

Pastoralism to Separation

Three pastoralists vied for the honour of first settlers in the Brisbane Valley — the Balfours at Colinton, the McConnells at Cressbrook, and the Norths at Fairney Lawn (also later called Fairney View) in 1841. These men were extraordinarily wealthy on arrival but endured enormous financial difficulties on their pastoral properties. Their families had prospered in the industrial revolution in Great Britain and the sons sought adventure and invested their capital in the colonies. Some, such as the Mackenzies from Scotland, were sophisticated aristocrats.

As Moreton Bay was a closed settlement squatters travelled into the Brisbane Valley region via the Darling Downs and the Pine and Caboolture Rivers. The first stations settled in the Moreton region were Grantham, Tent Hill, Helidon, Colinton, Cressbrook, Mount Brisbane, Kilcoy, Fairney Lawn, and Wivenhoe, all in 1841. All suffered immediate Aboriginal attacks and severe drought, followed by a financial crisis. The fertility of the country saved them.

A fifty mile barrier to settlement was enforced around the Moreton Bay penal settlement under *Transportation of Offenders to Penal Settlements Act*. The actual prohibition was never formally published and, in fact, it was never communicated to either the Government Resident, Gorman, at Moreton Bay or the Commissioner for Crown Lands in Moreton Bay, Dr Stephen Simpson. It had only been communicated by the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales to the Commissioner for Crown Lands, New England District, on 13 May 1840, before either the Darling Downs or the Moreton Pastoral Districts had been proclaimed. However the Commandant of Moreton Bay believed that the pastoralists were well aware of the requirement to settle beyond the fifty mile limit. Therefore, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, Sydney auctioneer, drew the wrath of the New South Wales Governor when, on 1 December 1841, he advertised the impending auction of a pastoral property within thirty miles of the Moreton Bay settlement.¹

All these pastoral properties were taken up as Licences to Occupy Crown Lands Beyond the Limits of Settlement under the *Act to Restrain the Unauthorized Occupation of Crown Lands of 1839*. Under that Act the colony was divided into pastoral

districts each controlled by a Commissioner who was also in charge of Border Police to control the Aborigines. The Act required pastoralists to obtain licences to occupy Crown Lands, and forbade the cutting or removal of timber without the permission of the Commissioner. Complaints between Masters and hired servants were determined in a Court constituted by the Commissioner. He was empowered to settle boundary disputes; keep lists of all employees on runs; register cattle and horse brands; and sell unbranded beasts if unclaimed. However distance precluded active administration of the provisions of the Act. The half-yearly assessment on depastured stock of twopence per head of sheep, 1.5 pence per head of cattle, and three pence per horse was to pay for the salaries of the Commissioner and the Border Police. However the income from this fund was controlled by the United Kingdom government not the colonial government as a means of reducing the Aboriginal problem.²

The restrictions on Moreton Bay as a port of entry were removed on 10 February 1842 and Moreton Bay was proclaimed a pastoral district on 5 May 1842 with an indefinite northern boundary along the 'limits of colonization'. As pastoral stations had already been rapidly taken up on the Darling Downs it became the rule to recommend all parties in search of runs to go over the range and down into the Moreton region, hence the directions, 'Turn Right at the Swamp', (meaning 'Turn east at Toowoomba'). By 1848 eighteen runs had been taken up in the Brisbane Valley region: Buaraba, Cabbage Tree, Colinton, Cooyar, Cressbrook, Crows Nest, Durundur, Emu Creek, Eskdale, Fairney Lawn, Kilcoy, Mount Brisbane, Mount Esk, Mount Stanley, Tarampa, Taromeo, Waverley and Wivenhoe. The licensees were the Balfours, McConnells, Forbes, Norths, Graham and Ivory, Archer Brothers, Ferriter and Uhr, Scott Brothers, Mort Brothers, and McKenzie Brothers.

Some of the earliest pastoralists in the Valley were the Archer Brothers, immigrants of Scottish ancestry, who drove sheep from Castlereagh to the Darling Downs and the Brisbane Valley in 1841. Near the Severn River Thomas Archer met a 'tall, thin, wiry-looking young man, well mounted and well armed, who informed us that his name was

Bigge' on his way to the Darling Downs and Moreton Bay looking for new country. A few miles on he met Frederic Bigge's younger brother, Francis Edward Bigge, with 'winsome face' and a red silk scarf around his waist.

