

The Life and Times of Edward Bovill Chandler: In Search of El Dorado

By ROBERT ASHLEY

This paper is presented as an illustration of the life of a gold miner who played an important role in the history of the fabulously rich Reedy Creek near Beechworth during the 1850's. It concludes with an account of Chandler on North Queensland's small and infrequently mentioned Russell River gold field in the closing years of the 19th Century. Chandler's history has been largely unknown, yet he is one of the Woolshed bosses connected with the famed Golden Horseshoes event, a member of the first local Mining Court, and the subsequent Mining Board established in 1858. From 1855 into the 20th century the story of the Golden Horse Shoes was repeated over and over again in Australasian newspapers. Chandler's sad end in Queensland has long remained a mystery, and he shares the fate of many miners who 'struck it rich' only to vanish into the detritus of history. And yet, 31 years after his death, the *Cairns Post* referred to him as a 'prince among prospectors'.¹

EL Dorado found

One of the greatest treasures of pre Columbian Gold is that representing the ceremony of El Dorado. It is a raft and a naked figure cast from one pour of gold representing a Dorado as identified with the Muisca Indian ceremony at Lake Guatavita in the central high plateau of Colombia. The term El Dorado, meaning literally the 'Gilded One' gradually became a general term referring to places of possible treasure.²

The Australian El Dorado story begins with the 1852 discovery of gold on the Reedy Creek in North Eastern Victoria. Before that William Fury Baker a Naval Reserve Captain had taken up the Barambogie squatting station on the Black Dog Creek in 1839. It was soon renamed El Dorado.³ A view north-westwards from the top of Mount Pilot shows a huge valley and plain on which sheep and cattle graze along side crops of golden grain; a pastoral vision of Eldorado. Although gold was to be found on this squatting run, it was the adjoining runs of the Reid family on the Eastern and Southern slopes of Mount Pilot where the rich discoveries of gold were made at the beginning of 1852.

Various accounts of the discovery of gold in the Beechworth area refer to the memoirs of David Reid, which record the shepherd Howell and his mates finding payable gold at Reid's Creek above the junction of the Reedy Creek (Woolshed Creek in Reid's account) and the Rocky Creek in February 1852. Reid also mentions the finding of gold at his flourmill about the beginning of 1846.⁴ This was discounted at the time as mica.

William Howitt observed some of the characteristics of the goldfield in early January 1853, about the time E.B. Chandler was making his way to Beechworth. Howitt wrote that the gold field,

consists, in fact, of two fields, Spring Creek and Reid's Creek. Spring Creek runs into Reid's Creek, some three or four miles below here. Altogether there are calculated to be nearly 20,000 people on these diggings already, and 13,000oz. of gold were sent down to Melbourne by the last escort.⁵

Figure 1: *The Woolshed Diggings in 1856, painted by Alfred William Eustace.*



Source: Courtesy of the Bourke Museum.

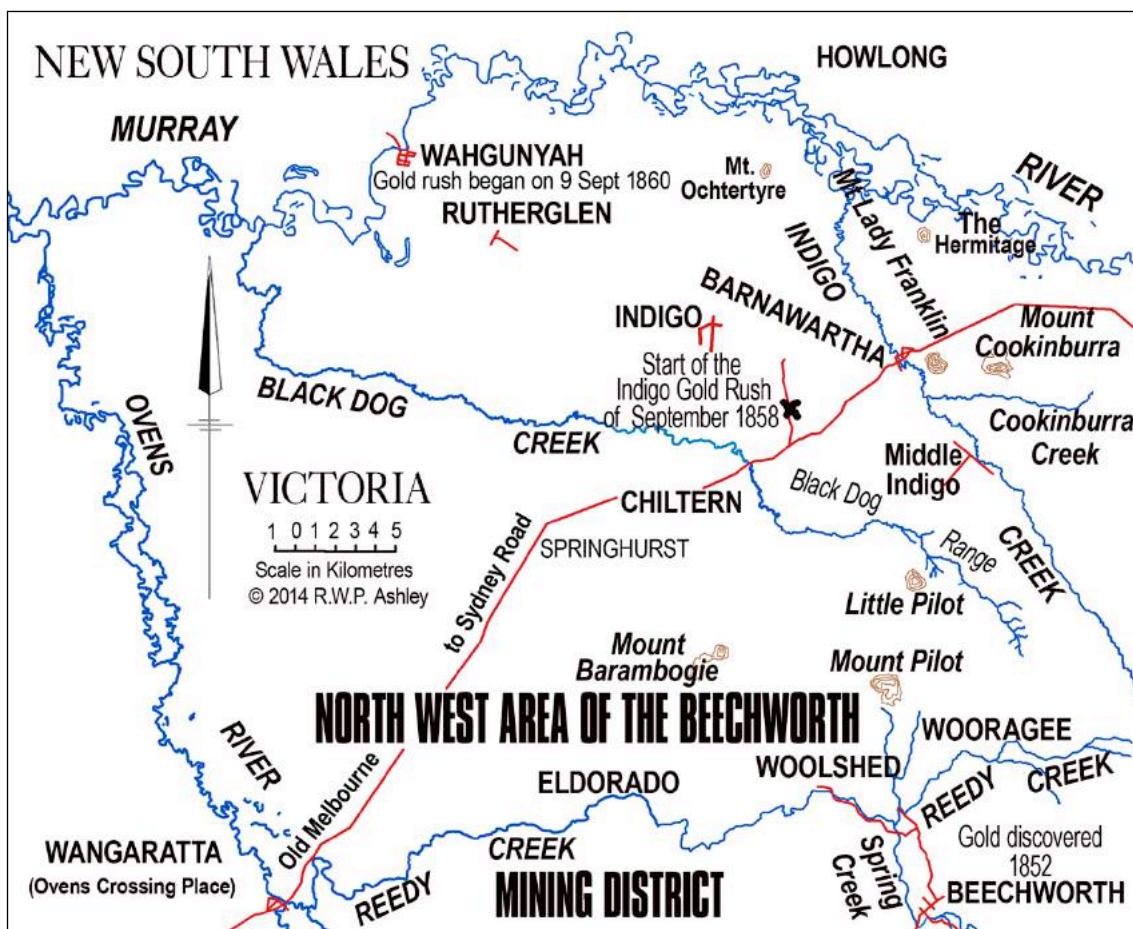
As it turned out, between the granite boulders of the Ovens District were some of the richest black sand and alluvial gold deposits that ever existed.⁶ The diversity of the resources and the generated excitement led to extraordinary events. Geologically complex, this area has a diverse range of minerals that have been exploited since the 1850s, including gold, tin, copper, molybdenite, wolfram and silver, along with precious stones including diamonds. The possibilities of exploiting tin and gold captured wide interest in the colonies and in Britain. As excitement over the Ovens Goldfields increased, the Government sent George Smyth to survey the township of Beechworth, and on 7 September 1853 some 44 township allotments were offered for sale.⁷

Well publicised in Sydney during 1852 and 1853, the Ovens Goldfields attracted considerable numbers of Californians and returned diggers from the Californian Gold Rush of 1849. 'Forty-niners' in San Francisco, one block back from the waterfront in Kearney Street, well knew the 'flamboyant front of the three-story El Dorado Hotel'.⁸ The story of El Dorado was thus well known, and the name was applied liberally to hotels and various companies throughout the Ovens area.⁹ Included was the El Dorado Company with 100 shareholders, each share being valued at £20 and held principally by working miners. Showing the diversity of ownership, another company, the Union Company, had 12 shareholders, almost all being storekeepers, and each holding shares

of £200, for a total capital of £2,400. Both companies held large sluicing claims on Spring Creek, and paid £1 a day to their employees whether they were shareholders or not.¹⁰

In 1853, before there was a hotel on the diggings, Melbourne opportunists led by Charles Terry formed the *Ovens Mining Company* in a failed attempt to obtain ground protected by the Government.¹¹ The 1853 prospectus for the company declared that Terry had returned from the Ovens and was the first person to make known to the Government the existence of tin ore of the ‘richest kind’. Until about this time the early diggers on Reedy Creek considered the black sand a nuisance to be discarded.¹² Discovery of tin drew added attention to the potential of the Ovens goldfield.

Figure 2: North West area of the Beechworth Mining District, showing rivers and creeks with early towns and mining centres with which E.B. Chandler was involved.



Source: Robert Ashley, 2014.

