

WILLIAM (“JACK”) HOLLAND [1819-60]

Convict, Punch-and-Judy man, clown and popular early Goulburn identity.

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Messrs Russell and Holland in Hobart Town

William Holland arrived as a convict in Van Diemen’s Land on 4 September 1834. Aged fifteen, he had been sentenced at Middlesex Sessions of the Peace to seven years for stealing a pair of shoes, following an earlier conviction for breaking windows. He was described as fresh-faced, fair-haired and blue-eyed, and was about 151cm tall.

By 1837 William Holland had been assigned to Samuel Russell, who, as a “gentleman amateur”, occasionally performed comic dances, such as “a clog hornpipe”, “African Sal”, and “Jim Crow”! Russell clearly saw in the young convict a talent for performing which he encouraged. Holland was granted a Ticket-of-Leave on 14 November 1838 and, although neither Russell nor Holland were named until the Regatta of 1840, it is safe to assume that they were responsible for the very popular Punch-and-Judy show at the Regatta in Hobart Town on Saturday, 30 November 1839. Furthermore, we can assume that Holland was the performer mentioned in the following review.

There was even an exhibition—seen here for the first time, the performance of which gave rise to so many early recollections to all Englishmen—Punch and Judy. The little "Theatre" was well got up, it was much such as will be remembered to have been seen in the streets of London, and the fantoccini part of the performance was managed very cleverly, considering that the "artist" had most probably quitted his vocation for many years, but he nevertheless made his puppets do their work, and did the dialogue part extremely well, to the infinite delight of continually changing numbers, by which poor Punch was kept in motion all day, without more than half an hour's cessation at any one time. ¹

The Punch-and-Judy performances were repeated at the Waterman’s Arms on Boxing Day and again called “fantoccini”, but the use of that word is misleading because, strictly speaking, it was used for a puppet worked from above by strings or wires, what we would now call a “marionette”. The word was used correctly by *The Colonial Times* on Boxing Day, Tuesday, 24 December 1839, when it announced an exhibition of “*Fantoccini*” for the following Saturday, using “a number of very curious puppets” which had been “prepared” by Mr Masters. From descriptions these were certainly marionettes.

William “Jack” Holland

Joseph Masters [1802-1873], a former jailer, was the landlord of the Derwent Chop House. He had an unlikely background for a puppeteer, but was responsible for marionette shows at his tavern, and also on a visit to Launceston, until he relocated to New Zealand early in 1841.² Before coming to Hobart Town in 1832 he had possibly witnessed fantoccini show in London when he had worked there as a policeman and a jailer.

The initial success of Holland’s Punch-and-Judy show suggests that he was familiar with such street-shows from his time in London and may even have had some practical experience as a performer. Someone had to make the puppets, which probably had carved wooden heads, and Holland would have needed a scenario, if not a script. Possibly Russell had access to the 1828 text recorded by J.P. Collier, with illustrations by George Cruikshank.³ It is not known if Holland used a ‘swazzle’ in his mouth to provide the characteristic ‘squeaky’ voice of Punch.

According to the “Convict Records” website⁴ Holland claimed he was born at the corner of Chandos Street and St Martin’s Lane, London, which today is where St Martin’s Lane ends at William IV Street.⁵ It is coincidentally a few hundred metres from St Paul’s Church, Covent Garden, where an inscription now records the first performance of Punch in England as seen by Samuel Pepys in May 1662. The performer then had been an Italian puppeteer, and his Punchinello figure is believed to have been a marionette. Indeed, early Punch figures in England were marionettes but by the early 1800s the glove-puppet version, with its more portable staging, had taken over. Glove puppets enabled the play to become more violent.

Masters presented his fantoccini at various times through 1840, but Holland’s name in connection with puppets is not mentioned until the Regatta of Tuesday, 1 December 1840. This time “Messieurs Russell and Holland” advertised a “splendid pavilion” worthy of Vauxhall, London, a “Vandemonian Vauxhall”. Costumed individuals paraded outside to draw a crowd and, in addition to Punch-and-Judy, there were genuine fantoccini items, almost certainly performed by Holland, but perhaps with help from Russell.

