

## Thomas Wills, J.P.<sup>1</sup> 1800-1872

*Vice President 1839 Melbourne Mechanics' Institution Committee*



Thomas Wills about 1856  
56 years

**Thomas Wills** ca 1856, aged 56.

Photograph: *Autobiography of Arthur Wills*  
State Library of Victoria.

This article gives a résumé of Thomas Wills' interesting background and family life, and focuses on his relationships with fellow Vice-Presidents and other members of the 1839 Melbourne Mechanics' Institution Committee of Management. Accounts of Wills' life are dealt with in detail elsewhere, including Loder & Bayley, and McBriar, *The Heidelberg Conservation Study*<sup>2</sup>, and Rogers, D. *A History of Kew*.<sup>3</sup> A valuable resource on the family generally, especially the family of Thomas's brother and farming associate, Horatio, *The Wills family Papers*, is held at the State Library of Victoria, as is the (unpublished) *Autobiography of Arthur Wills*, son of Thomas.<sup>4</sup>

I acknowledge with thanks information on the Wills family generously made available by Celene Muller.

### *Early life*

Thomas Wills, born in Sydney in 1800, was the son of Edward Spencer Wills and Sarah, née Harding. "His father was transported for life for highway robbery and arrived in Sydney in the *Hillsborough* in July 1799, accompanied by his wife and infant daughter, Sarah. He appears to have been assigned to his wife<sup>5</sup> and they were soon in business as general merchants and ship-chandlers at 96 George Street North, their premises abutting Sidney Cove. He also owned several small trading vessels in partnership with Thomas Reiby, merchant. Edward Wills was given a conditional pardon in 1803<sup>6</sup> and a full pardon on 30 May 1809. He died on 14 May 1811." [See Appendix I: *Edward Spencer Wills*]

After Thomas's father died his mother married George Howe, printer-editor of the *Sydney Gazette*, and continued to conduct the business that she had set up with Edward Wills. Howe died in 1821 and Sarah in 1823.

Thomas's eldest sibling, Sarah, married Dr William Redfern in 1811 when she was 14. Redfern, about 37 at the time of the marriage, had been transported as a convict for having been involved in inciting a mutiny when he was an assistant ship's surgeon. He was regarded as one of the foremost early practitioners in New South Wales. Sarah was thought to be his second wife. Another sibling, Eliza, the third child, married Major Henry Colden Antill. Thomas and his brother Horatio [b.1811] were closely associated over the years in properties in New South Wales and Victoria. Their activities as early settlers in Kew were recognised in the naming of the railway station *Willsmere*, Victoria, opened in 1891.<sup>7</sup>

In June 1822 Thomas Wills married Thomas Reiby's daughter Celia. "Wills ... went to England in 1823 after the death, aged 21, of his wife Celia [*of consumption following the birth of a daughter, Alice, who died at 11 months*]. On the return voyage to Australia in 1827 he was shipwrecked on a small island near Mauritius, and as a result of the incident and subsequent ill-health, he spent some time on the island. Before he resumed his journey to Australia he married, in 1827, Mary Anne Barry."<sup>8</sup> Mary Anne, born in England, was the sister of Dr Richard Barry, Professor of the Colonial College at Mauritius.

Before Mary Anne married Thomas, an *Article of Agreement* between the two was drawn up in Mauritius. The document was necessary to obtain the consent and approval of Mary Anne's family to the marriage. The sum of One thousand, five hundred pounds was involved, possibly as a 'bond' for her security. It was also stated that any children were to be brought up in such religion as Thomas Wills wished "without any obstacle or opposition on the part and behalf of Mary Anne Barry."<sup>9</sup> Thomas was Protestant, Mary Anne, a Catholic.

Following his return to Australia Wills purchased a 920-acre property in Lower Minto, New South Wales where he ran cattle and sheep, and where his brother Horatio visited him 10 years later in 1833, following the latter's marriage.

Mary Anne gave birth to William Henry in 1827, who drowned on the property. Their daughter Catherine, later known as Kate, was born in 1831.