In late 1854, the *Port Phillip and Colonial Gold Mining Company* obtained one of the new extended mining claims to extract tin and gold at the lower Woolshed.¹³ However, a change in the bye-laws allowed occupation by other parties and reluctantly Rivett Bland instructed Henry Thompson to dismiss his workforce.¹⁴

A new rush, lower down the Reedy Creek, was reported in October 1855, ‘... called the Eldorado, from the beautiful landscapes that everywhere meet the eye in this neighbourhood was tried, about sixteen months back, ...’.¹⁵ No record has been found

naming these diggers who attempted to mine the flat in June - July of 1854, but it is significant that it was the landscape that engendered the name of El Dorado.¹⁶ The issue of Mining bye-law No. 8 of the Beechworth Mining Board of 28 March 1861, declared that the size of creek claims on:

that portion of the Woolshed Creek (Reedy Creek) between the upper end of Kneebone's claim and the junction of the said creek with the Ovens River, on which the claim shall not exceed 731m in length in the direction of the stream, by a width not exceeding 366m across such course.¹⁷

Concurring in the making of the bye-laws was Edward Bovill Chandler who along with J.T. Rogers, H.V. Smith, J.S. O'Brien, D. Magoffin, P. Hickey, D. Fletcher and W. Thomson, with Peter Wright as Chairman, were members of the Mining Board.¹⁸ Chandler was still a member of the Beechworth Mining Board in 1862 when the ground from Kneebone's claim at El Dorado to the junction of the Reedy Creek, along with Ovens River, was considered as auriferous ground.¹⁹

Diggers and bosses

When the Buckland River was rushed at the end of 1853, diggers crowded the rough bush tracks and headed for what was once again termed the new El Dorado.²⁰ Some were attracted to the Ovens Gold fields to seek their fortunes, to obtain land, or to settle down by marrying and raising families. One such man was Edward Bovill Chandler, who was located at the lower part of Reedy Creek before Kneebone, Wellington and McEvoy. Other early arrivals were Butler, Gow, Eaton and Strickland, however, it is possible that it was Chandler who named that part of the Creek 'El Dorado', possibly because he had spent his childhood in Barbados and would have been aware of the Spanish quest for gold associated with the name.²¹ The name was in common use and the mining field is **unlikely** to have been purposely named after the Squatting Run on the Chiltern side of the range.²²

Edward B. Chandler is listed among the Woolshed bosses. At first, the Gold Commissioner only allowed claims some 9.1m in length and the breadth of the creek (an undetermined measure) for individual miners. A while later, parties of diggers took up claims for ten men along the Reedy Creek that were 73m along the creek, irrespective of width, and which were worked by sluicing.²³ One claim was said to have been 183m in length. While there were those who objected to the size of the Woolshed claims, it was conceded that they would have been impossible to work without machinery to keep the claims clear of water, and that some parties had expended as much as £2,500 before sighting the colour of gold. The Woolshed claim-holders or bosses kept their large claims both before the establishment of the Local Courts in July of 1855, and after the establishment of the Beechworth Mining Board in January 1858.²⁴

Among other Woolshed bosses was the American Jack Barton who broke up Reid's Woolshed to obtain timber with which to slab his shaft. With 24 men to bale out the mine, but finally erecting a waterwheel, he bottomed on 60oz of gold; thus the Woolshed got its name.²⁵ Generous John Johnston had the richest of the Woolshed claims. Employing upwards of 100 men who hauled up the gold and tin in buckets slung

from long-handled shovels, Johnson is said to have made between £50,000 and £100,000. He died almost penniless in the Warwick Hospital, in 1902.²⁶ Duncan Cameron brother to Daniel returned to Scotland in 1859 with £20,000.²⁷ John Strickland became the first Pound Keeper at Chiltern and died there in 1908.²⁸ After resigning from Parliament, Daniel Cameron went into partnership with James Lonnie, and in 1858 they were the first to erect a quartz crushing battery on the Black Dog Creek after the Indigo rush broke out.²⁹ James Lonnie eventually went to Dunedin, New Zealand where he became the contractor who completed the removal of the huge Bell Hill cut, using the spoil to fill in part of Dunedin's bayside.³⁰

Figure 3: *Washing Black Sand for tin and gold at the Woolshed in 1861.*



Source: Courtesy of the Burke Museum.

How Edward Bovill Chandler became a Woolshed boss is not known. Some reports refer to him as Dr Chandler and there can be no doubt he had received a good education. Michael O'Leary stated that Chandler had seen service in the Royal Navy.³¹ He arrived in Melbourne on board the *Constance* on 27 December 1852, when barely 21 years of age. If he read the *Argus* upon landing in Melbourne he would have noticed a regular feature named 'Scraps from the Ovens'. For example, an issue in January 1853 carried the line: 'Many tents have been removed to distant gullies, reports of large nuggets have caused a rush to more than one back creek'.³² It might have been news of this type, possibly compounded by the interest of those with whom he aligned himself that attracted Chandler to the Ovens. His name first appears two years later in an *Argus* report, detailing his election, with Strickland, Lonnie, and others, to the first Local Court for the Ovens District, held at Beechworth, on Monday 6 August 1855.³³ These Courts were part of the reforms following the Eureka rebellion at Ballarat. For the two years in which they existed the local members had to seek re-election every six months. There were nine members who met once every week for a whole day. According to

John Strickland who was returned four times as member, most of the business at Beechworth was devoted to dealing with Water Rights claims and the jumping of claims.³⁴ Although Strickland was one of the last surviving members of the Court, and named a number of other members in 1908, he made no mention of Chandler whom he knew quite well. This is in spite of Chandler being elected more than once. In April of 1857, Chandler sent in his written resignation, possibly prompted by his insolvency brought on by failure of the mine at Eldorado.³⁵

Around October 1855, the Woolshed was drawing miners from Bendigo, Castlemaine and the Ballarat goldfields, as the average yield was far greater than at any other diggings in the colony. A single Woolshed sluice could yield 20 or 30 pounds of fine gold. So well did these claims pay, that a number of the old Woolshed bosses were enabled to take up claims at the new rush at El Dorado. The *Argus* states that the area was first worked about June or July 1854 using the old style of mining. This meant by shafts, possibly using a whip or whim, a horse powered puddling machine, or cradles worked by three or four mates without the use of water wheels. These attempts failed, so the Woolshed Bosses approached the area in a different way, and constructed water races up to a mile and-a-half long with which to power water wheels and sluices.³⁶

On 3 November 1855, the *Argus* announced that the Ovens diggers were searching for a candidate to represent them in the Legislative Assembly. The Woolshed miners resolved to support Daniel Cameron. On learning of his victory, Michael O'Neill, later a well-known farmer in the Wangaratta district, shouted out 'Begorra, we'll shoe his horse with gold!'³⁷ The story of Cameron's election and how he rode a horse shod with golden horseshoes in celebration became the stuff of legend. The golden horseshoes were made by Thomas Tofield,³⁸ possibly assisted by his brother Frederick, and according to the sum of £92 that was paid for them by the Sydney Mint to Susannah, they weighed between 7 and 9oz each. Susannah was the widow of Tinker Brown whose circus pony had the distinction of being shod with the precious metal.³⁹ Some authorities declared that the circus pony shod with gold horseshoes was only led around a circus arena on soft grass, while kicking high its hooves to reveal the golden splendour.⁴⁰

By March of 1856, twelve steam engines were working at the Woolshed.⁴¹ The Local Court of which Chandler was a member, allowed 9m of the creek to each miner irrespective of the breadth, and from that date, no one party could hold more than 73m of the creek. The mining depth was from 6m to 9m. Parties employed up to 40 men, as the ground had to be worked quickly because of the amount of water present. It is reported that Kerr's claim employed 150 men and the weekly wages bill amounted to £1,000.⁴²

A number of hotels were built along the Reedy Creek, the first of which was Drager's.⁴³ Another was the Shamrock Hotel close to Chandler's claim, afterwards known as the Woolshed hotel,⁴⁴ and was not uncommon for these hotels to employ young Irish immigrants as bar maids and dancers. Whether 22-year old Catherine McMahon from Clare, Ireland, was so employed is not known, but on 1 February 1856 she married 24-year old Edward Chandler at Albury.⁴⁵ On the 25 November that year, Agnes Margaret Chandler was born at Woolshed. She was the first of a family that was

to include Catherine Maria (b. 1858, d. 1860), Kate Elizabeth (b. 1860, d. 1948), Mary Blanche (b. 1864, d. 1893), Emily Bedila (b. 1866, d. 1940), David Bovill (b. 1869, d. 1926) and Herbert Corbin (b. 1871, d. 1915).⁴⁶

It was noted in July of 1856 that Edward Chandler and Company's 'powerful new engine' was being rapidly fitted up for work at the El Dorado. Even at that early date there was a growing township, but the state of the road was appalling and it was a severe check to any rapid shift of the population to the lower Woolshed.⁴⁷

The Reedy Creek has had a long history of severe floods that caused a great deal of damage to mining claims, dwellings and property in general. On Thursday 17 July 1856, a flood surged down the Woolshed valley, taking all before it. It possibly had an effect upon Chandler's claim at the El Dorado.⁴⁸ However, early in December 1856, Chandler and Company's claim was reported as having been proved successful: '... so far satisfied is Mr. Chandler and those associated with him, that they have determined to begin operations on a permanent scale'.⁴⁹ A large number of slabs, props and material had been gathered, and preparations were made for opening three tunnels or levels to drive for the leads.