Although there had been some street performers of fantoccini in London, such as the one interviewed by Henry Mayhew,⁶ these figures were worked from above and usually needed a much taller fit-up than a Punch-and-Judy booth. (However, George Speaight writes that the first street fantoccinist in London, in the 1820s, managed to do so with small figures, 23 cm high, and assumes the strings must have been very short.⁷) The size of Holland’s figures is not known, but according to one report they were “remarkably good”.⁸ The report mentions a “highlander dancing the fling” and a “facetious” dancing skeleton which lost a leg but picked it up and continued to dance with the leg over its shoulder!

Joseph Masters also presented his fantoccini at this Regatta but Russell and Holland’s show seems to have had greater appeal.

William “Jack” Holland

We are glad to hear the proprietors made it a good day, and that they retired from the ground very well satisfied with the support afforded them by the public. Masters’ Fantoccini was another attempt of the same kind, and as he is the originator of that amusement in this Colony, we hope he was also well rewarded for his exertions.⁹

“Messrs. Russell and Holland” then advertised that their pavilion would be set up for entertainments during Christmas Week in the gardens behind the Rose and Crown in New Town Road but, when that was prevented, Samuel Russell advertised a Fancy Dress Ball for Twelfth Night in the Assembly Room adjoining the hotel. The Ball was a great success with nearly a hundred attending. There was no mention of Holland.

In March 1841, Samuel Russell and William Holland formally announced the dissolution of their partnership ‘by mutual consent’, all relevant debts to be settled by Russell. Holland was granted a Certificate of Freedom in 1841 and so was free to travel to Sydney. Russell had received ‘rapturous applause’ as a ‘gentleman amateur’ for a comic dance at a benefit for Daniel P. Grove at Hobart’s Theatre Royal on 24 January 1838¹⁰, and had possibly given Holland an introduction to Grove who was based at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney. Russell certainly seems to have been generous in his dealings with Holland. **[FIGURE 1 adjacent this paragraph only]**

For the Regatta of 1 December 1841, “A grand histrionic spectacle has been for some time in preparation by that indefatigable proprietor, Mr. Russell, who exhibited a very clever fantoccini last year.”¹¹ Russell advertised that he had erected a “Pantheon” in which there would be a “water pageant”, singers and dancers, and finally Punch-and-Judy!¹² But Holland was then in Sydney and, because of his subsequent history, there can be little doubt that he had performed the Punch-and-Judy at the two earlier Regattas and had taken those puppets and the fantoccini figures with him. So was Russell now planning to perform the puppet show himself, or had he found another Punch-and-Judy man? (In 1844 a Punch-and-Judy man had appeared in Launceston streets and was described as an “expert practitioner” from Hobart Town.) It rained heavily on the day of the 1841 Regatta and unfortunately there is no useful report of Russell’s exhibition.

From court reports in 1842-43 (connected to his insolvency and his decision to go to jail rather than pay his estranged wife ten shillings-a-week maintenance) we know that Samuel Russell was also a “general dealer” and licensed hawkker. *The Colonial Times* facetiously referred to him as “the Beau Brummel of Van Diemen’s Land” and reported that he said his wife “vas the vust womans in the colony”¹³. *The Hobart Town Advertiser* also made fun of his strong accent.

With Dalle Case and Francis Low in Sydney

William “Jack” Holland

In *Jack Robinson and his Monkey*, presented at Sydney’s Royal Victoria Theatre on 24 November 1841, Daniel P. Grove played Robinson and Holland played his monkey, Mushapug. (There are ten other characters in the play.) It was advertised as Holland’s first role in Sydney, and repeated on 2 December, but unfortunately there is no review. There had been performances of the same play in that very theatre in October but with George King playing the monkey. However, King had since been engaged for three months by Signor Luigi Dalle Case.