Archer's first good impressions of the Brisbane Valley were of the swarming wild fowl on Wingate's Lagoon near Tarampa. Then he travelled along a 'very slight track made in the long grass by our three predecessors', the Balfours, McConnells, and Mackenzies. He described an incident on that trip where a few straggling Aborigines came upon their camp near Mount Brisbane and were very astonished to see a flock of sheep 'defiling across a ridge into camp'. 'The staring eyes, bodily contortions, and yells of surprise and delight as the sheep topped the 'hill' in what appeared to them as countless numbers, and slowing drew into camp, were very amusing.' After choosing a site for the Durundur head station and establishing camp, Thomas Archer went to Brisbane to escort a dray of supplies back to the camp. It took a week and en route he stayed with the Bigges at Mount Brisbane on Reedy Creek.³

Cressbrook

McConnel took up Cressbrook of 240 square miles on 15 July 1841 on the beautiful flats of a creek, naming both property and creek after his elder brother's family home, 'Cressbrook', in Derbyshire. His most likely route down would be via Helidon, Grantham and Rosewood stations north of the Brisbane River. The panorama from the nearby Sugarloaf (Mount Williams) defined the boundaries of the richest land in the Moreton region. McConnel established Cressbrook as a sheep station but by 1845 he found difficulty with the sheep and introduced sturdy Shorthorn cattle bought from the Australian Agricultural Company. McConnel's first homestead site proved unsuitable and two years later he started another house. It was a two-roomed slab house with a verandah facing north across the Brisbane River with a bunya pine planted nearby. That was the centre of what became a thriving private town. The cedar and iron bark for all the buildings was cut on the property, and a kitchen and store were added soon after. A church and outbuildings followed. This was substantially the composition of the station buildings before Separation. The surrounding wings of the homestead and the southern courtyard were added in prosperous times later in the nineteenth century.

The McConnells were largely self sufficient at Cressbrook growing sweet potatoes, wheat and corn and during flood times they made their own corn meal for food. The best known

superintendents at Cressbrook were Henry Mort, brother of T.S. Mort, in the 1840s, and Alpin Cameron, a Scotsman in the 1850s. Storekeeper during the pre-Separation period was John Coleman, son of a clergyman. Whilst labour was scarce and difficult to attract, agreements were made with the shearers at so much per score. To expand the capital investment and the management, David's brother, John, joined the partnership on 1 January 1851, the shares being David three fifths and John two fifths. An extremely wealthy Merseysider, John McConnel, took over as forceful business manager, buying out the Archers at Durundur when they moved north to the Burnett region. It was John McConnel who co-ordinated the marketing of the sheep to Ipswich and Brisbane butchers and invested the proceeds while watching the land market for new opportunities. In 1851 they had 10,000 sheep and 400 cattle on the two properties.⁴

When David went overseas he married Mary McLeod of Edinburgh on 25 April 1847 and settled on a farm in Nottinghamshire, but he returned to Queensland arriving on the *Chaseley* on 1 May 1849. He bought land at Bulimba and named his house there 'Toogoolawah', intending to live in Brisbane and operate the pastoral runs through managers. The freestone for the house came from 'Black Ball' quarries further down the river. It was built in 1850 by James Spence, head stonemason, with foreman-carpenter, T. McNaught, formerly employed by Andrew Petrie. It was a roomy house with two underground wells. The surrounding land was cleared by Scottish immigrants and cultivated, growing oats and maize for fodder, as well as vegetables. All the imported Devon stud cattle were rested at Bulimba before being driven to Cressbrook. Presbyterian Church services were held in 'Toogoolawah'. In June 1852 David McConnel placed the whole property, including the house, outbuildings, and crops, on the market and it was bought by Donald Coutts in August 1853.

Mary McConnel visited Cressbrook several times, travelling there in 1850 and being impressed with the grapevine walk already blossoming, but considered that the sitting, dressing, and sleeping rooms already erected by Henry Mort needed a woman's decorative touch. She recalled years later that she used a dozen of David's crimson silken handkerchiefs to upholster the six cane chairs and sofa in the sitting room. After Mary's illness (a severe leg ulcer), the family returned 'home' in 1854 and they spent seven years in Scotland, England, and on the continent.

Meanwhile Cressbrook was managed by Alpin



Bellevue Homestead.

Terry Conway

Cameron, and employees were engaged through G. Raff and Company in Brisbane and Boyland and Company in Ipswich. John McConnel continued to operate Durundur and Crow's Nest runs.