Reports continued to paint a glowing picture of Reid's Creek and the Woolshed diggings during December 1856 and January of the next year. But on 10 February Chandler disposed of his interest in the claim he had opened at El Dorado to a Mr. Smyth, while retaining a second claim.⁵⁰ *The Ovens and Murray Advertiser* the next day gave a sympathetic and extended report on 'Dr. Chandler's operations at the El Dorado', which, it was claimed, were not so satisfactory for after sinking two shafts and driving a considerable distance in search of the lead of gold, the venture had proved ruinous for him. The returns for the second week of February were £6 4s per man, but said the *Argus*,

Chandler had spent a fortune in opening up the ground ... there are no hopes of his being reimbursed the thousands of pounds which his enterprising spirit led him to expend in giving the El Dorado a fair trial.⁵¹

This report also noted that Chandler had borne the brunt of proving the El Dorado ground and had shown that it could be worked by 'undermining', thus making the work easier for those following: 'It is men like Chandler's stamp that are the life and soul of a mining district'. Indeed, prophetic words as far as Chandler was concerned. One of the Tofields took over the management of the claim for Smyth. The engine was removed to another shaft, with Chandler's other claim lower down the creek, in abeyance. Strickland and Butler were progressing with their claim and Gow was waiting for a steam engine from Melbourne.⁵² In point of fact, the experience gained by John Cock when managing the United Ovens Gold and Tin Mining Company mine at El Dorado in the 1860s and 70s enabled him to develop pioneer methods for successfully working the deep alluvial mines in the Chiltern Rutherglen area.⁵³

On the 21 February 1857, Chandler was declared insolvent. Henry Steel Shaw of Melbourne was appointed Official Assignee to meet with creditors and wind up affairs.⁵⁴ In spite of his financial problems, the community-minded Chandler, a member of the School committee, gave £5 towards the Church of England School at Woolshed.⁵⁵

The Woolshed bosses and others took a keen interest in the activities of their fellow claim bosses and decided on a course of action in support of Chandler. On Wednesday 11 February 1857, John Strickland, Dr Alex Beckett, Duncan Cameron and others of the Woolshed were elected to the Chandler Testimonial Committee to herald his great achievement in opening up the goldfield. It was not until July 1858 that a meeting of the subscribers met to discuss the testimonial. John Strickland was a keen supporter and it was decided to proceed with the presentation. However, this was delayed due to Chandler's personal affairs becoming involved, and a transaction in black sand being questioned.⁵⁶ The Committee finally held a public meeting at the Hibernian hotel at the Woolshed on 21 July 1858, at which Dr Lee presided, and upwards of 200 persons attended. A gold cup made by Frederick and Thomas Tofield, subscribed for by numerous admirers of Chandler's enterprise in opening the El Dorado Flat, was then presented. In addressing the meeting Chandler said that at the commencement of work at Eldorado, he had £2,000 in gold dust, of which £1,500 was spent before it was generally known that he was working there. He acknowledged that bad debts and a severe winter contributed to his lack of success. No doubt this also referred to the flood that had caused so much hardship in July 1856. He did appreciate the honour that had been paid to him. The cup was said to be a 'handsome and valuable piece of workmanship highly creditable to the artistic skill and taste of the worker'.⁵⁷ Long before this time, in March 1857, Chandler's machinery had been sold for about £120, and in August he successfully applied for a discharge from his insolvency.⁵⁸

Water Rights, and claims

According to the Registry of Applications for Water Rights, Chandler held the right of water heading from a gully behind his house at Middle Woolshed.⁵⁹ For many years there were complaints about the use of water on the Ovens, particularly by small parties or single diggers, who were blocked from easy access to those races and dams that had been constructed at considerable expense. Many of these dams and races were later taken over by the Chinese, who from the 1860s constituted a large population along the Reedy Creek. The creation of the District Mining Boards on 4 January 1858 created a new order on the goldfields, the importance of which has been much overlooked. The districts that were formed were Ararat, Ballarat, Beechworth, Castlemaine, Maryborough and Sandhurst.⁶⁰ The huge Beechworth District included all of Gippsland and joined the Castlemaine District east of Western Port. The Gippsland District was not separated from Beechworth and was not proclaimed a District until 17 December 1866.

When the newly elected Beechworth Mining Board met on 24 April 1858 it repealed the regulations set up by the Beechworth Local Court and set about redefining the bye-laws for the newly created Mining District. By-laws No. 3 to No. 52 were duly published in the *Government Gazette*. By-laws 3 to 4 dealt with claim sizes, and by-law 5 dealt with the extent of claims on wet or flooded ground. The size of the wet claims on the Woolshed had long been a source of complaint, especially by the Three Mile diggers. The by-law maintained the 73m that had existed on the Woolshed for several

years, but it defined the breadth to be 36.6m. It also required the claim holder to keep one man constantly employed upon such a claim for every 27.4m by 36.6m held.⁶¹

The Mining Board soon had to start dealing with the problem of water rights, water races, dams and sluices, and the Government duly appointed a Commission to investigate the situation in the Beechworth Mining District. The members appointed on 20 September 1860 were William Henry Drummond, Warden at Beechworth; Peter Wright of Yackandandah, Chairman of the Mining Board; Walter Thomson of Stanley, R. Brough Smyth, John Donald, M.L.A, and Edward B. Chandler, of the Woolshed and member of the Beechworth District mining board.⁶² Reporting in April 1861, the Commission provided excellent details about the proliferation of water races and sluicing in the Nine Mile District, Yackandandah, the Buckland, and elsewhere. It suggested a number of amendments that ought to be implemented, including the granting of leases for ten-year periods, and a recommendation that elections should be held where there were competing interests.

In September 1858 the Indigo Rush, said to rival some of the largest rushes in Victoria, occurred,⁶³ and on 27 September Edward B. Chandler registered a Quartz claim somewhere along the Black Dog Range.⁶⁴ There were numerous reefs in the area, and not all of them were payable. The richest quartz was close to the surface and some reefs were more productive than others, for example, Attrey's reef that varied in width from 150mm to 1m in width, yielded from two to five ounces to the ton. However, many reefs were quickly abandoned in favour of working alluvial ground.⁶⁵

By 1 December 1858 it was estimated that some 15,000 persons were at the Indigo.⁶⁶ The New Ballarat or Chiltern lead, discovered in 1859, was exceedingly remunerative in the early years, mining being aided by the capital of John A. Wallace.⁶⁷ The discovery of nuggets added to the excitement but there were problems with shortages of water. Using barrels and a dray, some of the more enterprising sold water from the near-by Black Dog Creek.⁶⁸ One suggestion was to build a tramway to the Murray River to take the dirt there to wash.⁶⁹ By November 1858 a good number of old Woolshed men had bottomed on the lead, among them Edward Chandler, who appears to have abandoned his quartz claim. He struck the Indigo lead at 27.4m from the surface, and the *Advertiser* suggested that he was sure to be successful once more in his mining speculations.⁷⁰ Again showing enterprise, Chandler applied for a water race to run from the Deep Creek to the Indigo for Wheel and Sluicing.⁷¹ It appears that a co-operative company partly built a race from the area, but it is not known whether this was the project that involved Chandler.⁷²

During 1859, the ground at El Dorado that confounded the efforts of Chandler and party, Kenyon and Richardson, as well as Conolly, Eaton, Strickland and others, began to show its potential with the success of Kneebone and party who paid 10 to 16 men wages of £4 10s a week. After incidental expenses the party cleared £16 a week.⁷³

At a large meeting in September 1859 at the Woolshed 'Gold Digger's Arms', Chandler, who was sympathetic to A.A. O'Connor's approach to the land settlement question, supported his bid for the Legislative Council. He said that he had a 'wife and family, and intended to make a home for himself and his posterity'.⁷⁴ In the event, O'Connor was defeated and J.D. Wood and Alexander Keefer were returned.

