

THE EARLY HISTORY OF WARRANDYTE

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REFERENCES

1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of last year, when looking for historical material on the Upper Yarra District, I searched some Police records in the Archives Department of the State Library of Victoria. I found there a number of references to Anderson's Creek in its early gold mining period, and the notes which I made of these references have been put into a typed pamphlet form titled "History. Anderson's Creek, 1856 to 1865." Copies of this pamphlet have been lodged with the State Library, the Royal Historical Society of Victoria, and our local Society, the Ringwood Historical Research Group.

At the last meeting of the Ringwood Group I was asked to read this pamphlet at tonight's meeting. However, as the pamphlet is in the form of notes and not in narrative form, I propose to add some background material which I have gleaned from other sources. These other sources are for the most part not primary ones. They are listed at the end of this paper. I shall read only part of the pamphlet, and spare you the rest!

The history of Warrandyte has been written by Mr. L.R. Cranfield and he must be regarded as the historian of that place. Much of my information comes from his writings. A.3, A.4, A.5.

This paper will deal with the history of the Anderson's Creek or Warrandyte area, from its beginning as a white settlement in 1839 to the year 1865. Events in this area will be related to events in the surrounding districts. It will be seen that early Ringwood history should be related to the earlier adjoining settlement of Warrandyte.

2. WARRANDYTE FROM 1839 TO 1851

It will be remembered that the settlement at the site of Melbourne commenced in 1835 and that occupation of grazing land spread very rapidly from this beginning. In 1837 when Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales (which at that time included Victoria) visited and named Melbourne, it is said "He found that the population had increased to over 200, and that they had spread over wide tracts of the Melbourne basin as far north as Macedon". B.12, p.24. In this same year of 1837, John and David Fletcher Gardner and William Fletcher commenced a cattle run at Mooroolbark, and William and Don Ryrie and James Graham commenced at Yering. B.1. Two years later, in 1839, James Anderson commenced a station at Warrandyte, his homestead being built on the bank of the creek which later bore his name; Anderson's Creek. A.3, p.1.

In 1841 C.H. Nutt, Assistant Crown Surveyor, made the first survey of the Parish of Warrandyte. Anderson was then left with only 390 acres of land extending between Anderson's Creek and Templestowe, and two years later he sold this to Major Charles Newman. A.3, p.2. It was Newman who built the two houses, "Pontville" and "Monckton", at Templestowe. A.2. In the same year that Newman arrived, James Dawson with G.W. Selby and Mitchell opened Warrandyte Station at Pig Tail Hill. A.3, p.3. Part of this property is shown on the Parish map as Thompson's Pre-emptive Right. A.3, p.3. It is on the south side of the river, at the east end of the present township.

It can be stated then that the first settlers at Warrandyte were James Anderson, who arrived in 1839, and James Dawson, in 1843.

It is of interest to note that the 1841 survey provided for an aboriginal reserve of 1103 acres at Pound Bend. The aboriginals were to

be placed under the care of the Presbyterian Church.^{A3,p.3.} This land was later subdivided by the Crown and most of it sold; but the Pound Reserve is part of it.

In June 1851, Louis Michel and his party found gold at either Deep Creek or Anderson's Creek, and this was followed in July by a good find at Anderson's Creek.^{A4,pp.90,91.} A rush of miners followed and in August there were 150 men at work and a store was opened.^{A3,p.5.} The lonely bush country, known only to aboriginals, cattle-men, and a few wood-cutters and wattle bark strippers, became a busy work centre of miners; and Warrandyte, or Anderson's Creek as it was then known, became established.

3. MELBOURNE AND WARRANDYTE IN 1851

Let us look at the state of development of the country generally, in 1851, when this infant Warrandyte began.