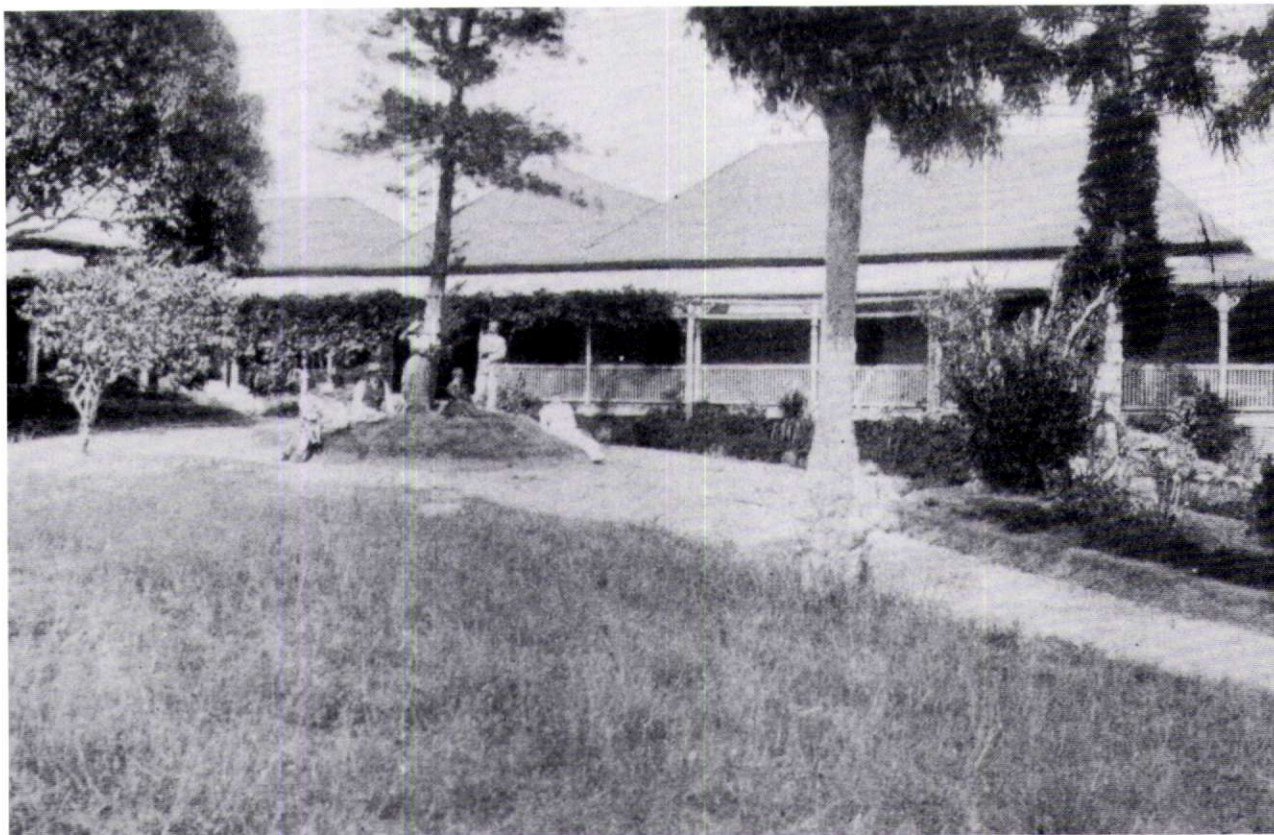
At first the McConnells called the Stanley river the main river and the Brisbane river on the western side the tributary. Evidently they had not seen any major flood at Cressbrook and had not learned the flood stories from the Aborigines.

In February 1844 there were flooding rains and Henry Mort and his co-workers were kept indoors and travellers, Wingate, Graham, Gordon and Donald McKenzie, to Colinton and Taromeo were floodbound. It was so miserable and cold that they sat making cigars, smoking, and eating water melons. They also argued the moral issues of the British taking over Australia from the Aborigines. David and John McConnel argued in favour but the majority were evidently opposed. They had kangaroo steak and soup of the tail of the kangaroo, David McConnel captured. When the weather fined they went out to Heifer station to remove the drays and the labourers as it was too expensive to keep it.

After her arrival to live at Cressbrook permanently Mary McConnel took a dominant role. David McConnel's quiet, unassuming ways played second fiddle. Mary was energetic, articulate and a fine hostess at Cressbrook. Many of her skills were fulfilled in the success of J.H. McConnel's management up to World War I. Mary McConnel took an interest in social issues and was instrumental in the founding of Brisbane Children's hospital in 1877.⁵

Colinton

The Balfour brothers, John, Charles and Robert, had gone further up the Brisbane River and established Colinton on 19 August 1841. They were forced to abandon the run temporarily later that year because of Aboriginal attacks. Robert died in March 1844 at Colinton. The property had a double river frontage and was divided into six blocks: Colinton East and West, Mt Stanley East and West, Diaper and Altyre and contained 336,000 acres. In pre-Separation days sheep were run on Mt Stanley and cattle on the rest of Colinton. The lease was transferred to John Balfour in August 1852 and in



Colinton station. 1904.

Hon. J.C. Moore

the following year George Edward Forbes joined in a partnership with John Balfour. Managers on the station until Separation were Donald T. McKenzie, William Anthony Brown, and Charles Findlay.⁶

Durundur

Not being permitted to take up land within fifty miles of the Moreton Bay Settlement, the Archer Brothers passed over rich country at the foot of Mount Brisbane and followed the Stanley River. In 1841 they camped west of present day Woodford at a place which the Aborigines called Durundur. The station comprised two hundred square miles, bounded on the west by Kilcoy station, north by the Mary River watershed, east by part of D'Aguiar Range and south by Mount Brisbane station. Their sheep became diseased after travelling north through so much rank grass. The Archers then grew wheat, pumpkins, corn, sweet potatoes and watermelons at Durundur. Because of the heavy stock losses the Archers took up other stations in Emu Creek and then Cooyar. In 1845 they moved the sheep west and they stocked Durundur with cattle brought from New South Wales by A.G. Cameron the new manager. Explorer Leichhardt visited Durundur because the Archers were interested in new pastoral land and they assisted him within their resources. In 1845

Charles Archer wrote to his father in Norway that 'the squattocracy are in high glee at this glimpse of future prosperity'. Within a year when the Archers' moved north and David and John McConnel bought their Brisbane Valley properties, John McConnel installed William Butler as manager of Durundur and replaced the Shorthorns with Herefords. They also tried raising English white 'Prince Albert' pigs but they reacted adversely to the heat.