Early in 1860, Chandler stood for election to the Beechworth Mining Board as the representative for Woolshed and was duly elected.⁷⁵ In October 1860 he chaired a meeting of about 1,500 persons assembled at Ewin's Hotel, Wahgunyah lead, for the purpose of discussing the frontage bye-laws, which were found unsatisfactory at that place. The meeting appointed a committee to look into the size of the claims and to report back to a public meeting. Three cheers were given for Chairman Chandler, who then terminated the meeting.⁷⁶ The problem that had confronted the miners at Rutherglen was the close proximity of the various reefs and leads to one another. They ran side by side, so that claims over-lapped each other and caused many conflicts under the then existing frontage bye-laws. A party that bottomed a shaft on 9 September 1860, at what was to become the Rutherglen Gold Field, first opened up the Wahgunyah Diggings. Over time many quartz reefs were opened up at Chiltern and Rutherglen and deep lead alluvial mining that began in 1859 at Chiltern continued until 1920. During this period, the Rutherglen Mining Revival took place in the 1880s and 1890s.⁷⁷

Chandler advertised in February 1861 that he was standing again to represent the Woolshed division.⁷⁸ He was re-elected without opposition. He then took a prominent role on the Beechworth Mining Board and had much to do with the bye-laws that dealt with Water Races.⁷⁹

Between 1861 and 1864 little is recorded about Chandler.⁸⁰ However, on the last day of April 1863, he was called upon at a Woolshed meeting to move a resolution favouring the establishment of a fund to erect a memorial to the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell (1775 - 1847). Chandler explained that while he was not an Irishman, he appreciated the great efforts O'Connell had made in the cause of civil and religious liberty.⁸¹ The last known appearance of Chandler in the district occurred the following month on 12th May 1863, at George Billson's Wooragee hotel, when about 200 persons gathered to elect members for the first Wooragee Road Board. After the election Chandler was voted to the chair, while the successful candidates addressed the meeting.⁸²

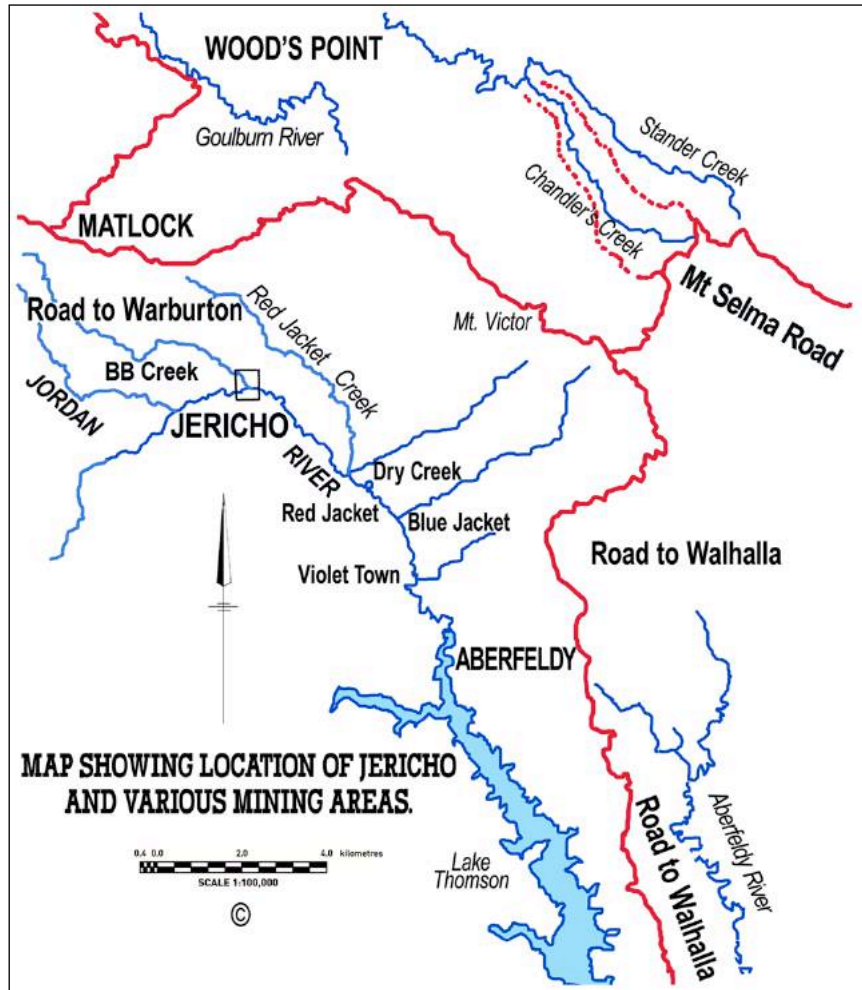
Gold? A transient, shining trouble

Gold was said to have been discovered at the Upper Goulburn River district in 1853 and at Gaffney's Creek in 1859, and resulted in the discovery of gold at Wood's Point, B.B. Creek, the Jordan, Raspberry Creek, Russell's Creek, Jericho, Red Jacket, Blue Jacket and Dry Creek, all located on the Jordan River. These places were originally among the most impenetrable in Victoria, with mountain ranges capped with winter snow, and deep valleys covered with scrub and forest. Wood's Point was discovered in May 1861. The site of the first discoveries on the Jordan became the township of Jericho. A number of rivals claimed a reward for the discovery of the Jordan field but the successful claimants were William Quin and party, with each man receiving £50.⁸³

In February 1864, a report stated that 36 tons of quartz from the Morning Star claims 60 and 61 at Wood's Point had yielded 45oz 16½dwt per ton and shares were impossible to obtain. The same report stated that: 'Mr. Chandler, late member of the Beechworth Mining Board, and well known on the Woolshed has got on a reef nearly

adjoining the Hibernian, and the prospects are excellent'.⁸⁴ Not without significance is Chandler's Creek situated east of Wood's Point and Matlock. Nearby, the Stander's Creek rush occurred in February 1865. Chandler together with C.H. Reick were first on the scene and pegged claims at what was named Royal Standard.⁸⁵

Figure 4: *Map of the Jericho District lying between Wood's Point and Walhalla in Alpine Victoria.*



Source: Robert Ashley,

Just when the Chandler family moved to the Jordan River near Wood's Point is not recorded but they had a home at Dry Creek.⁸⁶ In the early days of the mining village of Jericho, a vicious fight involving Gibson of the Golden Age Hotel and Poole, who claimed he should be in possession of the hotel, was broken up by Chandler with the assistance of Cadigan and Mills.⁸⁷

What had been known as Chandler's Tunnelling Claim on the Jordan River was registered on 13 September 1864 as The Haphazard Gold Mining Company, with Charles Henry Edwards as Legal Manager for the Alpine Gold Mining Company.⁸⁸ Chandler held 70 shares in the company registered at £20 each. Another shareholder was Michael Prendergast a publican of Jericho who held 60 shares. He had discovered the mine but by early 1865 had drunk himself to death.⁸⁹

Figure 5: Plan of allotments at Jericho. Edward Bovill Chandler's allotment in pink.



Source: Victoria Lands Department

At the head of the Jordan River, Chandler managed a mine known as The East Columbia Gold Mining Company, but no other details are known.⁹⁰ Whether the demands of family life caused a change in Chandler's affairs, or not, there was certainly a change in late 1866 when he was appointed mining manager of the No. 1 North Mount Useful Company at Donnelly's Creek, registered during October 1865 with John Arabin as Legal Manager.⁹¹ Little is known about this mine, though it should be stated that reef mining in the gold district from Walhalla, (Stringer's Creek), Matlock, Aberfeldy, Jericho, Donnelly Creek, Gooley's Creek, Wood's Point, Ten Mile, to Jamieson was intense during the 1860s and on through the 1870s. The B.B. Creek it is said, took its name from the result of the rough scrub and hillsides causing miners to scramble down on their backsides thus wearing out their pants - hence 'Bare Buttock's'.

During 1867 Chandler was appointed to the Jericho Common School No. 807 committee.⁹² In 1868 he was one of the petitioners for a cemetery for which a one-acre (4 ha) site was gazetted in 1870.⁹³

It was not until the 10 December 1869 that Chandler gained freehold of half-an-acre (0.2 ha) of land at Jericho, where the family possibly lived. On Monday 1 November 1869, a meeting at Heffernan's Shamrock Hotel, Jericho, heard Chandler report on his discussions in Melbourne with the Government respecting persons being able to cultivate gardens on their mining claims, and for an improvement in the road to

Jericho. In a stirring speech, Chandler urged all present to take out their 'Elector's Rights if they wished to be recognized as citizens and to have a voice in the administration of public affairs'.⁹⁴ Shortly afterwards, in January 1870, Chandler received a license to hold land under the 42nd section of the Land Act of 1865.⁹⁵ Later that month he was appointed a magistrate for the Wood's Point General Sessions.⁹⁶ From this time, he was Coroner for the district.