Dalle Case had arrived in Sydney from Mauritius in July with a small company of acrobats and clowns. They began several performances at the Royal Victoria Theatre in August and King had started appearing as a clown and acrobat in early November. George King (a.k.a Jim or Jem Brown) was an American black who claimed to be “a pupil of Ducrow, from Astley’s Theatre, London”.¹⁴ In November work had begun on a building at the southern corner of Hunter and George Streets where Dalle Case planned to give daytime gymnastic classes and evening performances.

The building was to have wooden walls and a canvas roof, and Dalle Case believed he had been promised a theatrical licence, but in early December a licence was refused because of the nature of the building and its location. Dalle Case sought alternative venues and even considered removing to Batavia, while his incomplete building was about to be put up for auction. Then, in early January, it was announced that a licence would be granted for three years. William Holland was engaged as a clown.

Signor Dalle Case’s Olympic Theatre had a circus ring and a small stage at one end, and performances began at on Anniversary Day, Wednesday, 26 January 1842. Part V of the entertainment, with Signor August on the Slack Rope, included “Clowns – Messrs. Holland and Assistants”. In that first show George King performed on horseback and on the following Monday evening the performance ended with *Billy Button’s Journey to Parramatta*, with King as Billy Button attempting to ride a horse, and Holland as Jerry, ‘his faithful but very miserable man.’¹⁵ A later act with King and Holland was *Punch’s Flight from Constantinople to Dalle Case’s Olympic Theatre*. Perhaps that was with a puppet Punch provided by Holland? On Saturday, 2 April, the program was to begin with riders on three ponies for “Homebush Races at the Olympic” ending with a comic act with Mr King and Mr Holland, “who will introduce his wonderful horse (christened by him for the occasion) Beeswing.”¹⁶ (“Beeswing” was probably not a real horse, but sadly there is no clue to its real nature.)

In February 1842 a company of professional actors, including Conrad Knowles and Mrs O’Flaherty, better known as Eliza Winstanley, began performing at the Olympic and Holland was now given roles in a variety of plays. **[FIGURE 2]** As *Peter*, in *The Stranger*, August von Kotzebue’s highly emotional drama, he had the long opening speech. One critic wrote: “The part of *Peter* by Holland was much better performed than that of his father *Solomon*, by Lane.”¹⁷ (Although that critic had

William “Jack” Holland

earlier felt that both parts were “most awfully burlesqued.”¹⁸) In praising the success of the Olympic Theatre, *The Sydney Herald* wrote: ‘We must not forget poor *Holland*, the clown, who is one of the best clowns, by the way, we have ever seen.’¹⁹ The ‘poor’ is because on the previous Tuesday he had reportedly broken an arm. If so, it didn’t stop him performing on stage and in the ring.

On Saturday 16 April, a week before the Olympic Theatre closed for good after a week without shows, Francis Low advertised that he had engaged Mr Holland, ‘the celebrated Fantoccinist’ to perform in the Pavilion of Arts in Hyde Park. Low had erected the building in order for a paying public to see the progress of his Model of Sydney Town.

The 29-year-old Francis Low of Dundee, Scotland, had arrived in Sydney with his wife, Ann and three children, two girls and a boy, on 9 May 1829,²⁰ and for a year in 1832-33 he ran a hotel in York Street. The family moved to Hobart in 1834 and in about 1836 Francis Low began earning money by constructing cardboard models of buildings. Models of the King’s Orphan Schools and the old Government House survive. In early 1837 he advertised to make such models as presents from an address opposite the shop for stationery and art supplies belonging to George Peck.²¹ Peck and his wife moved to Sydney in April 1838, but before leaving he arranged for Francis Low to begin working on a model of Hobart Town which he intended to take to show in England. The scale was one inch to 20 feet, i.e. 1:240, and the model also reflected the topography.

When Peck returned to Hobart to collect the model in January 1839, he was annoyed to find it was not yet finished, but the unfortunate Low’s main excuse for the delay was the poor health of his wife who died in New Norfolk’s Hospital for the Insane in April 1839, while Peck was still in Hobart. Peck displayed the incomplete model in Hobart, and then in Sydney after returning there in May. Low and his children moved to Sydney in June with the final section and the Model of Hobart left Sydney for London in late November, with the Pecks following four days later. The model was highly praised when Peck exhibited it in London and Liverpool, but he claimed it was all his own work.