The McConnells sold their produce to Brisbane and Ipswich markets and their wool through Charles Jacobs and Son (London). In 1853 forty-four bales of wool brought £1,773, and tallow from boiled down sheep was sold to Dyster Nalder and Company (London) for £1,715. McConnel's income doubled from £44 to £101 per bale from 1853 to 1854 and their valuations of stock on Cressbrook and Durundur were an impressive £3,870 in 1853 and £5,868 in 1854. Clearly Durundur was a pillar of John McConnel's wealth in the 1850s.⁷

Mount Brisbane and Mount Esk

To the south of Durundur Frederic and Francis Bigge settled on fine country near Mount Brisbane in September 1841, gambling on being able to remain there when the fifty mile limit was being

interpreted as the distance via Ipswich. Their property of 45,900 acres covered the land to the east of the junction of the Brisbane and Stanley Rivers. The brothers appointed Alexander Raff of Brisbane to control their financial interests; William Macarthur Bowman of the family of Hawkesbury River pastoralists in New South Wales, became their manager in 1848 and a partner from 4 August 1869. Frederic Bigge returned to England and Francis built 'Como' house at Cleveland. He was a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council from 1851 and a strong advocate of the reintroduction of transportation to Moreton Bay. He married Elizabeth Ord in England in 1857 and returned to live at Cleveland which he considered should replace Brisbane as a port. They returned to England to live in 1869, taking several eucalypts, pines and acacias from Mount Brisbane to plant at Torquay.

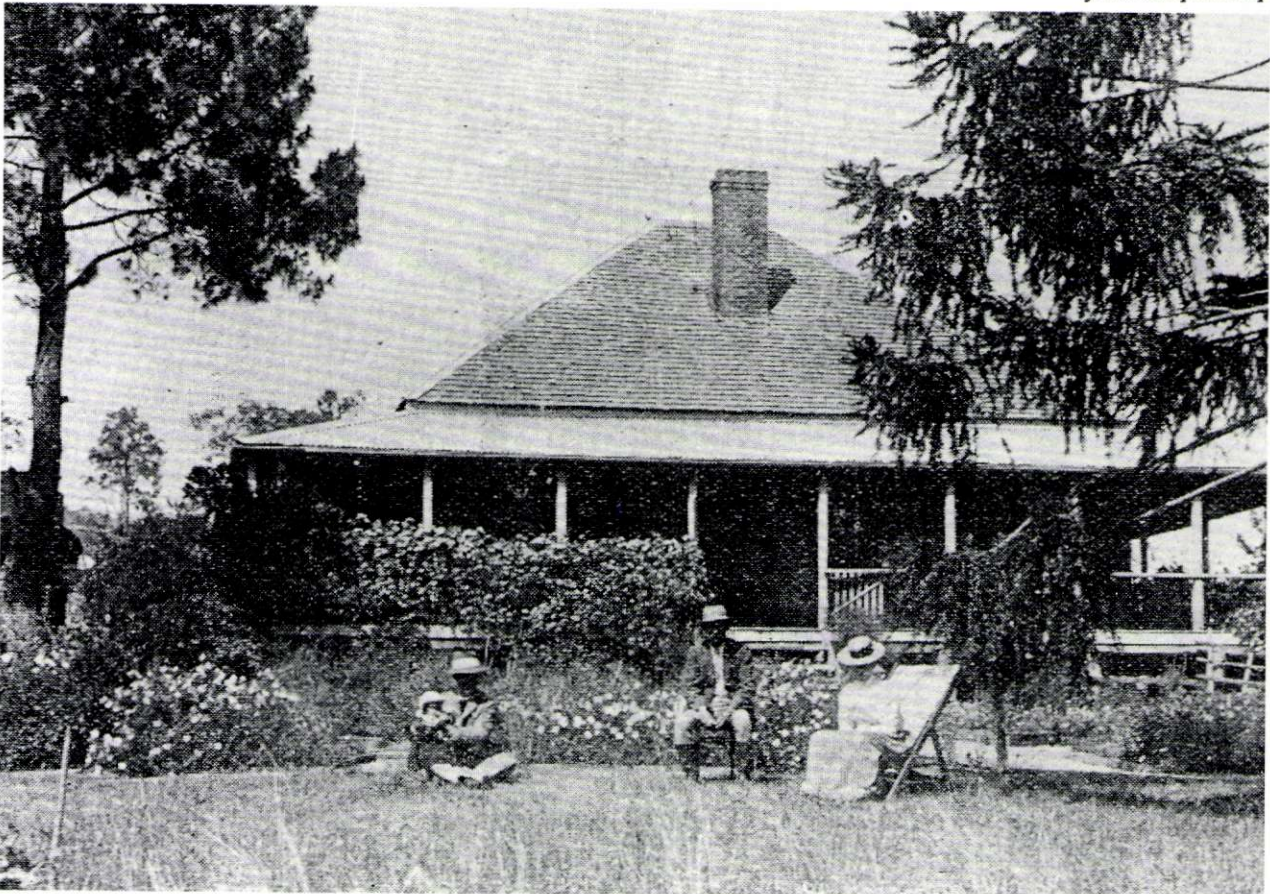
The Bigges bought Mount Esk in 1849 from Gideon A. Scott who had tendered for it in 1842. This forty-five thousand acres run was surrounded by mountains but had some fine river flats. The town of Esk is on part of the old lease. Mount Esk was incorporated into Mount Brisbane from 1 January 1869, making a total of 79,497 acres.