The next year saw Chandler making an application in June to register the Lily of the Valley Gold Quartz Mining Company located at Mount Lookout near Aberfeldy River in the Gippsland Mining District.⁹⁷ Divided between four persons, this No Liability company consisted of 3,200 shares at £10 each.⁹⁸ At the half-yearly meeting in December, Chandler reported that 108 tons 12 cwt of stone had been crushed from the western or prospecting reef at the El Dorado battery, which had yielded an average of 1oz 7dwts 14grs of smelted gold per ton. A difficulty was the distance from the nearest place of business, but this was in part overcome with the recent establishment of a town in the vicinity.⁹⁹

Also, in June 1871, Chandler became Legal Manager of the Aberfeldy Gold Quartz Mining Company, registered with a proposed capital of £9,600 in 4,800 shares, and situated at the Aberfeldy River.¹⁰⁰ Chandler resigned in August 1872 and was replaced by Robert Dowling. The reports of January 1873 state that the Aberfeldy Company continued to crush payable quantities of stone.

Two more companies were registered with Edward B. Chandler as Mining Manager in July of 1871, namely The Mayflower Gold Mining Company at Mount Lookout near the Aberfeldy River, and the Stockholm Tar Gold Mining Company at Mount Lookout between the Thompson and Aberfeldy Rivers.¹⁰¹ These mines were located in mountainous and difficult terrain. Not only that, communications and travelling across the ranges was both difficult and dangerous.

During January 1872 Chandler busied himself organising the calling of tenders for the removal of the Perseverance Machine belonging to the Aberfeldy River to Mount Lookout. This was required for the Lily of the Valley Gold Quartz Mining Company. At the same time he called for a tender to take down the Blackwall Machine located 3.2km from Mount Useful, for erection 10km away, on the Aberfeldy Gold Quartz Mining Company's claim.¹⁰²

The first battery to work at Aberfeldy was christened and set to work on 14 September 1872, in the presence of a good number of Melbourne and Ballarat speculators and persons among whom was Mr Hefferin now Mine Host of the Mount Lookout Hotel. Mr Jones of the Bank of Victoria in Walhalla was among a number who toasted the success of the undertaking and Edward Chandler came forward to propose a toast to the 'Mining Interest ... [which] He regarded ... as a most important toast, seeing that every one of us, old and young was identified, in some shape or other with mining'.¹⁰³

However, the enthusiasm soon waned with the appearance of a critical letter in the Walhalla paper written by a John W. Harnett of Melbourne, asking why no half-yearly meeting of the Lily of the Valley Company had been called to receive the balance sheet. The letter, highly critical of Chandler, stated:

Since that period (When Chandler became its manager] the value of gold obtained amounted to £700, whilst the sum expended on labor did not exceed £490, thus leaving a balance of £210 to pay for packing and crushing. I may mention that two-thirds of the work done on the claim was dead work, and that here still remains to be crushed some 150 tons - indeed £300, under judicious management, would pay for all the work that has been done on the claim. Of the several calls that have been made, not one shilling has ever been expended in opening up the mine. Those calls amount to some £600.¹⁰⁴

The disgruntled shareholder continued in this style and then stated he had talked to two of the directors who worked in the claim at the last crushing and that they thought their wages were safer in their pockets than in Chandler's, and that out of the remainder of this money (£600) they handed to him, he paid the balance of a bank-overdraft, and advertising account which must have been running on since the claim opened, as well as his own salary for six months – ‘When I saw that he wanted not alone the calls but the proceeds of the gold - I thought it was high time to look after him’.¹⁰⁵ Whatever the real situation was is not known, however, in January 1873 the Company was scheduled to be brought before the Warden's Court held at the Reefer's Hotel, Wood's Point, when a certain John Ryan claimed all the title and interest to the 6.95ha Crown lease No. 228, demanding that it should be sold unless the claim was previously satisfied.¹⁰⁶ No record of the Court proceedings has been found but it appears that the company was wound up and a new eminently successful company formed. Questions linger as to Chandler's handling of the mining company and even to his personal financial situation. Was this the beginning of a human tragedy from which he desired to escape?

In spite of that critical letter and its possible effect upon Chandler's reputation, in February 1874 he was appointed a Licensing Magistrate for Jericho.¹⁰⁷ Then in May 1874 he was appointed a member of the Board of Advice for the school district of West Tanjil.¹⁰⁸

The last known action of Chandler in this district was the inquest held at Dry Creek, Jericho, when Chandler found that Donald McColl or McCall, a married quartz miner, had died from cold and exposure on 7 September 1874, after travelling for six days from Marysville through 0.9m to 1.2 metres of snow.¹⁰⁹

From the time of that inquest not one mention of Chandler is to be found. Had he died or had he moved elsewhere? What crisis in his life if there was a crisis, made him leave his wife and children in that small mountain town on the Jordan River? Chandler could hardly have been unaware of numbers of local miners leaving for the new goldfields in Queensland; of Charters Towers in 1872 and the Hodgkinson and Palmer River Rushes of 1873-75.¹¹⁰

How many lonely and long hours did Catherine and her children endure while the breadwinner sought his El Dorado? All that the records show is that Catherine worked at the Jericho State School as a Work Mistress from August 1874, resigning in 1876 to allow her 21 year old daughter, Kate, to take the position. Kate resigned in 1880. The family probably then moved to Wood's Point.¹¹¹ Jericho gradually declined and the horrific bushfires of 1939 destroyed what was left.

It is difficult to assess Chandler's management of the various mining companies that he had interest in. Not all of them were registered as 'No Liability Companies' with listed shareholders, however, in common with numerous other attempts to open up quartz mines, many appear to have been under-capitalised or simply placed on a mining lease in the hope that the mine would prove profitable, and a great many failed. Sadly there are incomplete records even for many of the officially gazetted companies.

The unending search

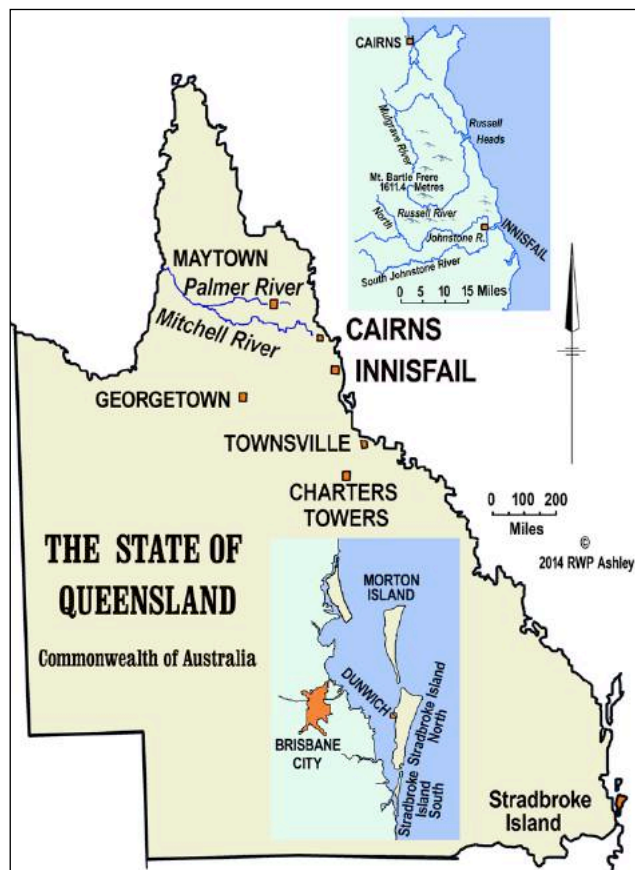
Gold was discovered at the Palmer River, in North Queensland by William Hann when on an exploring expedition in 1872.¹¹² His 1873 report captured the attention of James Venture Mulligan who with a party of prospectors left Georgetown on 5th June 1873, returning early in September 1873 with gold weighing from 106 to 120 ounces.¹¹³ In spite of the dire warnings that were issued and the difficulties attached to the district, a rush set in to what was an immensely rich gold field. It appears that among the numbers of diggers from Wood's Point and the Jordan River in Victoria who in 1874-75 journeyed to the Palmer River was Chandler. Some years passed and in August 1883 it was announced that E.B. Chandler had been appointed to manage the Austral Tin mine at Cannibal Creek near Maytown (formally Edwardstown) on the Palmer River about 196km west of Cooktown. Tin ore was discovered in Granite and Cannibal Creeks 40km southeast of Maytown in 1876. A large and successful Chinese group of miners worked there and tin ore was sent to Cooktown in canvas bags for transit to Sydney, and smelting at Pymont, where up to £60 a ton was paid.¹¹⁴ By 1883 the Austral shafts were producing ore from the 12m level '... with a high percentage of crushing stuff ... also fair qualities of bagging ore'. Plans to lay down a tramline to the battery were in hand.¹¹⁵ In September 1883 the *Palmer Chronicle* reported that the erection of new machinery was nearing completion and that Chandler was pushing ahead with raising ore for a first crushing. The paper also claimed, the future of Cannibal Creek mines was assured.¹¹⁶ It appears that the 'Austral claim' was formally known as 'Wood Brothers'. They are said to have, 'Foolishly transferred their interests to the late Cannibal Creek Tin Mining Company but that in late October 1884 it was being worked by the Phoenix Company using a large 2.9m square shaft on the claim and had 25 tons of stone to crush'.¹¹⁷ Reports then ceased. This appears to be the last time Chandler had the management of a company. The reports by Coyyan in the *Cairns Post*, indicate, that Chandler had resigned himself to only work with the 'alluvial', perhaps a reaction to either the failure of company mining, or his own sense of failure. Ever after, he avoided reef mining.