### *Port Phillip District*

In land sales held in Sydney in 1838 Wills purchased Lot 8, 970 acres, on the Yarra River in the parish of Keelbundoora, Port Phillip District, for £1067. He overlanded his cattle from Lower Minto to his Plenty River property and decided to live there. It was a little later, in November 1839, that he was elected a Vice-President of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institution.

At the sales of 10 June 1840, he purchased Lot 121, and this was to become the homestead *Lucerne*. For this 176 acres Wills paid £3784.<sup>10</sup>



*Thomas Wills' properties: Lucerne at Alphington (top) and Willsmere Farm at Kew (bottom)*

*Sketches, dates 1877, believed to be by Arthur Wills*

*Reproduced in Autobiography of Arthur Wills, State Library of Victoria*

Other landowners who developed impressive estates in this area, later to be called Heidelberg, who were, like Wills, members of the 1839 Melbourne Mechanics' Institution included prominent Melbourne figures D.C. McArthur, G. Porter, G.B. Smythe and J.Gardiner. "Thomas Wills, who could hardly have been rated as a gentleman, with an ex-convict for a father, nevertheless was a respected public figure, with one of the most beautiful of the estates, worthy of any of the 'gentlemen'. He shared many of their ideals and preoccupations as far as estate management was concerned."<sup>11</sup>

Wills and his brother Horatio bought further land in January 1845. Horatio bought Lot 55, mainly situated in the bend of the Yarra River, and Thomas purchased Lot 60 alongside the reserve where Kew Asylum was later built, and where the present Wills Street marks the boundary. In 1846 Thomas acquired Lot 56 which adjoined his brother's land near the river. Whilst building his homestead *Lucerne*, [alas, since demolished to make way for the La Trobe Golf Clubhouse], he lived at the Port Phillip Club, of which he was a founder. He brought his family to live at *Lucerne* and they entertained lavishly the social set of the young town, including Governor La Trobe, Patron of the 1839 Mechanics' Institution.

Wills' daughter Catherine (Kate) later married Captain Lewis Conran, of the 11<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, Aide-de-Camp, to Governor La Trobe.<sup>12</sup> Cape Conran was named after Wills' son-in-law.

Thomas's marriage was not a happy one according to his brother Horatio's diary entry for 6 December 1833. Horatio, who had recently married, and who was visiting Thomas with his new wife, wrote "Poor Thomas! How unfortunate – how trying has the marriage life been to him!"<sup>13</sup>

"It has been hinted that La Trobe was too frequent a visitor at *Lucerne*,<sup>14</sup> and it is apparent that some sort of disagreement arose to cause Thomas to leave Mary and Kate at *Lucerne*, cross the river and build *Willsmere Farm*, where he then resided. In 1852 his agent leased fifty acres of land ... then in 1854, he leased Lot 5 for 21 years. Thomas then departed for England where he met Mary Anne Mellard, and as a result of their alliance had four sons. ... Thomas was about 58 when the second boy [Harry] was born [1858], and in about 1862, [possibly following the 1861 death of his brother, Horatio, in Queensland], bringing Harry with him, together with a female servant, he returned to Australia, to reside once more at *Willsmere Farm*. The other boys remained with their mother ... Letters exist to prove that Thomas kept in touch with the family, though Arthur [eldest son], in an unpublished autobiography, said that he never saw his father again."<sup>15</sup>



My Mother 1881



My brothers Charley, Freddy + Self

Whilst in England, Thomas took his family on extensive tours of the Continent.

Arthur says of his mother, she was “of Welsh extraction, b. 1830, died 2 February, 1903, aged 73. She was of a lively, vivacious nature and mentally alert, with however no special cultivated taste. Fond of music and anything pretty.” She later married a Mr Barker.<sup>16</sup> It appears from Arthur’s biography that Thomas provided for his family in England very generously, continuing to do so after he left them to return to Australia.