The Bigges imported English breeding rams in 1846 and they were well known as some of the best judges of horses in New South Wales and auctioned horses at regular intervals. They also advertised their horses, Cain and Meeza, to stand for breeding as well as a team of working bullocks and several horses for sale in 1847. Their first brand was simply a bow and arrow on the rump.

William Bowman married Caroline Isabella Purdon, a friend of Elizabeth Bigge, at Mount Brisbane on 18 May 1859. Their twelve children — Charles William Macarthur (1860–1885), Frederick John Macarthur (1861–1948), Mary Macarthur (1862–1951), Arthur Macarthur (1864–1952), Frank Macarthur (1865–1910), Henry Macarthur (1866–1890), Percy Macarthur (1869–1909), Edward Macarthur (1870–1945), Emmeline Macarthur (1872–1904), Archer Macarthur (1873–1948) and Radcliffe Macarthur (1876–1910) — were all born there. William Bowman died tragically in a horse accident on 18 December 1878 but his wife Caroline managed the property until the partnership with the Bigges ended in a court case on 31 December 1889. The Bowmans then moved to Mount Byron.⁸

Eskdale station. 1902.

John Oxley Library



Fairney Lawn

Fairney Law station with rich Brisbane River frontages — soon corrupted to Fairney Lawn — was one of the finest and best known pastoral properties in southeast Queensland. It was taken up by William North and D. Burnett in 1841. Major and Mrs North were indebted to their relatives in Britain and came to Australia to retrieve their fortune; they unfortunately lost heavily on the Fairney Lawn investment. The leasees changed intermittently in the two decades to Separation.

Mary McConnel vividly recalled her visit to the Norths in 1850 on her own first visit to the Brisbane Valley. The Norths were living in a bark hut with an uneven earth floor, and served boiled fowls for lunch on a bush hewn pine table topped with a white damask tablecloth and beautiful old silverware. Like all stations in the Valley they grazed sheep. By 1853 they were selling both one thousand fat wethers and 120 fat bullocks to butchers per year.⁹

The Norths employed shepherds, stockmen, storekeepers, labourers, bushmen, and cooks under employment provisions of the *Masters and Servants Act*. There was constant difficulty with workers absconding from hired service, especially at the end of prosperous seasons. Station owners sought to retain workers by paying them in time papers cashable only at their own stores.

Advertisements appeared regularly in the newspapers for the return of absconders. For example the Norths lost a sixteen year old James Raper from service in 1852, while George Gibbon escaped from service with wages in advance in 1853.¹⁰

