pindar* adopted by Wolcot, whose 'gift for the comical and mischievous exposure of foibles' clearly applies to the author of *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, and partly in homage to the Roman satirist. It is also noted that *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors* and *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land* were both published by Bent, both disguised their authorship, and both were controversial in their time. Furthermore, while Thomas and Wales both had literary associations and each lived for a time in Launceston, given the story's featuring of issues, some doubtless familiar to Wales, and his employment in administering justice in government service, there is good reason to believe that he would compose such a work, and publish it anonymously.

⁴² See also: Greek lyric poet, Pindar (522-443 B. C.), and Roman satirist and poet, Juvenal (c. A D. 60-after 128).

⁴³ Morris Miller, *Pressmen and Governors*, pp.91-2.

⁴⁴ Mackaness (ed.), *The Van Diemen's Land Warriors*, p.18.

⁴⁵ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p.894.

Appendix H

The Database

The *Database* was constructed utilising *Microsoft Access* version 7, tailored for the purpose of analysing the library collection. Three fields of input were constructed to accept data from the *Catalogue*, the published catalogue of 1857, surviving library volumes, and other bibliographical sources. Cross matching between fields allowed for the grouping of data and the production of the Tables.

Book entries and editing

- Catalogue number
- Title
- Category
- Publisher
- Place of publication
- Present location
- Binding style
- Provenance details
- Physical condition
- Included in 1857 published catalogue (yes/no)

Borrower entry and editing

- Surname
- Given names

Borrowing entries and editing

- Borrower
- Catalogue number
- Date borrowed
- Date returned

Appendix I

Collection comparisons: Evandale and Bothwell

The publication of library catalogues, for Bothwell in 1856, and Evandale in 1857, allows for comparisons not available for the earlier period, given the lack of evidence for Bothwell acquisitions. Notwithstanding that the absence of standard cataloguing procedures imposes limitations, the data (see Tables 1 and 2) suggest that both libraries favoured fiction. At Evandale, 'Fiction and Poetry' was 21 per cent of the collection. At Bothwell, 'Fiction, Novels, Tales, Romances' was 19.5 per cent and 'Poetry and Drama' 6.3 per cent. Moreover, the Bothwell collection included most of the authors popular at Evandale, including Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, J. F. Cooper, William Maxwell, Bulwer Lytton, Samuel Warren, Frederick Marryat, G.P.R. James, Miss Maria Edgeworth and Charlotte Bronte. The notable absence at Bothwell were *Bray's Novels*, which were the most popular fiction at Evandale.

Reasons can be put forward for this. Firstly, this study has argued that at Evandale, *Bray's Novels*, purchased as a series, was the result of a marketing initiative by Orger and Meryon, the London bookseller. The Bothwell library was established in 1834. *Bray's Novels* were published as a series in 1845-6. While *Bray's Novels* may have been an appropriate purchase for the Evandale Library when starting out, by 1848 the Bothwell library was already well supplied with novels. Secondly, it is likely that Orger and Meryon did not enjoy the influence at Bothwell that they had at Evandale. Evidence of their marketing in the colony is from the 1840s and 1850s, before which the Bothwell library minutes and surviving volumes indicate they were already patronising a number of other London booksellers. While Orger and Meryon were indeed a supplier to Bothwell, they were less likely to have influenced purchases.

For Biography, a category similarly identified by both libraries, Evandale's holding of 15.4 per cent was much greater than the 9.4 per cent for Bothwell. Its prominence at Evandale can probably be explained by the influence of Robert Russell, in that

borrowing data shows that *Biography* comprised almost one-quarter of his borrowing. Russell was likely to have been an influence both on purchasing and reading habits.

On the other hand, Voyages and Travels show 9.1 per cent for Evandale and 17.4 per cent for Bothwell. Perhaps interest in travel was greater at the time Bothwell started its collection in the previous decade, and that it receded as the colony achieved more independence, and when library subscribers who had once been travellers, if not adventurers, became established in the colony.

The reason why Evandale's holding of 6.2 per cent for Encyclopaedias, Libraries, &c., is greater than Bothwell's holding of 1.2 per cent for Cyclopoedias, Dictionaries, &c., is because of Alexander Rose's donation of 18 volumes of *Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopaedias* to Evandale, and the 38 volumes of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library* that Evandale purchased from Orger and Meryon. Neither were held at Bothwell, which is noteworthy given the popularity of the Murray series elsewhere. Certainly, the donation of books was significant in both collections. A number of the Murray titles, however, were held as single publications. Perhaps the exclusion of the Murray series in its entirety at Bothwell suggests again the absence of initiatives by booksellers, including Orger and Meryon.

Periodicals in parts distort the data and make percentages less meaningful. Within this category, however, it is noted that the Bothwell collection included titles also held at Evandale: *Athenaeum*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Sharpe's London Magazine*, *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, *Dublin University Magazine*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Hogg's Instructor* and *Quarterly Review*. There were also a number of periodicals held at Bothwell not held at Evandale, giving it a greater range. These included *Family Friend*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *North American Review*, *Penny Magazine*, *Pocket Magazine*, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, *Tait's Magazine* and *Westminster Review*.

Neither library held sectarian journals, in a period when the growth in periodicals enabled religious interests to reach a greater audience, which suggests that both libraries supported mainstream theology rather than sectarian interests. Moreover, the

Evandale Library possessed many books, particularly novels, hostile to Romanism (see Chapter VIII). Both expressions are no doubt a reflection of the dominance of the national churches of Scotland and England in both communities.

Of books, *Theology* represented 3.5 per cent for Evandale and 3.6 per cent for Bothwell, a further similarity. Of the remaining categories, History was 13.3 for Evandale and 17.4 for Bothwell. Given that the data shows that History was 8.2 per cent of the Evandale loans, its holding there was more in keeping with demand than with the Bothwell holding, and possibly the result of experience. Little that is meaningful can be stated concerning the remaining categories due to differences in cataloguing procedures and the smaller samples.

Just as it is argued that Russell was influenced by his Bothwell experience when establishing the Evandale Library, so too with the library collection. Differences were minor and likely more the result of personal preference, the passing of time, and learned experience, than with changed direction. This suggests a shared set of beliefs on behalf of the founders and donors. In regard to the supply of books, this comparison gives support to the argument that London booksellers were influential in forming library collections in Tasmania, but not uniformly so.

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