It was in 1851, after much agitation and with great rejoicing, that Victoria was separated from New South Wales and given separate government. There were still no railways in Victoria; all transport over land being by horse power, although the famous Cobb and Co. coach lines had not begun. In March of that year Melbourne had a population of 23,143 persons^{B.18, Appen. p.33.} but it had no public water supply system, no sewerage system, no gas supply, and no telegraph or telephone service. Water was supplied to the citizens of Melbourne by the Melbourne Water Company, which pumped water from the Yarra River to an overhead tank and after filtering it, sold it at a penny a cart load. This was considered a great improvement on the earlier system by which water vendors filled their carts at the river and sold direct to the public at anything from 2/- to 10/- a barrel.^{B.15, pp.4,5.}

There were some suburbs at this stage, including Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, etc. but areas that are now suburbs were detached villages. Williamstown, then the port of Melbourne, falls into this category, as do Brighton, St. Kilda, and Heidelberg. In 1848, the road to Heidelberg was described as the only made road in the colony, and even this road had no bridge at Merri Creek, the road dipping into the Creek bed, as a ford. At Heidelberg there were "a butcher, a baker, a wheelwright, a blacksmith, and a few other people of the same description."^{B.11, p.59.} However, there was a Presbyterian Church in Heidelberg in 1848 and St. John's, Church of England opened in 1851. It is of interest too, to note that the mansion, "Banyule", built by Joseph Hawdon near the junction of the Yarra and Plenty Rivers, was in existence at this time.^{B.14, p.1.}

Warrandyte, in 1851, before gold was found, consisted of two pastoral properties and much bush country. The nearest village was Heidelberg, and it was through this village that the route from Melbourne ran. There were pastoral stations at Christmas Hills, Mooroolbark, Steel's Creek, Yering, Watts River, and right up the river to Woori Yallock, and at Kangaroo Grounds and Eltham. In the Hawthorn, Camberwell, Kew, Box Hill area were scattered farms. East of these was only forested Crown land. Ringwood, Croydon and Lilydale did not exist.

In those days the river was a formidable obstacle to movement out of the city. The first bridge over the river was a wooden one built in 1846 at the site of the present Prince's Bridge. This was replaced by a stone bridge consisting of a single arch of 150 feet span. Such a long span was a feat in those days. The bridge was opened on the 15th November, 1850 by Superintendent LaTrobe.^{B.16, p.241.}

Before 1851 this was the only bridge over the river. There were punts at Hawthorn (Denham Street), Abbotsford (Convent of the Good Shepherd) and Heidelberg. There was a ford at Dight's Falls at Studley Park. In 1851 a wooden bridge was built at Hawthorn to replace the punt.^{B.3, p.8. B.16, p.349.}

In 1851 Victoria was still very much a pioneers' country.

During this period the history of Warrandyte is largely that of the ups and downs of the gold mining industry there. However, in this period, the village was established, with its hotels, school, churches, etc., and when later the gold mining ended, the village remained.

The goldfield was officially proclaimed on 1st September, 1851, the first in Victoria; but the discoveries of gold at Ballarat and the flooded state of the river at Warrandyte caused the temporary abandonment of the field. A.3, p.6.

In 1854, the miners returned and by 1855 there were 200 miners working along the river. Two stores were established in 1854. A.3, p.8,9. In 1856 a real rush occurred. The first quartz crusher was erected; the first coach from Melbourne commenced running; a punt commenced a service across the river near the site of the present bridge; the first hotel was built; and the first school opened. A.3, pp.10,11,19.

In October, 1856 Walter Charles Brackenbury (or Brockenbury) came from Creswick as Anderson's Creek's first magistrate and goldfield warden at a salary of £750 a year. A.3, p.11. Earlier in that year a police station was established there, and by October the Constable's house was erected. A.10, p.3/7.

In 1857 Warrandyte's first land sale was held. Twenty-five blocks were sold at a cost of £5 to £8 each. A.3, p.12. This was land in the Government Township of Warrandyte. In the same year a twice weekly mail service with Melbourne commenced. Mr. E.H. Cameron was appointed the first post-master at a salary of £20 per year. A.3, p.12.

After the rush in 1856 the gold mining declined, and, although much work was done, it was not very successful until 1868. The original working was done on alluvial deposits in the creeks. However quartz reefs were found, and these were then worked. Patrick Geraghty, in 1860, completed 400 feet of tunnel in his quartz mining activity. Alluvial gold in the bed of the river was won by building coffer dams and pumping out the water. Clark and Brown, also in 1860, put a cutting through an isthmus to divert the river at Thompson's Bend, so as to be able to work in the bed of the river around the Bend. This operation cost £7000 and produced little or no return. A.3, pp.12,13. The tunnel at Pound Bend, constructed in 1870, was a much more successful venture. A.3, pp.16,17.