In 1863, following his return to Melbourne, Wills made a gift of 15 acres to the Church of England at Whittlesea, from the portion of land he had purchased in 1838, and he was given the honour of laying the foundation stone of that church.”<sup>17</sup>

“His brother, Horatio, having been

*Mary Anne Mellard (top); 3 of her 4 sons (bottom) in Autobiography of Arthur Wills State Library of Vic. [the figure cut from left of photograph is possibly ‘Mr Barker’ whom Mary Anne later married]*

killed by the blacks in Queensland in 1861, Thomas farmed all that land near the river. *Lucerne* was by this time in other hands, for Kate had gone

to England with her husband when La Trobe's term as Governor ended.

Her mother Mary Anne had followed her, and whilst she was holidaying at Guernsey, Channel Islands, in 1870, she died. Thomas died at *Willsmere* in 1872, aged 73 years."<sup>18</sup>

### ***Wills' participation in the 1839 Mechanics' Institution Committee business***

There is no record of Wills' attendance at any meeting of the Committee, and he was not re-elected at the first Annual General Meeting of the Institution in June 1840. He was recorded as a member in 1841, but not in 1840. The *Code of Laws* of the Institution [*believed to have been drawn up in 1840*] declares vacant any committee position following absence for three successive monthly meetings, and also reduces the number of vice-presidents to 2; Wills was one of 8 vice-presidents elected to the 1839 committee. It seems that a number of these initial vice-presidents accepted the opportunity to be on many committees and boards that were being established at the time. The following section gives an indication of their commitments. It seems Thomas Wills was a man of considerable inherited wealth, with time to indulge in extensive property development, and commercial and social activities, without having a formal 'occupation'.

### ***Relationships with members of the Mechanics' Institution Committee***

*[indicates fellow-members of the 1839 committee who were also involved]*

Wills was one of 150 gentlemen who were presented to the recently appointed Governor Gipps at a levée in Melbourne in late October 1841, indicating a high level of acceptance into the social élite of Melbourne. [*E.Brewster, S.Craig, Rev.J.Forbes, J.Graham, Capt.W.Lonsdale, Dr F.McCrae, G.Porter, brothers D.C.& D.G.McArthur, J.Rattenbury, G.B.Smythe and P.Welsh.*]

As an early settler in the Heidelberg area Wills was closely involved with neighbouring landowners who were members of the 1839 committee. [*David McArthur (Auditor), George Porter and George Brunswick Smythe (fellow Vice-Presidents). It is possible that Heidelberg landowners ?Stevenson, and ?Brown were also the committee members with those surnames, but this*

*has not yet been confirmed*]. The Heidelberg settlers developed their properties by landscaping and building homesteads, also importing crops and animals. They would have discussed estate problems and were influential in early agricultural society developments in the District.

Wills increased his pastoral interests when, with William Highett, Auditor of 1839 Mechanics' Institution Committee, he took over lease 149 *Maindample* ... On this lease of 27,000 acres, Wills ran over 8000 sheep.<sup>19</sup>

When the road from the Heidelberg area to Melbourne, which was heavily used, became almost impassable, and there was no funding assistance by the government, the local residents took action and Wills became one of the first three Trustees of a roads trust set up to try to get the road repaired. At one stage it was proposed to quarry stone from Wills' land.

Wills wasted no time in becoming involved at a high level in a number of commercial and social circles in Melbourne. He was prominent in proposing or seconding nominations of people for various committees. There seemed to be a pattern, in Melbourne's pre-gold rush decade, of a rash of commercial and government ventures starting up with an 'ostentatious' board of directors, many of whom were on committees together. A number of these ventures appeared to have suffered through lack of vitality, probably aggravated by the depression of the early 1840s. It seems possible that a number of these men over-extended themselves and were unable to adequately fulfil their responsibilities.