In July, Low advertised his intention to start building a Model of Sydney using the experience gained in building the Model of Hobart Town “which was done entirely by Himself Alone, Unassisted by Mr Peck or Any Other Individual Whatever Excepting His Own Family ...”²² In August he issued a prospectus seeking people to buy single or family tickets allowing them to view the progress indefinitely.²³ Initially Low exhibited the model’s progress in his work room in Lower George Street, and for a week only at the Royal Hotel, but in January 1841 Governor Gipps gave Low permission to erect a temporary building to house the model on part of the old racecourse in the southern half of Hyde Park. Low’s “Pavilion of Arts”, measuring about 21m x 8m, opened on 27 September 1841. In addition to the growing model, Low displayed paintings by local artists. **[FIGURE 3]**

William “Jack” Holland

Low decided to provide entertainment to help attract paying visitors. He purchased some mechanical theatre scenes which had been auctioned in Sydney on 28 October 1841 and began exhibiting them in his Pavilion of Arts on Tuesday night, 14 December 1841, announcing that they would include “views of Paris, Venice, Constantinople, and a Storm at Sea.”²⁴ **FIGURE 4** Those scenes had been shown at Edward Barlow’s premises in Bridge Street starting in August 1839, but Barlow had recently returned to England. Ironically, the earliest scenes that Barlow showed, including “A Storm at Sea”, had been ones which his friend, George Peck had apparently brought with him to Sydney in 1838, having exhibited them in Launceston and Hobart in 1834-35 (before Low arrived in Hobart).

Low stopped exhibiting the mechanical theatre scenes after three nights when a promised licence was not issued, something he put down to Dalle Case’s difficulties. He finally did get a licence and entertainments began in the Pavilion on 17 March 1842. Part I was of ships at Port Essington, which was then about 550 Km north-east of present-day Darwin, and it was one of the scenes that Barlow had created. Part II had a sportsman hunting a hare and was probably created by Peck who had seen J.F. Thiodon perform such a scene in 1832 in Peck’s hometown in Hull before Peck came to Hobart in 1833.

Of special interest was Part III, Fantoccini: a tightrope walker, a sailor dancing a hornpipe, a dancing clown and an “Italian Scaramouch”. (That last was a marionette with two or more heads of decreasing size nesting one inside the other, and then inside the torso from which they could successively emerge.) It seems possible that Low had either acquired the puppets from Holland or borrowed them to copy. He later wrote that when he was first planning entertainments, presumably in December 1841, he had made an agreement with a young man who had just arrived from England with the equipment for a “Theatre of Arts” but, because of a delay in getting approval for performances, the young man had found another engagement.²⁵

In the absence of an obvious alternative, it seems very possible that the young man in question was William Holland, not admitting his convict past, and the “Theatre of Arts” was his Punch-and-Judy and fantoccini. (Low had left Hobart in June 1839 before Holland had first performed his Punch and Judy at the Regatta.) Low wrote: “I set to work, and with my own hands constructed the necessary figures, machinery, &c; ...”²⁶, but he could have been referring to figures for the mechanical scenes. Low himself, perhaps aided by his children, probably worked the marionettes until he was pleased to be able to announce that he had engaged Holland, who added his highlander to the fantoccini. Punch and Judy now followed the marionettes to end the entertainment.

Shows in the Pavilion continued until the middle of the year when insolvency forced closure. On 19 December 1842 the Pavilion’s “Machinery, Scenery, Mechanical and Fantoccini Figures, &c.” were to be sold by auction.²⁷ So fantoccini figures belonged to Low and may have been either Holland’s originals, or copies by Low.

William “Jack” Holland

Francis Low is now mainly remembered for compiling the first Directory of Sydney, published in 1844. In 1847 he returned to Scotland and died in Dundee in 1864.