Perhaps because of the poor returns at Warrandyte in 1858, Patrick Geraghty "led a party of five Warrandyte miners to prospect the Bandenong Ranges, and was instrumental in discovering the Emerald, Nicholson, and Britannia goldfields. Five years later his party received a Government reward of £500 for their pains." A.3, p.13.

In June 1858 Mr. Brackenbury was succeeded by Charles Warburton Carr. It is said that the township of Warburton was named after Mr. Carr. He remained at Warrandyte until 1863, when the Court of Petty Sessions there was closed. A.3, p.12. A.5, pp.60,61.

In February 1861, the first bridge over the river at Warrandyte was completed. It was a timber structure of many spans and was known as Anderson Road Bridge. Unfortunately, in December 1863 a very bad flood removed the centre spans, and Warrandyte was again without a bridge. A.3, p.14. It was not until 1875, twelve years later, that a new bridge was built. A.3, p.18. This one, another timber structure, lasted until a few years ago, when the Country Roads Board replaced it with the existing concrete and steel one.

Before completing this condensed history, I should mention the Warrandyte Cricket Club. This Club had the distinction of celebrating its centenary in 1955, thus being one of the oldest clubs in the State. A.5, p.11. It has been closely associated with the Warrandyte Recreation Ground.

5. POLICE RECORDS FROM 1856 TO 1865

I now propose to read some extracts from the notes made by me of the Police records. A10.

I. ANDERSON CREEK POLICE STATION

The first mention of Anderson's Creek is in a memo written on the 1st May, 1856 at Richmond Barracks, regarding the need for a police station there. The memo states that "as there are so few persons working there at present, I do not consider a police station absolutely required."

On the 4th August, 1856, Inspector R.S. Cooke reports that two new stations were formed during the month; Anderson's Creek and Oakleigh; but in regard to Anderson's Creek a house and lock-up are still required.

On the 1st October, 1856, a report states "The Constable's house for this station (Anderson's Creek) has been conveyed to its destination and will be erected in a few days." On the 16th October, 1856, it is stated that the house is being erected on a section containing 8 to 10 acres. On the 24th October, "The land is surveyed and the town allotments will be sold immediately."

On the 20th October, 1857, Inspector McGulloch agrees with Mr. Brockenbury in regard to Anderson's Creek that "a mounted man is required not only for despatch duty but for the execution of warrants and summonses and for the patrolling of the lonely creeks in that part of the country."

Early in 1859 the name of the constable in charge at Anderson's Creek is mentioned as Senior Constable J. Feathers Dunlap, and he is to be there for some years.

In December, 1859 a return of portable buildings shows Anderson's Creek with one room of zinc for quarters, a six stall zinc stable, and a lock-up of wood with a zinc roof.

In December, 1862 tenders for the purchase of horse manure from police stations were received and considered. For Anderson's Creek Police Station there was only one tender, that of Robert Cameron of Anderson's Creek, dated 14th December, 1862, for 10/- for the year. This tender was accepted. In March, 1864 a tender by George P. Norton for 4/- per load was recommended.

In June, 1863 Superintendent P. Le P. Bockey states that he intends sending a portable house from Aitkins Gap to Anderson's Creek so as to give increased accommodation there. In April, 1864 a tender of Dan Dwyer for £7/10/- to erect a portable house of one room, 15 ft. x 12 ft., was recommended.

In July, 1863, owing to the mounted constable at Anderson's Creek being so often required to visit Warburton, a second mounted constable was approved until such time as a police station is erected at Warburton. As no accommodation was available for the third man at Anderson's Creek police station, he was made an allowance of 2/- per night.

In May, 1864 Senior Constable J. Feathers Dunlap recommends that the tenders to be called for fencing at Anderson's Creek police station should provide for three rails and not two rails, in order to keep out calves and goats. "Often a mob of upwards of a hundred goats does be on the land referred to." However, the tenders do not mention whether the fence is to be of two or three rail.