In June 1839 Wills was appointed a director of the provisional Board of the Melbourne and Port Phillip Bank [*P.Welsh, W.Yaldwyn*]. "The colonists took it into their heads to set up a bank of their own; but the maiden essay at bank-making though not terminating in a smash, after a short life and a merry one, died a natural death. At a meeting in December the Board decided to increase the shares and capital and re-name the bank the Port Philip Bank." Wills remained a Director. [*J.Gardiner, Managing Director, Dr.F.McCrae, S.Craig, P.Welsh and Dr*



*A.Thomson; defeated candidates were H.Gisborne and G.B.Smythe*]. However, the bank ceased to carry on business – “the collapse might have been attributed to the free and easy manner in which some of the Directors accommodated themselves and their friends. They regarded the bank simply as a ‘mutual accommodation’ pie, and accordingly kept their own fingers in it.”<sup>20</sup> It is not known whether Wills was included in this censure.

January, 1840, saw Wills become the founding President of the Port Phillip Club set up by "a few of those who affected discontent with the management or surroundings of the Melbourne Club ... Though this Institution enjoyed but a short life it was not a very merry one. The members were too sedate and slow [*compared with the Melbourne Club*]. It vegetated quietly for a couple of years, and placidly withdrew.”<sup>21</sup> Wills lived at the club whilst building his homestead *Lucerne*.<sup>22</sup>

In April 1840 Wills joined the directory of the newly-established Melbourne Auction Company [*Dr.F.McCrae, G.B.Smythe, W.Highett, Dr A.Thomson, J.Graham*]. This company " ... Starting with a directory of ostentatious names, and less capital than expectations, very soon came to grief ...”<sup>23</sup> Its purpose was to afford security and facilities for the disposal of property.

Later that year in December 1840, an Immigration Society was established to encourage immigration exclusively to Port Phillip. La Trobe, who presided at the initial meeting was Patron, and Thomas Wills was one of the 41 elected members [*W.Yaldwyn, Capt.W.Lonsdale, P.Welsh, Dr A.Thomson, J.Graham, Dr F.McCrae. Also on board was J.Simpson, elected in 1840 to the Presidency of the Melbourne Mechanics’ Institution*]. “The association does not appear to have effected much good directly, possibly through the absence of concerted and continuous exertion.”<sup>24</sup>

From early 1841 Wills was active in efforts to establish a public hospital in Melbourne for those unable to pay for medical treatment. He was appointed to a provisional committee to raise funds. [*E.Brewster, Capt.W.Lonsdale, D.C.McArthur, P.Welsh, Rev.J.Forbes*]. It would be

several years before sufficient funds were raised to start building the Melbourne Hospital [the forerunner of the Royal Melbourne Hospital].<sup>25</sup>

On 2 November 1841 Wills was nominated scrutineer at the election of Commissioners to the four newly-established Districts or Wards of Melbourne, whose role was to establish and control arrangements for town markets. [*S.Craig*]<sup>26</sup>

When the first Savings Bank was opened on 1 January 1842 Wills was appointed a Trustee [*C.J. La Trobe (President), S.Craig, J.Graham, and Rev. J.Forbes, Trustees*]. Banking was not without its hazards, and its friendly competitors; when the bank in Collins Street took fire one night in 1843 the cash was sent over the road to Mr McArthur [*D.C.McArthur*], of the Bank of Australasia.<sup>27</sup>

In 1843 the first District Council of Port Philip, Bourke, was established and members nominated by the Governor of New South Wales for three years. Thomas Wills was a member, along with 12 others. [*Dr F.McRae, J. Simpson, who was at the time President of the Mechanics' Institution, was the 'Warden' of Bourke District*]. Responsibilities included making, maintaining or improving road and other municipal features, and managing all the property of the District, as well as raising money by rates and tolls. "This Council seemed to be afraid of its responsibility, and proceeded very slowly and hesitatingly ... It was unpopular ... The wonder was how the Imperial Parliament could have enacted a measure so brimful of the impracticable ..." <sup>28</sup>

Wills was caught up, in 1844, with a proposal to advance the cause of Separation of the District from New South Wales. He was a speaker at a meeting on 28 November, and was appointed, with Edward Brewster [*1839 committee member*] and William Westgarth [*who would become the Mechanics' Institution Treasurer from 1842*] to instruct the delegate who was to represent them in England in advancing the cause of Separation, and to be in communication with him while he was in London. The delegate was not a success, acting

more in his interest as a 'squatter' than on the wishes of the Port Phillip District. Separation remained a long way off and would not be achieved until 1851.<sup>29</sup>