Eskdale

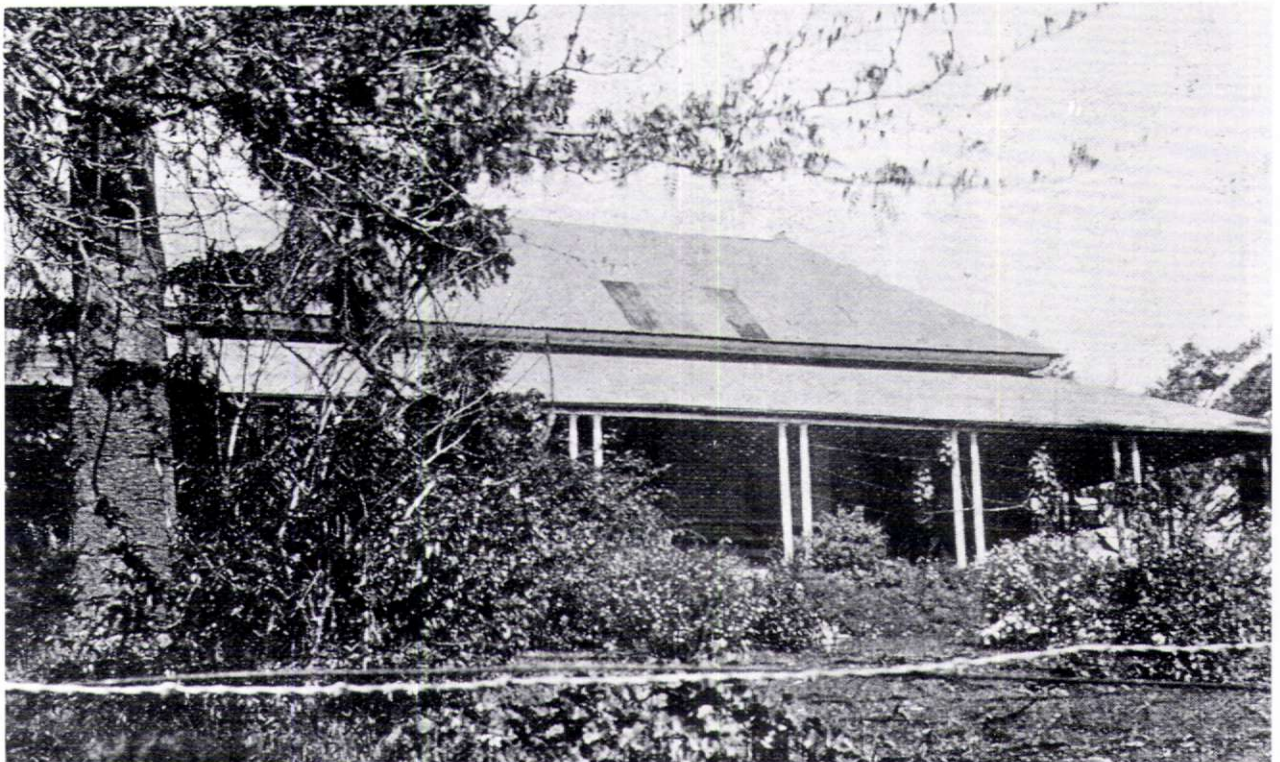
Northwest of Cressbrook James Ivory and David Graham took up Eskdale station of 18,840 acres in 1841 and named it after their home in Angus in Scotland. They were financed from J. Ivory and Montefiore, Graham and Company, Sydney through their Ipswich agents, W. Gray and Company. Lloyd was superintendent until 23 January 1852 when J.C. McDonald took over but he only stayed until March 1853. Graham withdrew from the partnership in 1852.¹¹