In September, 1864 Inspecting Superintendent P.K. Smith made a report to the Chief Commissioner on the police stations in the Bourke District. He visited all of them, and of Anderson's Creek he says: "The importance which at one time distinguished this Gold Field, seems to have departed. There is no population and no mining that I could

observe. It becomes a question therefore of the necessity for a police station, at any rate I am of opinion that one Md. Married Conso. is all that is required. I found Forage Correct and Govt. property correct. Only one warrant issued in the current year, 18 Sums. and there are only 9 charges for a similar period, and they are of an unimportant Character." It is of interest too to quote what he says about Lilydale: "This Township is situated about 25 miles from Melbourne, 10 from Anderson's Creek and 26 from Warburton. There are about 200 people resident in and about it. There are Three Public Houses in the Township. I am of opinion that one Mounted Constable should be stationed here." It would appear that at this date there was no police station at Lilydale.

In February, 1864 Senior Constable Dunlap mentions in a report that there is no means of crossing the River Yarra at Anderson's Creek since the bridge was carried away by the late flood.

The year 1865 saw the closing of the police station at Anderson's Creek. In October Thomas Newman made an offer to remove police buildings at Anderson's Creek to Healesville, where a new police station was being established, for the sum of £15.

II. THE WORK OF THE POLICE AT ANDERSON'S CREEK

In addition to maintaining order at Anderson's Creek, the police were responsible for a large surrounding district, as is evident from the distances to neighbouring police stations. They were responsible also for areas of new gold discoveries as far away as New Chum (Healesville) and Warburton. On account of the absence of roads many places were accessible only by horse-back. A mounted constable was essential at a police station such as Anderson's Creek.

Some of the work carried out by the police at Anderson's Creek is given in the paragraphs which follow.

In February, 1859, Senior Constable Dunlap reports the trial of five men at Anderson's Creek Police Court before C.W. Carr, Police Magistrate. They were charged with breaking into the house of Patrick Doolan at Watery Gully. Two were discharged, two were each fined £10 or 2 months imprisonment and one was fined £5. The fines were paid.

In February, 1860 Mr. Dunlap reports on the trial of William White at Anderson's Creek Police Court for shooting Bobby, the aboriginal at Brushy Creek. Presumably Bobby was only injured. White was acquitted of shooting at with intent, but was fined £5 for discharging fire arms in a public place. "The money was handed to W. Thomas Esq. J.P. as compensation for the Blacks."

In March, 1860 Mounted Constable John McAdam, who was stationed at Anderson's Creek, reports that Isaac Jochim was convicted for selling spirituous liquors without a licence.

In February and March, 1860 Mounted Constable Purcell, who also was stationed at Anderson's Creek, reports on the arrest and trial of Francisco Palliscena, alias William Hatfield, ticket-of-leave holder. He robbed three miners at Britannia Goldfield by raising the end of the tent in which they were sleeping. He then left to go to Melbourne, passed the Brushy Creek Hotel, and was arrested on the bush track between there and "the Doncaster." When arrested by Purcell he had on him £57/5/4, a small packet of gold, a six barrel revolver, loaded. He was tried for "robbery from a dwelling" at Melbourne General Sessions on 1st March, 1860, and sentenced to 2 years hard labour on the roads. Judge Wrixon presided. For his work in this case, Constable Purcell received a reward of £5 from the Police Reward Fund.

In January, 1863 he (Senior Constable Dunlap) reports on the seizure of spirits at Hoddles Creek. The owner of the spirits was proceeded against at Anderson's Creek Police Court before Mr. Carr, Police Magistrate. As a result, the whole of the seized stock was

forfeited. It was sold at Anderson's Creek and the proceeds, £24/13/3, paid into the Treasury to the credit of General Revenue. The seizure was carried out by Mounted Constables Davey and Shearer and Constable Doyle. They took a Government horse and dray to Hoddles Creek to bring the liquor back, but there was so much seized that they had to hire a team of six bullocks to transport it. The list of stock seized is given as: 46 bottles of Porter in case, 65 bottles of Ale, 4 cases of Gin, 1 keg of Brandy, 1 keg of Brandy partly full, 1 keg of Rum, 1 keg of Rum partly full, 1 keg of Whiskey partly full, 1 keg of Sherry partly full, 1 Funnell and 1 half pint measure and 2 brass cocks. For his work in this case Mounted Constable Davey received £5 reward from the Police Reward Fund.

In February, 1864 Senior Constable Dunlap reports that three men were convicted at Anderson's Creek Police Court and fined £5 each for selling spirituous liquor to aboriginals.