The Society of St George was founded in Melbourne in January 1845 and Wills was elected to the Board of Management [*T.Strode*]. "This was about as decent a team as could be well founded, yet strangely enough its component parts did not pull together. Whether through too little enthusiasm or too much apathy, or dissension, was not known, but it is certain that nothing was done, and the ensuing April anniversary of the Knight of the Dragon was suffered to pass in solemn silence. The Society may be said to have died prematurely."<sup>30</sup>

Wills also found time to be active in an anti-transportation movement as one of a number of speakers [*Dr A.Thomson*] at a meeting in 1849 to protest against the introduction of transportation to the District. On 8 August that year a convict ship, the *Randolph*, had appeared in the Bay and on the orders of Superintendent La Trobe it eventually sailed on to Sydney.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Summary***

Although Wills was not active in Mechanics' Institution committee meetings, his influence would have been felt indirectly through his commercial, social and land-owning associations with other members of the committee. Like most of the other vice-presidents elected in 1839, he had a finger in many pies, presumably in part in anticipation of advancement of his own interests. He was at this time, as were other members of the committee, establishing his property in the Heidelberg area, and he was also preparing to bring his family from New South Wales to live in Victoria.

Finn includes Thomas Wills in the "large and useful phalanx whose names figure in the early records as participants in the various efforts undertaken for the redress of grievances, or the promotion of the welfare of the community."<sup>32</sup> He became the first Australian Justice of the Peace in 1833.<sup>33</sup>

That Wills, the son of a convict, was accepted widely, not only as a land owner amongst the 'gentlemen' of the Heidelberg area, but as a member, sometimes as a Trustee, of many prominent committees, including that of the Mechanics' Institution in 1839, indicates that he was a confident and congenial member of Melbourne society. According to various reports Wills reputedly enjoyed a lively social life in Melbourne (See Appendix 2). It is not known whether his convict ancestry was public knowledge in Melbourne though that would seem likely; because of his wealth his 'unfortunate' family history might have been overlooked. This was an age when it was possible for a man to support a mistress and second family - in Wills' case during a period in England - and still be accepted in society. It is likely that this relationship would have been made public in Australia, especially as he returned to Australia in the 1860s accompanied by a young son

Wills' son Arthur, in his Autobiography, said of his father: "From repute it would appear that my father was a tall and handsome man and of a very kind and genial disposition and a marked sense of humour. He did not however seem to have any special cultivated taste either in literature or the arts. The few books left behind him more of a somewhat old-fashioned theological class. Though he amassed considerable property, there was no evidence as to how it was obtained as apparently he had no particular occupation or profession."

## Appendix 1

### *The eventful life of Edward Spencer Wills, father of Thomas Wills*

*[information from the Wills family history website, also from the Australian Dictionary of Biography entry by C.E.Sayers on Horatio Wills, brother of Thomas Wills]*

Edward Spencer Wills was born on 13 August 1778 in Middlesex, England. He died in 1811 in Sydney New South Wales. He was the son of Edward Wills (1741 – 1813), Gentleman, of Broadcourt, Long Acre, Middlesex, and Elisabeth (1739-1822).

In January 1797 Edward Wills, James Dashper and William Woodham were arrested for highway robbery. The three men had used arms to rob John Martin of his watch, a half guinea, a sixpence and 18 half-pence. The money (£2.19.4) was found at Edward's residence.

Edward's trial took place at Kingston upon Thames, Surrey, on 20 March 1797. The three men were found guilty and all sentenced "to be hanged by the neck until dead". Edward had a petition made, addressed to the Duke of Portland, supported by the Curate and Church Warden of St Luke's, Edward's employer Miller Ritchie, the victim John Martin and Thomas Lock.