There is a brief mention by Michael O'Leary (Coyyan) that Chandler went to the Johnstone River rush in 1884 and drifted over to the Russell side, and that Chandler was the first to open the Russell Extended Goldfield proclaimed on 15 August 1889, but that he was never recognised for the feat.¹¹⁸

The Russell River Gold Field was discovered in 1886 by the colourful Christy Palmerston while searching for a possible route to connect the Mourilyan basin with the hinterland. After a strenuous search along the south and north branches of the Johnstone Rivers he turned his attention to the country between the North Johnstone and the

Russell River. In cutting his way through the dense bush he found gold on the Russell River. Making his way back to Geraldton he visited the diggings that had been opened up on the North Johnstone and especially called upon two old well-known prospectors named Willie Joss and George Clarke. A prospecting party was formed with Joss and Clarke who had previously, along with John Frazer and Jupiter Mossman, been members of the party that opened up the Charters Towers field. Clark found gold on the Russell and went to Herberton to report the discovery, while Palmerston went to Geraldton to report his discovery.¹¹⁹ The Russell is a short river to the south and south west of Queensland's highest mountain, Bartle Frere (1622 metres) and joins a rich sugar cane and banana-growing district on the river flats north of Innisfail.

Figure 6: *Map of Queensland with inserts showing the Russell River where Chandler mined for gold, and Dunwich, Stradbroke Island where he was buried.*



Source: Prepared by Robert Ashley.

Christy Palmerston, Willie Joss and George Clarke took up an area known as 'Coopa'. The Geraldton Shire Council afterwards opened a track along the north side of the Russell River to a cleared spot used by the Aborigines as a meeting ground and known to them as *Tay Kappa*. Here Palmerston established a butcher's shop and brought in 150 Chinese miners who each paid £1 for the privilege. Palmerston later sold his butcher's business to one of the Chinese. In 1888 the Government Geologist, Robert Jack, took an opportunity to inspect the Russell River area with Christy Palmerston. They camped at Tachappa (later spelt 'Chu Chabber') and Jack recorded that there were

some dozen Chinese dwellings at the site.¹²⁰ Today the site is still accessible at the end of the road that leads from the Bruce Highway on the north side of the Russell River to what is now known as 'Golden Hole'.

Meantime, Clarke and Joss discovered gold at Towalla. This lay about 45km inland from Geraldton in the midst of dense scrub at some 701m above sea level, among rather low hills that form the watershed on the Johnstone and Russell Rivers.¹²¹

According to Michael O'Leary (Coyyan) Old Chandler was one of the most successful of the early miners who opened up the Russell country. Among this country was the Goorka Creek that produced some nice coarse gold, the largest piece being about 24 ounces. He also opened up the Ravines and Combo Creek, and from information supplied by Chandler, it led to the opening of the Towalla Reefs.¹²²

Figure 7: *View of the Russell River, Queensland with cloud covered Mt Bartle Frere and its North Western peak. The scene was taken at what is now known as 'Golden Hole' but which was once Tay Kapper or Chu Chabber. To the right of the north bank is a clearing large enough for several camps. Somewhere here was the site of Chandler's last camp.*



Source: Photograph, Robert Ashley.

When Chandler came into the camp in October 1890 after a few days absence with some 5 to 6oz of gold, Clarke and a few Aborigines went off with Chandler carrying swags and tools to the place of discovery, which they apparently kept to themselves. Such reports concerning gold discoveries on the Russell are uncommon. It is also strange that the Queensland Data Base for Miner's Rights' does not show an entry for E.B. Chandler.¹²³

Geraldton was renamed Innisfail in 1910 to avoid confusion with Geraldton in Western Australia. It is 70km south of Cairns and has suffered from massive cyclones since 1900. The town grew up in 1882 at the junction of the North and South Johnstone Rivers.¹²⁴ The Russell River has also suffered from the effects of cyclones and floods,

so much so, that from appearances, all trace of mining activities has been washed away or is covered with the dense undergrowth that contains numerous leeches and stinging trees (*Dendrocnide moroides*) that become tangled with the debris of the raging floods. Most rain falls between December and April with over 10,000mm being recorded on the Bellenden Ker Range.¹²⁵

An expedition undertaken by the Scot, Archibald Meston in 1889 to the top of Bellenden-Ker, the second highest mountain in Queensland just to the north of Bartle Frere, described the area and its plant life. Meston records that a miner named Chandler had kindly sent along an aboriginal named Yabba who had been out prospecting with Chandler to assist the party in their climb. Meston claimed that Yabba was later implicated in the murders of two white prospectors and was summarily dealt with.¹²⁶

O'Leary writing in 1917 about the adventuresome Christy Palmerston's involvement with Chu Chabber, includes 'Old Chandler', who he claimed was 'well educated, silent but ever courteous and confident of being successful'. He noted that while Chandler would talk about gold digging in Victoria he never mentioned anything about his private life. Chandler had opened a number of creeks to prospecting on the Russell and Towalla fields assisted by local aboriginals but kept exclusively to alluvial working. As gold became harder to find, Chandler went to Chu Chabber where he built a home for himself and lived by the gold that his Aboriginal companions won for him from an abandoned Chinese mine. From here the police removed him to the Geraldton hospital. O'Leary visited the hospital, and found Chandler still dreaming of finding rich gold when he got his strength back, but that never came, and they sent him to an island down in Morton Bay.¹²⁷

On 14 November 1899, the 68-year old Chandler was admitted to the Dunwich Benevolent Asylum. The surprisingly accurate admission form detailing his family, states that he had no money and no property. His daughter Blanch is not shown. She had died in Melbourne on 5 May 1893. Herbert Chandler, who joined the Victorian Permanent Artillery in 1893, had deserted in 1896. When he enlisted, he gave his father's address as Cairns and his mother's as Wood's Point.¹²⁸ He is later found at Zeehan in Tasmania in 1904.¹²⁹ Chandler's admission form to the Dunwich Benevolent Asylum correctly states that the whereabouts of Herbert was unknown and lists only four living children. This indicates clearly that some form of communication had continued until 1896 at least.

Chandler was not alone among his acquaintances in the quest for El Dorado, nor was he the only miner that spent a fortune in giving another spot a trial. George Clarke went to New Guinea and was killed in July 1895 aged 49 years while on a prospecting expedition. Christy Palmerston went to Borneo and Malaya prospecting and died of a fever in 1897 aged 47 years. The old hands were fast fading away although Willie Joss lived until 1939 when he was 98 years of age. Chandler would have been one of the most senior prospectors on the Russell goldfield, hence Coyyan's continual but respectful reference to him as 'Old Chandler'. Chandler's life is hard to summarise. He was obviously well educated and a sociable miner, yet even on Woolshed and El Dorado diggings at Beechworth there were signs of a deep questioning of social and religious issues. Those concerns are also evident at Jericho, although the 23 years spent

in Victoria indicate that he was a caring family man. But there is no explanation as to why he left his family in 1874. For the greater part of the 24 years he spent in Queensland, he appears to have lived with Aboriginal companions rather than Europeans. This may suggest a loss of faith with white society but also a sense of the understanding that Palmerston displayed with Aboriginals and bush life. However, he certainly earned the respect of Michael O'Leary (Coyyan) who had been a miner on the Jordan near the Johnston River. O'Leary lamented that Old Chandler, as he was known, 'opened more of the Russell country than any other individual' but was always the farthest out, and not recognised.¹³⁰

Chandler as one of the founding members of the Mining Court and the Mining Board at Beechworth had taken his responsibilities very seriously, including those of Magistrate and Coroner while in Jericho, at least until 1874. But perhaps it was the irresistible nature of 'Yellow Fever' that made life's quest for gold paramount.