III. GOLDFIELDS IN THE WARBURTON DISTRICT

In December, 1859 appears the first report by Anderson's Creek constables of inspections made of the gold fields in the Warburton district. These goldfields were just being opened up and there were no police stationed there. The establishment at Anderson's Creek at this time consisted of the Senior Constable Dunlap, and a mounted constable. The inspection of the gold fields was made by the mounted constable and he made a written report on returning from his inspection. In September, 1863 a senior constable and a mounted constable were sent to Warburton to establish a station there, and from then on Anderson's Creek constables were relieved of the responsibility of going to Warburton. However, they were still responsible for Lillydale, which in September, 1864 is reported to have a population of 200 residents in and about it, and to have three public houses.

During the four years that visits were made to the gold fields in the Warburton district, each trip must have been an adventure. In the earlier period gold was being found at Hoddles Creek and McGrae's Creek. The diggings near Warburton are not mentioned until January, 1860. The trip took three days. The first night the mounted constable stayed at Briarty's cattle station, the only place where he could get stabling for his horse. This was 24 miles from Anderson's Creek. The second day he visited the gold fields and returned to the cattle station for the night. The third day he returned to Anderson's Creek. Later there was a hotel at the Hoddles Creek fields, where he stayed. This was 28 miles from Anderson's Creek.

The track must have been rough. Even in 1863 an inspector visiting the area describes the ten miles on Anderson's Creek side of Britannia Inn (at Hoddles Creek) as "very bad and dangerous, particularly at a bridge named Briarty's, which is partly washed away, we had great difficulty in getting our horses over," and further on "road very bad with several dangerous creeks to cross." When the building of a police station at Warburton was being planned in the same year, it was stated that it would be "impossible to get up anything unless on pack horses," and "building material would be impossible to get up." A contract was let for the construction of a slab hut, kitchen, store, stable, and closet for £150. The slabs, of course, would have been split on or near the site.

IV. ANDERSON'S CREEK AT THE BEGINNING OF 1866

Extracts are now given of a report made by Constable Purcell, dated 11th January, 1866, when there was a proposal to re-open the Police Station at Anderson's Creek. He reported that the population had increased in the last three months by about 25 persons.

"Present population is 284 persons exclusive of an agricultural population in Warrandyte, three miles distant and numbering 50 persons.

The only new diggings discovered since the police station was removed is some patches along the river bank about three quarters of a

mile in extent on which about 25 miners are at work - the total number of persons at work on the diggings are about 80 Europeans and 6 Chinese.

The number of offences reported within the last three months are as follows - one case of larceny over 40/- stealing Bacon from an out house and two cases of petty larceny under 40/- stealing Bacon and an axe.

The number of huts are 60 and 2 tents. Exclusive of the following Government Buildings - unoccupied, one dwelling house and stable formerly occupied by the Warden, one cottage intended for office for Clerk of Bench and one Court House."

On the basis of Constable Purcell's report, Inspector F. Hare reports to the Chief Commissioner that he cannot see any necessity to re-form the police station. A "beer licence" has been applied for and the inhabitants fear the result. "The Lillydale Station is at present being erected, and I will instruct the Mounted Constable stationed there, to patrol the diggings as frequently as possible, and I will give similar instructions to the Mtd. Constables stationed at Nunawading and Heidelberg, all these stations being about the same distance from Anderson's Creek."

6. MELBOURNE AND WARRANDYTE IN 1865

Let us conclude this story by looking at the state of development of Victoria and in particular of the country adjacent to Warrandyte, at the time our period ends in 1865. Many changes had occurred since the discovery of gold in 1851, and Victoria had grown greatly in population and wealth. Gold had been found at many places, and each place had its exciting rush and hopeful beginnings, even if few survived those early expectations. By 1865 all Victoria's major gold fields had been discovered.

The railways were now well established.^{B.13.} Country lines were operating from Melbourne to Echuca via Bendigo and to Ballarat via Geelong. These were Government lines. By 1865 Melbourne's population had grown to about 160,000.^{B.4, p.31.} By the end of that year the Melbourne and Hobson's Bay Railway Company was operating a number of suburban railway lines.^{B.13.} They ran from Melbourne to Sandridge (Port Melbourne), St. Kilda, Hawthorn, and Brighton Beach. Hawthorn was the nearest railway station to our district at that time. There was a Government line to Williamstown. A line to Essendon had been built by the Melbourne and Essendon Railway Company and opened in 1860, but it had closed for financial reasons in 1864 and was not re-opened until 1871.