At Whitehall on 29 March 1797 the men were granted a reprieve on condition of their being transported for the term of their natural lives to New South Wales. On 18 October 1798 the convicts were transferred from the hulk *Stanislaus* to the *Hillsborough*. They set sail on 23 December 1798, a long 19 months after their reprieve. The *Hillsborough* was to be nicknamed the *Death Ship* from this ill-fated voyage. It was reported that the convicts were ironed two together, the weight of irons was 11 lbs. When they left the hulk to join the *Hillsborough* they were described as "deplorable, ragged and alive with vermin."<sup>34</sup> Woodham died on the way out of port. There were six women aboard, one of them being Edward's wife Sarah with their infant daughter. Possibly Edward's survival was helped by Sarah being able to provide him with food to compensate for the meagre food and water rations supplied to the convicts.

They arrived in Sydney on 26 July 1799 after a six-month voyage. The ship had embarked with 300 convicts but arrived with only 205, with six dying within a day of arrival. Governor Hunter described the inmates as being "a cargo of the most miserable and wretched convicts I ever beheld". Edward became ill from the voyage, but was lucky to become a ward of his wife Sarah who had "arrived free".

Edward was conditionally pardoned by Governor King on 4 June 1803.

The *Sydney Gazette* reported on 2 October 1803 that Edward was fined £5 for purchasing 7 ounces of stolen silver.

Edward and his wife commenced business as general merchants and ship chandlers, and were also in the seal-skin business. In 1806 Wills also went into shipping with a partner Thomas Reibie.

Edward Wills' short but eventful life ended on 14 May 1811 at age 33.

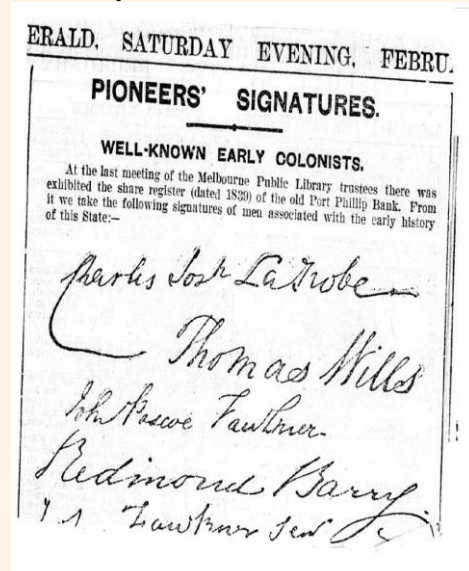
## Appendix 2

### *Thomas Wills had a lively social life - "one of the best carriages of the day"*

Edmund Finn, in his *Garryowen Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, commented that there had been an "influx of imported respectability in the latter portion of 1839 ... [and] it was determined to get up the first bachelors' ball." This took place on 14 January 1840 at a new brick store in Market Street, put at their disposal by Mr W.F.A. Rucker, the owner [*a member of the 1839 Mechanics' Institution Committee*]. "There was an orchestra of six musicians, and luckily the precaution was taken of borrowing one of the three or four pianos then in town. ... everything went on as merrily as could be required, until the refreshing of the band, when the copiousness of the stimulants inbibed had such an effect upon the performance that they unceremoniously stampeded from the place, leaving the deserted dancers in a plight. The improvisation of choruses of hummers or whistlers was suggested, but it was a notion impossible as well as absurd. ... Four of the ladies volunteered as amateur pianists ... and the merriment was kept up with no intermission ...

The return home, however, witnessed a singular mishap. Amongst the departing equipages was the carriage of Mr Thomas Wills, with five lady inmates, and as the Melbourne streets were then mostly a mixture of ravine and quagmire, the coachman, to secure as firm ground as was possible with his drive, took the circuitous route of William Street and Bourke Street. He whipped along in safety until he approached the intersection of Bourke and Swanston Streets, where frowned a centrepiece in the shape of a large, upright, gum tree trunk, flanked by a yawning rut. In turning the corner the vehicle was by some mischance tumbled into the chasm, the driver was shot out of his box perch, and the horses bolting, dashed into collision with a tree growing in the street, where the whole concern was reduced to a condition of smash. The horses finally got away, the carriage was in pieces, and the five fair belles were left sprawling in the mud. One of them was pronounced as being in that condition which is conventionally classified as 'interesting', yet, almost incredible to relate, neither she nor her companions, though nearly frightened out of their lives, were seriously injured.<sup>35</sup>

An account of possibly the same incident is recorded [unsourced cutting] in the Wills family Papers, which refers to Wills having "one of the best carriages of the day", and mentions an incident on the corner of Collins and Swanston Streets when Wills' carriage was overturned and "Captain Fyans, later the well known Commissioner of Crown Lands, being one of those seriously hurt."