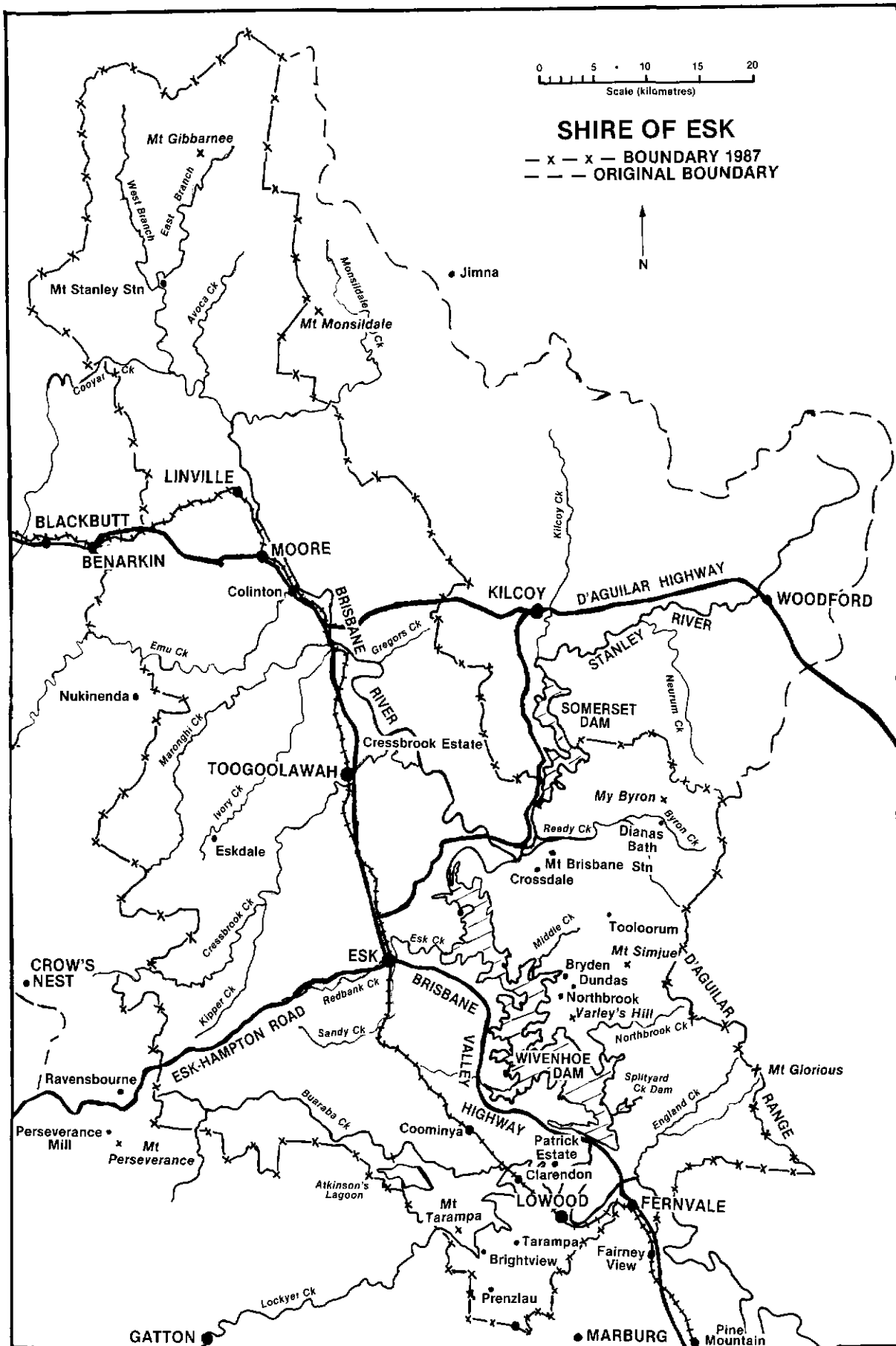
Buaraba

In 1841 John James Malcolm Borthwick took up Buaraba station, thirty-two thousand acres of fertile land along Lockyer Creek, but he went with William Elliott Oliver to the Burnett district in 1842. Oliver took up Nanango run and Borthwick Tarong. The Buaraba licence was transferred to E.C. Atherton who held it until 1852 when it was transferred to John Smith and F.A. Forbes whose manager was John Baker. Smith took sole control

Kilcoy station. 1902.

John Oxley Library





in 1854 and sold it to John Stirling and A. Brown two years later; they in turn sold it to Mort and Cameron in 1858.¹²

Cooyar and Emu Creek

In the northwestern part of the Brisbane Valley were Cooyar and Emu Creek stations of 71,660 and thirty-two thousand acres respectively, taken up in 1845 by the Archer Brothers in conjunction with their Durundur property. Thomas and Charles Archer left Cooyar on 14 May 1848 with two flocks, each of four thousand sheep, and a party of sixteen men including hutkeepers and bullock drivers to go to the Burnett. Cooyar was transferred to Louis Hope and Robert Ramsay in August 1849 and they held it until Separation. F.A. Forbes took over Emu Creek (also known as Djuan Djuan) run in 1854 and sold it in 1857 to T.S. Mort who installed Donald C. Cameron as manager.¹³

Kilcoy

Kilcoy was one of the most controversial stations in the Brisbane Valley because of the alleged Aboriginal massacres in 1842. The first licensees of the thirty-five thousand acres were Sir Evan and Colin John Mackenzie. They arrived in Sydney from Plymouth on the barque *Berkshire* on 13 March 1841 coming to Kilcoy via the Pine River, they took up the licence of Kilcoy in 1842. They also bought land extensively in Brisbane and Ipswich and established a boiling down works at Kangaroo Point. In April 1846 Sir Evan Mackenzie inherited the baronetcy and sold his Queensland interests and returned to Scotland. He ran his Kilcoy property in Scotland on the same paternalistic lines as that in Australia, employing eighty tenants and crofters; annual dinners followed by dancing were held in Belmaduthy Square.

It was years later when the Select Committee of the Queensland Parliament enquired into the affairs of the Native Police Force in 1861 that the rumours of arsenic poisoning of Aborigines leaked out. A missionary, Reverend Schmidt, had been on Kilcoy run in 1842 and published his suspicions in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 5 December 1842. He also referred to the matter in conversation with Dr Stephen Simpson, Commissioner for Crown Lands at Moreton Bay. Simpson reported to the Colonial Office in Britain that Reverend Schmidt and other missionaries were disinclined to follow up or support any investigation in 1842-1843 for fear of offending the squatters.¹⁴

When Charles A. Atherton bought Kilcoy station in 1845 it was bounded on the north by Connondale and Yabba Stations, on the east by

Durundur, south by Mount Brisbane and parts of Cressbrook and on the west by Colinton. In the 1850s it was stocked with twelve hundred cattle and twelve thousand sheep. In 1854 Louis Hope and Robert Ramsay undertook fencing and construction of shingle out buildings.¹⁵

Wivenhoe

To the south Wivenhoe station, originally known as River Station, was taken up by Edmund B. Uhr and John Stephen Ferriter even though it was within the fifty mile limit of the Moreton Bay settlement. Originally Wivenhoe station comprised sixty square miles and had two head stations, one named Wivenhoe and the other, curiously, Drayton. Ferriter and Uhr lived at Tent Hill and only moved to Wivenhoe in 1844. Richard Jones sold fourteen thousand sheep to them. John Uhr was the first squatter to die at the hands of the Aborigines when he was speared at an outstation on the Brisbane River in December 1845. The Uhrs also lost an infant son, in 1847.