A Citizen of Goulburn

In the Sydney Morning Herald of 30 January 1843, before Goulburn had its own newspaper, William Henry Douglas advertised his Goulburn Theatre saying he had ‘secured the valuable services of Mr Holland, the celebrated Fantocinist [sic], (formerly of the Olympic Theatre, and Pavilion of Arts, Sydney) ...’ Holland was also the scene painter. Another performer was ‘Jim Brown’, a black American, who was apparently George King from the Olympic. Douglas had performed as a clown in a show *Dalle Case* presented in the Saloon of the Royal Hotel, Sydney, on Monday, 27 December 1841.

At present information on Holland between 1843 until 1847 is lacking but he seems to have stayed on in the Goulburn area. On his death certificate in 1860 his occupation is listed as “painter” which may have been his chief source of income when he wasn’t performing.

On 7 September 1847 William Holland married Catherine Martin in St Saviour’s Anglican Church in Goulburn. They already had a son, born in 1846, and were to have four more children. Although William made no attempt to hide his first name, he was remembered more than once as ‘Jack Holland’, so ‘Jack’ seems to have been a nickname. In the first edition of the Goulburn Herald, 1 July 1848, William Holland is listed as a subscriber to a fund for a new hospital.

In 1898, the veteran Australian actor Lachlan McGowan wrote about early Goulburn theatricals.²⁸ **[FIGURE 5]** In 1847 he and a young friend from Sydney, Robert McGowan (whose surname he had adopted to replace his own, Todd²⁹) mounted a candle-lit amateur performance in an empty shop. Holland was in the audience and volunteered two songs and also whistled an excellent accompaniment to a hornpipe danced by Robert McGowan.³⁰ Eventually an amateur theatre group was formed and a licence was granted. John O’Brien of the Harp Inn in Auburn Street allowed the group to use his large new ballroom, and the proscenium and scenery were painted by Holland. The roles Holland played are not known, but songs he sang between plays were enthusiastically encored.

On Tuesday, 19 December 1848, the amateur club’s program included Holland’s marionette Indian juggler, and on Wednesday, 27 December, the theatre was ‘crowded to the ceiling’ for a benefit for Holland who ended the evening’s program with fantoccini figures and Punch and Judy. The performance was repeated on Saturday.

When the licence for the amateur theatre was renewed for twelve months in June 1849 it was issued to the publican, John O’Brien, initially in partnership with

William “Jack” Holland

William Holland, who became Acting Manager.³¹ The club was now under the patronage of the newly formed Loyal Strangers’ Friend Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and the performance of 24 July was in aid of the hospital. Holland’s former colleague, George King, took part in the program of 3 October 1849 as one of two ‘Negro Statues’.

In January 1849, the group had been joined by a young man calling himself Henry Beaufoy and claiming (improbably) to be from Liverpool’s Theatre Royal. This was the 19-year-old Henry Beaufoy Merlin (then spelt ‘Murlin’), the future photographer of the N.S.W. goldfields, who had arrived in Sydney from London with his widowed mother in December 1848. [FIGURE 6] When Holland became Acting Manager in mid-1849 “Beaufoy” replaced him as Stage Manager. (While circumstantial evidence helps to identify him, Lachlan McGowan referred to him as “Merlin” in 1898 when he gave the names of some members of the amateur group.³²) When he was visiting a relative in England in 1851 at the time of the Census, Merlin gave his occupation as “Reporter for Newspaper”, and in the last two year of his life, 1872-73, he wrote long articles for the Australian Town and Country Journal, so he had possibly come to Goulburn in 1849 seeking work with the new *Goulburn Herald*.

A long advertisement in *The Goulburn Herald* of 25 August 1849, for a *Theatre of Arts* in the Harp Inn, revealed that Beaufoy and Holland had been working for three months on a ‘a variety of mechanical exhibitions’ to be ready for the public to see on Tuesday, 28 August. [FIGURE 7] ‘Mr Holland’s Fantoccini Figures’ provided the first part of the program, and included an Indian juggler, a dancing highlander, a tightrope dancer, a sailor doing a hornpipe, a ‘Scaramouch’, a clown and a dancing skeleton.