Signature of Thomas Wills and some of his well-known Melbourne contemporaries. Unsourced/undated newscutting from Autobiography of Arthur Wills [Thomas Wills' son] (SLV)

- <sup>1</sup> Thomas Wills is sometimes incorrectly referred to as Thomas Wentworth Wills. The latter was Thomas's nephew, the son of Horatio Wills, Thomas's brother. Thomas Wentworth Wills achieved fame as a sportsman in Australia.
- <sup>2</sup> Loder & Bayly, McBriar, M. *Heidelberg Conservation Study, Part II*, Heidelberg City Council, 1985.
- <sup>3</sup> Rogers, D. *A History of Kew*, Lowden Publishing Co., Kilmore, Victoria, 1973, p.1-7, 44.
- <sup>4</sup> Wills, A. *Autobiography of Arthur Wills* unpublished manuscript, State Library of Victoria.
- <sup>5</sup> Sayers, C.E., *Wills, Horatio Spencer Howe (1811-1861)* [brother of Thomas Wills] Australian Dictionary of Biography.
- <sup>6</sup> *Sydney Gazette* 19.6.1803, vol.1, no. 16, p. 4.
- <sup>7</sup> Beardsell, D. and Herbert, B. *The Outer Circle: A History of the Oakleigh to Fairfield Park Railway*. Aust. Railway Historical Society, 1979.
- <sup>8</sup> Cummins, C. (ed.) *Heidelberg since 1836: A Pictorial History* Heidelberg Historical Society, Melbourne, 1982, p. 20.
- <sup>9</sup> *The Wills family Papers ca. 1812-1921* State Library of Victoria *Australian Manuscripts Collection* MS 9140. [unfortunately most of the SLV copy of the Article of Agreement between Thomas and Mary Anne is illegible]
- <sup>10</sup> Cummins, C. p. 6.
- <sup>11</sup> Loder & Bayly, McBriar, p.77.
- <sup>12</sup> Rogers, D. pp. 3-4.
- <sup>13</sup> Wills Cooke, T.S., *The Currency Lad: a biography of Horatio Spencer Howe Wills* Leopold, Vic. 1997, p. 34.
- <sup>14</sup> No source has yet been found to substantiate this.
- <sup>15</sup> Wills, A., p.9.
- <sup>16</sup> Wills, A., p.8.
- <sup>17</sup> Cummins, C., p. 20
- <sup>18</sup> Rogers, D., pp. 4-5.
- <sup>19</sup> Cummins, C., p. 20.
- <sup>20</sup> Finn, E., *The 'Garryowen' Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 – 1852* Ferguson & Mitchell, Melbourne 1888, p. 323-324.
- <sup>21</sup> Finn, E., p. 662.
- <sup>22</sup> Rogers, D., pp. 3-5.
- <sup>23</sup> Finn, E., p. 596.
- <sup>24</sup> Finn, E., pp. 492-493.
- <sup>25</sup> Finn, E., pp. 227-228.
- <sup>26</sup> Finn, E., pp. 253-254.
- <sup>27</sup> Finn, E., p.326.
- <sup>28</sup> Finn, E., pp. 256-257.
- <sup>29</sup> Finn, E., p. 908.
- <sup>30</sup> Finn, E., p. 656.
- <sup>31</sup> Finn, E., p. 524.
- <sup>32</sup> Finn, E., p. 865.
- <sup>33</sup> Wills Cooke, T.S., p. 26.
- <sup>34</sup> Wills Cooke, T.S., p. 5.
- <sup>35</sup> Finn, E. p. 955.