Chandler died on 17 December 1899 from senile decay and heart disease and was buried in an unmarked grave in the Dunwich Cemetery. This is a story about a man in search of El Dorado. As to the Gold Cup he was given at the Woolshed so many years before, there was not a word. Only perhaps a glint of El Dorado as memories flooded through his tired body as life ebbed away. He was not to know that on North Stradbroke Island close to the hospital, and close to where his earthly remains would lie, was a rich source of black sand of a different type, that of Rutile, Titanium, Zircon and other Rare earths.¹³¹

Acknowledgements.

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Endnotes

¹ *Cairns Post*, 4 March 1931, p. 11.

² Jim Leslie, Chairman Australian Art Exhibitions Corporation, Text Clemencia Plazas de Nieto, Ann-Maria Falchetti de Saenz, *ElDorado Columbian Gold*, A selection of ancient gold objects from the Museo del Oro, Bogotá, Colombia, Australian Art Exhibitions Corporation Limited with the assistance of the Commonwealth Government and sponsored by the Benson & Hedges Company, The Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, February - March 1978, Western Australian Art Gallery April - May 1978, National Gallery of Victoria, May - July 1978, Queensland Art Gallery, July - August 1978, Art Gallery of New South Wales, August - October 1978. ISBN 0 7241 14130, p. 13.

³ Robert W.P. Ashley, *History of Chiltern, Newsletter*, of the North Eastern Historical Society (defunct) Wangaratta, Published monthly [July 1966 to May 1967] vol. 5, no. 7, August 1966, pp. 1-3; *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 8, September 1966, pp. 1-3; Dr Arthur Andrews, *The First Settlement of the Upper Murray 1835 to 1845 with a short Account of over Two Hundred Runs, 1835 to 1880*, Sydney, 1920, p. 120.

⁴ James Flett, *The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*, Hawthorn Press, 1970, pp. 61-66; Carole Woods, *Beechworth A Titan's Field*, United Shire of Beechworth in Conjunction with Hargreen, Melbourne, 1985.

⁵ William Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria with Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longman 1855, 1972, and edition by Lowden Publishing, Kilmore, pp. 98 - 101.

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- ⁶ 'The Ovens', *The Argus* [Melbourne], 8 August 1855, pp. 5, 6; Flett, *History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*, p. 65. '... it was an extraordinarily rich place'.
- ⁷ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 3 August 1853, pp. 1070-71.
- ⁸ Jay Monaghan, *Australians and the Gold Rush: California and Down Under 1849-1854*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966, p. 71.
- ⁹ 'Scraps from the Ovens', *Argus*, 25 October 1853, p. 5 c2; *ibid.*, 4 November 1853, p. 5; *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, no. 3, *Supplement* [Beechworth], 20 January 1855, p. 8, c2.
- ¹⁰ 'The Ovens', *Argus*, 27 December 1854, p. 5.
- ¹¹ *Argus*, 22 April 1853, p. 9, c2.
- ¹² Others involved in the discovery of tin were George Foord, George M. Stephen, F.H. Storer of the United States Expedition to the North Pacific and Rev. W.B. Clarke.
- ¹³ John Woodland, *Sixteen Tons of Gold: A History of the Port Phillip and Colonial Gold Mining Company*, Clunes Museum, 2001, pp. 13, 26.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ¹⁵ 'The Ovens.' *Argus*, 19 October 1855, p. 5, c2.
- ¹⁶ Flett, *History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*, p. 66. Flett claims 'Butler and party were allegedly the first diggers at Eldorado'. However the reference given, no. 24, is not printed and has not been found. A number of inaccuracies appear in this chapter.
- ¹⁷ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 10 May 1861, pp. 924-27
- ¹⁸ 'Beechworth Mining District: Bye-laws' [7 January 1862], *Victoria Government Gazette*, 31 January 1862, p. 198.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ 'Scraps from the Ovens,' *Argus*, 28 December 1853, p. 5, c1.
- ²¹ Genealogical research by Mrs J. Clements of Northampton, England.
- ²² Dudley Sheppard, *El Dorado of the Ovens Goldfields*, Research Publications, Blackburn, 1982, p. 6.
- ²³ *Argus*, 17 July 1855, p. 6, c6.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, September 28, 1861, pp. 2-3.
- ²⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 27 October 1902, p. 6.
- ²⁷ *Constitution & Ovens Mining Intelligencer* [hereafter *Constitution*] [Beechworth], May 1859.
- ²⁸ *Federal Standard* [Chiltern], 6 November 1908, p. 2, c5.
- ²⁹ 'Mining Report', *Chiltern Standard and Murray Valley Mining Reporter*, Chiltern Lead, Ovens, Victoria, no. 1, 24 August 1859, p. 3, cc3-4.
- ³⁰ *Bruce Herald*, New Zealand, 1 March 1866, p. 3.
- ³¹ *Cairns Post*, 24 January 1921, p. 2.
- ³² *Argus*, 4 January 1853.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 8 August 1855, pp. 5-6.
- ³⁴ 'History of the North-East as Told by its Pioneers', *Chronicle* [Wangaratta], 11 July 1908, p. 3, cc3-5.
- ³⁵ *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 14 April 1857, p. 2.
- ³⁶ 'The Ovens', *Argus*, 19 October 1855, p. 5.
- ³⁷ 'The History of the North-East', *Chronicle*, 16 May 1908, p. 3, cc3-5.
- ³⁸ Thomas Tofield worked for Edward Chandler as a smelter and possibly also as assayer. This suggests that Chandler employed the Tofield brothers to process the gold and tin by using mercury to separate the gold and then to smelt the gold, drawing off the mercury for reuse. Not only did the miners contribute the gold to make the golden horseshoes, they also raised £2,000 of which £1,500 was raised 'on the Spot' at Woolshed, this being the necessary qualification for Cameron to take his seat. See: *Federal Standard*, 10 February 1905, p. 2, c5; 'Domestic Intelligence', *Argus*, 23 November 1855, p. 5.
- ³⁹ 'Beechworth's Early Days', *North Eastern Ensign* [Benalla], 23 May 1919, p. 3.
- ⁴⁰ *Argus*, 29 April 1899, p. 4, cc1-2.
- ⁴¹ 'Present State of the Ovens Diggings', (*From the Ovens and Murray Advertiser.*) *Argus*, 7 March 1856, p. 6, c5.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ 'Goldfields. The District.' (From the *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*), *Argus*, 29 August 1855, p. 6, c5; 'Domestic Intelligence' - 'Prospecting Company', *Argus*, 18 January 1856, p. 5, cc4, 5.
- ⁴⁴ Richard Patterson, *Nobblers & Lushingtons: A history of the Hotels of the Beechworth and the Ovens District*, The Author, Beechworth, 2009, p. 306.
- ⁴⁵ No official Registration of the marriage has been found.
- ⁴⁶ Justice Department, Victoria, Registrations for Births Deaths and Marriages; *ibid.*, Index to births, deaths and marriages; Kate died in Melbourne in 1948 the longest lived of the family, while Catherine

Chandler died as result of biting the tops off Lucifer matches aged 1 year and 11 months and was buried in the Beechworth cemetery. See, 'Child Poisoned.' *Argus*, 25 June 1860, p. 5, c7; and Ian Hyndman, Beechworth, E-mail communication, and 'H. Chandler', National Archives [hereafter NAA] Service File No. 3230867.

⁴⁷ 'Ovens', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 26 July 1856, p. 2, c5.

⁴⁸ 'Ovens'. *Argus*, 19 July 1856, p. 2, cc4-5.

⁴⁹ 'Mining Intelligence', *Argus*, 8 December 1856, p. 6, c6.

⁵⁰ *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 10 February 1857, p. 2, c3.

⁵¹ 'El Dorado and Napoleons Diggings', *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 11 February 1857, p. 2, c3.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Stanley B. Hunter, *The Chiltern Goldfield, Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Victoria No. 1*, Victoria Department of Mines, 1903, p. 9.

⁵⁴ 'Government Advertisements', *Argus*, 25 February 1857, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Woolshed Common School No. 689, Public Record Office Victoria [hereafter PROV], VPRS 61.

⁵⁶ *Constitution*, Beechworth, 19 July 1858, p. 2. c. 7; *ibid.*, p. 3, c1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 July 1858, p. 3, c4.

⁵⁸ 'Public Notices', *Argus*, 8 August 1857, p. 8, c3.

⁵⁹ *Registry of Applications for Water Rights*, No. 42, 1 October 1858, Beechworth Burke Museum; Chandler's dwelling may have consisted of split slabs, lined with calico or hessian with a bark roof.

⁶⁰ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 5 January 1858, pp. 3 - 7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, no. 58, 5 May 1858, p. 875.