The second half of the program was made up of four mechanical theatre scenes: London, The Alps and Napoleon’s army, a Norfolk railroad and the Bay of Naples with an erupting Vesuvius. [FIGURE 8] Holland’s experience in 1842 with Low’s mechanical theatre would have helped, and it seems just possible that two or three of the scenes were scenes that Low had bought in the auction of Barlow’s equipment, and possibly originally Peck’s from Tasmania! That could not be true of the Norfolk railway scene, which probably relied on Merlin’s personal experience. The program continued nightly for a second week.

For Boxing Day 1850, James Woodward, of the Commercial Hotel in Sloane Street, organised amusements on the nearby Market Green Square which included Punch and Judy, and it was the beginning of a long association of Holland with Woodward. In the 1850s Holland gave many performances of Punch and Judy in the hotel, sometimes with fantoccini. Often these followed screenings of ‘dissolving views’, as for during the weeks of assizes in 1854 and 1855. Shows were also given to raise money for charities. [FIGURE 9]

William “Jack” Holland

In January 1851, John Quinn, the Australian-born tightrope dancer, began performing in Goulburn, and on 21 January, and 20 February, ‘Messrs Quinn and Holland’ performed at the Commercial Hotel in aid of the hospital. Quinn danced on the rope with Holland, as Clown, on his shoulders. On Saturday 22 February and for the following ‘Race Week’, they both performed at the Hibernian Hotel with Quinn’s teacher, George Croft, Mrs Croft, and Edward Hughes, a.k.a. La Rosiere, who had been with Holland at the Olympic Theatre. In reviewing La Rosiere’s circus in Goulburn a year later the newspaper jokingly mentioned ‘the inimitable clown, Mynheer Van Hollander – he is a second Grimaldi.’³³

There can be little doubt that William Holland was a valued citizen of Goulburn. In 1853 he was honoured by his Lodge for diving from a boat into deep water to retrieve the body of a fellow lodge member who had committed suicide, and in 1854 he came to the aid of an employee of the Commercial Hotel who had been jumped on by another man, and stayed with him until he died from his injuries, having fetched both a doctor and a clergyman. When J.J. Woodward bought Goulburn’s first fire-engine, William Holland was put in charge of it for a year in 1855, on an annual salary of £20.

Amusingly, because of the crime for which he was transported, both Holland and his wife were witnesses to two cases of the theft of boots; William, in 1852, when the boots of travellers were stolen from a hotel in which he was working as a waiter, and Catherine, in 1853, when the woman who had stolen William’s boots had them tucked into her bosom!

The experience of working with Holland was possibly Henry Beaufoy Merlin’s introduction to working with marionettes and mechanical theatres which he presented in his Royal Marionette Theatre in Sydney in 1853 (using the word “marionette” for a string-puppet for the first time in Australia). In 1855 Merlin was responsible for Dumont’s Mechanical Theatre which presented scenes from the Crimean War, in Sydney and Maitland and, in early 1856, in Goulburn. While it is almost certain that Merlin adopted the persona of Monsieur Dumont for these shows, it was not possible for him to do so in August 1856 when the show was again in Goulburn and advertised to play in Collector, Bungendore and Queanbeyan. At that time Merlin was responsible for a theatre in Maitland (where he was known as Henry Muriel). A possible explanation is that one of his Goulburn friends had taken on the role of Dumont, and the most likely person would have been William Holland. But this is only conjecture.³⁴

William Robert Holland, “painter”, died at his home in Clifford Street from an unidentified cause on 6 May 1860. At the Commercial Hotel on 17 May, the visiting Silvain Minstrels gave a crowded benefit performance for his family, under the auspices of his Lodge, raising £24.

William “Jack” Holland

In 1922, Lachlan McGowan’s nephew, John Horton, told how ‘Jack Holland’ gave free Punch and Judy shows at the races,³⁵ and in 1878 he had been remembered as ‘Jack Holland’ when a showman named O’Neil, who had purchased his Punch and Judy outfit, brought them back to Goulburn to perform.³⁶ Thanks to O’Neil, Holland’s Punch was still performing in Sydney in the early 1900s.

Acknowledgement

Thanks to Mark St Leon for his assistance.

Image captions

Figure 1 - *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 23 March 1841.