Apart from the railways mentioned, people depended on the horse for transport. The cable trams were still a long way off. Horse omnibuses served the metropolis and regular horse coach services the country towns. Cobb and Co. had commenced their services in 1853, and by 1865 these services were widespread.

Melbourne now had a good water supply system, the Yan Yean supply having been opened in 1857.^{B.16, p.97.} By 1865 the supply had reached Hawthorn and as far East as the corner of Burwood Road and Auburn Road, where a stand-pipe was available for filling water carts.^{B.3, p.46.} There was still no sewerage system. Gas lighting and the electric telegraph were in use, but the telephone was yet to come.^{B.16, pp.126, 137.}

East of Melbourne in 1865 there were bridges over the river at Bridge Road and Johnson Street, and these served the two suburbs of Hawthorn and Kew, and the districts further East. Hawthorn and Kew both became municipalities in 1860 by separation from Boroondara, which remained, to become later, Camberwell.^{B.3, p.19, 20.} In 1865 Boroondara was merely a farming area, with villages beginning to grow at Camberwell (corner of Burwood Road and Burke Road) and at Burwood, then known as Ballyshanassy.^{B.3, pp.25, 26.}

East of Borecondara was Nunawading Road District, still largely bush, although Box Hill in 1865 is described as a postal village with a population of 300, employed on small farms and in wood cutting, with three hotels, but with no public means of conveyance to Melbourne. B.19.

In the Ringwood area in 1865 there was the hotel later known as the Coach and Horses and about this time the Burnt Bridge Hotel was built. B.6, pp8,32. There were probably a few land owners living on their properties. Mr. Schwerkolt's cottage at Mullum Creek was apparently built about this time. The existence of the hotels indicates that there was some through traffic along White Horse Road, probably to Lilydale and the goldfields beyond it. Lilydale at this time had a population of about 250 and had three hotels, a flour mill, a saw mill, and a postal service. B.19.

Doncaster at this time had a population of about 200, one hotel, two shoe manufactories and one wheel manufactory. It was connected to Heidelberg and to Kew by dray tracks and had a postal service. B.19. A Lutheran church was dedicated in Doncaster in 1858. B.10, p.22.

Templestowe had a population of about 300, a hotel, and a postal service. In this district, "Agriculture is chiefly carried out by means of small farms, with a poor Irish population, whose chief subsistence depends upon carting firewood to Melbourne, splitting posts, rails, and palings, and charcoal burning." Templestowe had outlets to Melbourne via Kew and via Heidelberg, "which latter road is the best mode of communication." B.19.

In 1865 the village of Heidelberg was known as Warringal. It was described then as a postal township with a district population of about 1500. It had a court house, common school, race course and cricket ground, two hotels and a coach office. There was a coach service three times a day with Melbourne, and services to Eltham, Kangaroo Grounds, and Caledonia (? Queenstown). B.19. By this time there was a bridge over the river at Heidelberg. B.3, p.41.

Eltham and Kangaroo Grounds were also established villages by this time. Eltham had a population of 350. It had two hotels, a steam flour mill, a brewery, and a tannery. B.19. Kangaroo Grounds was a smaller place ~~for the most part~~, but the centre of an agricultural district. Its population is given as 150. B.19.

The foregoing descriptions of places for the most part have been taken from Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer and Road Guide for 1865. B.19. Let us see finally what this book has to say about Warrandyte. "There are no mills or manufactories in the neighbourhood, which is partly agricultural and pastoral, and partly mining; there was formerly some good quartz obtained in this district, which is one of the oldest diggings in the colony, and there were three quartz-crushing mills and a smelting machine in operation; the digging now, however, is almost entirely alluvial, the various workings being situated in and about the township." "With Melbourne, 18 miles W., the communication is to Heidelberg via Templestowe by saddlehorse or dray, and thence by coach." The buildings are listed as two hotels, a court of mines, a petty sessions court, a police station and a post office; but one of the hotels, named the Brushy Creek, was probably at what we now know as North Croydon.

So we leave Warrandyte a hundred years ago, a small isolated village nestling beside the river. The river at least remains much the same as it was then.

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