⁶² 'Beechworth Water Rights'. *Argus*, 2 April 1861, p. 6, cc1-3; *Victoria Government Gazette*, no. 120, 25 September 1860, p. 1799; R. Brough Smyth, *The Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1869, p. 126.

⁶³ 'The Indigo', *Constitution*, Beechworth, 5 November 1858, p. 2, cc5-6.

⁶⁴ *Register of Mining Claims 1857-58-59*, Progressive No. 804, Burke Museum, Beechworth.

⁶⁵ Hunter, *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Victoria*, p. 35.

⁶⁶ *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 1 December 1858, p. 3, c2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 10 March 1859, p. 2, c5-6.

⁶⁸ 'The Indigo', *Constitution*, Beechworth, 27 October 1858, p. 2, c6.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 30 October 1858, p. 2, cc4-5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 November 1858, p. 2, cc5-6.

⁷¹ *Registry of Applications for Water Rights* No. 117, 1858, Beechworth Burke Museum.

⁷² 'Indigo Mining Report', *Chiltern Standard and Murray Valley Mining Reporter*, no. 12, 1 October 1859, p. 2, cc4 - 5.

⁷³ 'The El Dorado', *Chiltern Standard and Murray Valley Mining Reporter*, no. 2, 27 August 1859, p. 2, c6; El Dorado eventually became the scene of the Cock's Pioneer Dredging Company whose large bucket dredge ceased work in 1954 but remains there to this day.

⁷⁴ *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 13 September 1859, p. 2, c5; *ibid.*, 20 September 1859, p. 3, c2, where listed on A.A. O'Connor's election committee at Reid's Creek and Woolshed with E.B. Chandler, was a certain John Sherritt who was the father of Aaron who was murdered by Byrne a member of the Kelly gang.

⁷⁵ *Chiltern Standard and Murray Valley Mining Reporter*, 4 February 1860, p. 2, cc3-4.

⁷⁶ *Federal Standard and Murray Valley Mining Reporter*, 31 October 1860, p. 2, cc3-4.

⁷⁷ Brian Lloyd, *Rutherglen: A History of Town and District*, Shoestring Press, Wangaratta, 1985, *passim*.

⁷⁸ *Constitution*, Beechworth, 1 February 1861, p. 3, c3.

⁷⁹ *Victoria Government Gazette*, No 142, 24 September 1861, p. 1802.

⁸⁰ Outwards Shipping, 'Aldinga', June 1863, PROV. This shipping record indicates E.B. Chandler may have paid a visit to the Otago Gold Field in South Island New Zealand in June or 1863, but there is no supporting information. The stated age is not in agreement with the age of Edward Bovill Chandler. A good many miners left the Woolshed and other gold fields for the Otago Gold Rush including the brothers Tofield, James Lonnie and others.

⁸¹ *Federal Standard*, 4 May 1863, p. 3, cc2-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 13 May 1863, p. 2, c3.

⁸³ Flett, *History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*, pp. 95-101, 125-128.

⁸⁴ *Argus*, 19 February 1864, p. 6. This report was reprinted in *The Federal Standard*, 24 February 1864, p. 2, c4.

⁸⁵ Anne and Robin Bailey, *A Windy Morn of Matlock: The History of a Victorian Mountain Goldfield*, Mountain Home Press, Melbourne, 1998, p. 106.

- ⁸⁶ Janette G. Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*, The Author, Moe, 1988, p. 40.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96; *Wood's Point Times & Mountaineer*, 29 August 1864; *ibid.*, 19 September 1864.
- ⁸⁸ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 13 September 1864, p. 2020.
- ⁸⁹ Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*, p. 147 [Rogers Incorrectly attributes this to a William Prendergast]. See Victoria Justice Dept., Birth Death & Marriages, Registration No. 2826.
- ⁹⁰ Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*, p. 143.
- ⁹¹ 'Commercial Intelligence', *Argus*, 11th December 1866, p. 4.
- ⁹² *Victoria Government Gazette*, 15 October 1867, p. 1966.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, no. 54, 19 August, 1870, p. 1204.
- ⁹⁴ *Gippsland Times* [Sale], 9 November 1869, pp. 2, 3, cc4 - 6.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1870, pp. 2, 3.
- ⁹⁶ *Argus*, 29th January 1870, pp. 4 - 5; *Victoria Government Gazette*, no. 10, 3 February 1871, p. 221.
- ⁹⁷ *Walhalla Chronicle* [Walhalla], 30 December 1871, p. 3, c3.
- ⁹⁸ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 2 June 1871, p. 889.
- ⁹⁹ *Walhalla Chronicle*, 30 December 1871, p. 3, c3.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 2 June 1871, p. 889.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, no. 50, 14 July 1871, pp. 1137 - 38.
- ¹⁰² 'Mining Tenders', *Walhalla Chronicle*, 27 January 1872, p. 2, c5.
- ¹⁰³ 'Start of the First Battery at Aberfeldy', *Walhalla Chronicle*, 21 September 1872, p. 3, cc3, 4.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3, cc4, 5.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ 'Mining Leases', *Victoria Government Gazette*, 10 November 1871, p. 1979; *Ibid.*, 24 January 1873, p. 173.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 13, 20 February 1874, p. 347.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Walhalla Chronicle*, 30 May 1874, p. 3, c2.
- ¹⁰⁹ Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*, pp. 252-253; PROV, 'Inquest Depositions', VPRS 24.
- ¹¹⁰ *Walhalla Chronicle*, 21 September 1872, p. 2, c2.
- ¹¹¹ Leslie James Blake (Gen. ed.), *Vision and Realisation: A Centenary History of State Education in Victoria*, vol. 3, Education Department of Victoria, 1973, pp. 1182 - 83; *Teacher Records Books*, 13579/P000.1 Unit 0000.22, Folios 6633 & 6634, PROV, VPRS.
- ¹¹² 'Queensland Fossils', in *Queenslander*, 8 February 1873, p. 6.
- ¹¹³ Jas. V. Mulligan, in *Brisbane Courier*, 11 October 1873, p. 5. Note: A number of newspaper accounts give varying amounts of gold.
- ¹¹⁴ Ruth S. Kerr, *John Moffat of Irvinebank*, J.D & R.S. Kerr, St., Lucia, Queensland, 2000, p. 41.
- ¹¹⁵ *Chronicle*, in *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 30 August 1883, p. 3 (possibly the *Palmer Chronicle*).
- ¹¹⁶ *Palmer Chronicle*, in *Queenslander*, 15 September 1883, pp. 25-26.
- ¹¹⁷ *Palmer Chronicle*, 25 October 1884, in *Brisbane Courier*, 10 November 1884, p. 2.
- ¹¹⁸ Dorothy Jones, *Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: The Story of Innisfail & the Shire of Johnstone*, G.K. Bolton, Printers, Cairns, 1973.
- ¹¹⁹ Coyyan, 'Chu Chabber,' (For the *Post and Herald*) *Cairns Post*, 23 July 1917, pp. 2, 3.
- ¹²⁰ Robert L. Jack, *Geology of the Russell River*, 1888, Report by the Government Geologist, Queensland, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command. Government Printer, Brisbane; There are several spellings and variations to this name including Chu Chabber and Tsu Tchabber.
- ¹²¹ A.W. Goyder, Towalla Mines, in *North Queensland Register*, Townsville, 24 February 1902, p. 13.
- ¹²² Coyyan, 'Country Worth Trying', *Northern Miner*, Charters Towers, 13 April 1907, p. 11.
- ¹²³ 'General News', *Cairns Post*, 22 October 1890, p. 2.
- ¹²⁴ Web Site, <http://queenslandplaces.com.au/innisfail>
- ¹²⁵ Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service, *Bartle Frere Trail*, Brochure, Bp1365, June 2012.
- ¹²⁶ A. Meston, Bellenden-Ker Expedition, in Extracts from the *Queenslander*, *Cairns Post*, 16 November 1889, p. 1.
- ¹²⁷ Coyyan, 'Chu Chabber,' (For the *Post and Herald*) *Cairns Post*, 23 July 1917, pp. 2, 3.
- ¹²⁸ Army Records, no. 895, National Archives of Australia; Note on 12th October 1914, Harry (Herbert) Chandler enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force. He served in the Third Naval and Expeditionary Force and died at Rabaul, New Guinea, on 20th May 1915 from heart failure resulting from an abscess on the liver, see Herbert Chandler File, NAA.
- ¹²⁹ *North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times* [Tasmania], 29 September 1904, p. 2, c3.
- ¹³⁰ 'Country Worth Trying', *Northern Miner*, 13 April 1907, p. 11.
- ¹³¹ Ian Webster Morley, *Black Sands: A History of the Mineral Sand Mining Industry in Eastern Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1981, Reprinted 1982, p. 115.