Figure 2 - Eliza Winstanley, *Sydney Mail*, 24 September 1924.

Figure 3 - *Sydney Free Press*, 26 April 1842

Figure 4 – *The Storm at Sea* from an 1853 poster for Thiodon’s mechanical theatre when in Reading, England. Courtesy: The late Pauline Roberts.

Figure 5 – Portrait of Lachlan McGowan, *Sunday Times*, Sydney, 18 August 1895.

Figure 6 – Beaufoy Merlin, State Library of NSW, ON 4, Box 30, No. 29.

Figure 7 – *Goulburn Herald*, 25 August 1849.

Figure 8 – “Napoleon Crossing The Alps” from the poster *The Storm at Sea*, presented in Figure 4 above.

Figure 9 – *Goulburn Herald*, 19 May 1858.

¹ *Austral-Asiatic Review*, Hobart Town, 10 December 1839.

² The city of Masterton is named after Masters because of his role in an association for small farms.

³ John Payne Collier *The Tragical Comedy or Comical Tragedy of Punch and Judy*, (London: Prowett, 1828).

⁴ <https://convictrecords.com.au> Contributor: Ewan Hazell

William “Jack” Holland

⁵ When Holland was born, St Martin’s Lane extended to The Strand and a pub stood at the corner of Chandos Street and St Martin’s Lane, next-door to the Barwise family of watchmakers at No. 28. In the early 1830s, that part of Chandos Street became part of William IV Street.

⁶ Mayhew’s interviews with a Fantoccini Man and a Punch Man can be found at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/57060/57060-h/57060-h.htm>

⁷ George Speaight, *History of the English Puppet Theatre*, (London: Harrap, 1955) p. 234.

⁸ *Courier*, Hobart Town, 4 December 1840.

⁹ *Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch*, Hobart Town, 4 December 1840.

¹⁰ *Bent’s News*, Hobart Town, 17 February 1838.

¹¹ *Courier*, Hobart Town, 12 November 1841.

¹² *Colonial Times*, Hobart Town, 30 November 1841.

¹³ *Colonial Times*, Hobart Town, 22 February 1842.

¹⁴ <https://sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/register-B-4.php#BROWN-Jim>

¹⁵ *Billy Button’s Journey to Brentford* was a popular act of comedy horsemanship created by Philip Astley in 1768.

¹⁶ *Sydney Herald*, 4 April 1842.

¹⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 15 March 1842.

¹⁸ *Sydney Gazette*, 10 March 1842.

¹⁹ *Sydney Herald*, 5 March 1842

²⁰ They had had four children, but I suspect that a girl, Elizabeth Helen [born 1828] had died.

²¹ <https://www.daa.org.au/bio/george-henry-peck/biography>

²² *Commercial Journal and Advertiser*, Sydney, 17 July 1839.

²³ *Sydney Gazette*, 20 August 1839.

²⁴ *Sydney Herald*, 14 December 1841.

²⁵ *Australian*, Sydney, 8 August 1842. In this long letter, Low explained his difficulties.

²⁶ See Endnote 16.

²⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 December 1842.

William “Jack” Holland

²⁸ *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 3 September 1898.

²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 January 1847. James Entwisle advertised that a warrant had been issued for the apprehension of Lachlan Todd, an indentured servant who had absconded. He was age, sixteen, of a very small stature with a pug nose and dark brown hair. Todd had relatives in Goulburn.

³⁰ Lachlan McGowan calls him ‘John’ Holland here, and later ‘Jack’.

³¹ Ross Thorne, *Theatre Buildings in Australia to 1905*, [Sydney: Architectural Research Foundation, 1971], Vol. 1, p. 117.

³² “A Chapter from the Reminiscences of the Veteran Actor, Lachlan McGowan,” published in *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 3 September 1898.

³³ *Goulburn Herald*, 12 February 1853.

³⁴ Henry Beaufoy Merlin died in Sydney in 1873, aged 43. From 1870 was known as Beaufoy Merlin.

³⁵ *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 12 October 1922.

³⁶ *Goulburn Herald*, 18 September 1878.