In 1846 Ferriter and Edmund Uhr blazed a road across the D'Aigular Range to Brisbane, recognizing the potential benefits of the direct route. They received no support or subsidy to build the road and it was too rough for drays without expensive earthworks. The scheme lapsed for almost a century and a half until the recent Brisbane Forest Park Organization has succeeded in having the road built. In 1849 Ferriter and Uhr dissolved their partnership by mutual consent and moved to the Burnett district, selling Wivenhoe to the North family of Fairney Lawn. The Norths managed Wivenhoe as an outstation until 1858 when they went to live there.¹⁶

Taromeo

At the northeastern end of the shire Taromeo, a run of sixty-four thousand acres was originally taken up by R.H. Watson. Simon Scott drove sheep from Castlereagh, New South Wales to Cressbrook. He later worked for the Balfours and in 1852 took over Taromeo as manager for William Kent Jr. Simon Scott died in 1858 and his son, Walter, later a Queensland politician and prominent in turf circles, took over. However catarrh and scab decimated their sheep and they were quickly forced to change over to cattle. Hardie and Wienholt took over the property in 1860.¹⁷

Crow's Nest

On the western edge of the shire was Crows Nest run which prospered under the Archers and John McConnel. The original tenderer was James C. Pearce of Helidon. Located at the top of the range

dividing the Moreton region from the Darling Downs the property was reputed to be good high altitude fattening country. The head station was situated twenty miles from Ivory's station on the east and twenty-one miles from Highes and Isaac's station on the Darling Downs. There was a superintendent's building, seven huts for men, a paddock of five hundred acres, stockyard, sheeppens, and four thousand sheep. The run was then transferred to J.L. Montefiore who subsequently sold it to John Reeve, Mort and Brown, and Jeremiah B. Rundle. The Bank of New South Wales took control in 1856 followed by Watt and Taylor and then William B. Tooth in 1858.¹⁸

Mount Stanley

The Mount Stanley West lease was issued to George Edward Forbes from 1 January 1852 for a period of fourteen years at an annual rental of £17 10s. The property comprised ninety-four square miles on the upper reaches of the Brisbane River. The Mount Stanley West run was used for sheep throughout the 1850s in partnership with John

Balfour of nearby Colinton run; Donald Mackenzie was overseer, succeeded in 1855 by Borthwick. Mount Stanley East lease was not taken up until 1860.¹⁹

Tarampa

To the south of Lockyer Creek there was Tarampa run of thirty-nine thousand acres taken up by Charles Cameron who held an interest until 1851 when Montefiore, Graham and Company took over. They sold out to James England and John Smith in 1856, paying £16,500 at a sale conducted by Mort and Company. Henry G. Glassford was their superintendent. Forbes and England combined to take over in 1859, built a woolshed and sold seventeen thousand sheep for nearly £6,000 that year.²⁰

Tarong

The north western boundary of the Esk Shire bordered the old Tarong run, managed in the 1850s by George Clapperton. The station already employed a number of Germans and Chinese.²¹

Implement shed, Cressbrook, built before 1873 with a shingle roof.

Terry Conway



History of the Shire of Esk

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s the Brisbane Valley was some of the richest pastoral country in northern New South Wales, equalling most of the Darling Downs and having the advantage of river flats and being closer to the Moreton Bay settlement. That has always worked to the advantage of the Brisbane Valley graziers; the Valley was always a thoroughfare from Ipswich to the Burnett and Port Curtis region and as early as the 1850s cattle and sheep were brought to the Valley for fattening. Pastoralists establishing in the north, notably McCartney of Waverley station, bought breeders from the Valley. The northern coach and dray routes passed through Wivenhoe, Cressbrook, Colinton and then crossed the divide between the Moreton and Burnett districts to Nanango. The first two decades saw the investment by the British aristocracy followed by the Sydney merchants on a similar scale and purpose to that on the Darling Downs. Their success and degree of influence were comparable — both acquired enormous amounts of land and the management and retention of that landed wealth has remained a constant theme throughout the history of the Brisbane Valley.²²

ENDNOTES

1. *An Act for the Transportation of Offenders to Penal Settlements and for the most effectual Punishment and Security of the same.* (7 Geo. IV, No 5) (*Public General Statutes of New South Wales* from 5 Geo. IV to 8 Will IV [1824-1837] pp46-48); Microfilm A2.12, frames 153-154, JOL, [NSW AO 4/3039, in-letter 2000 of 1841]; Microfilm A2.12 frames 101-103, JOL [Commandant, Moreton Bay to Colonial Secretary 23 September 1841, NSW AO 4/3095 in-letter 8592 of 1841]; SMH 1 December 1841 p4 c7; Microfilm A2.15 frames 331, 332, 323-326, 327-328 Memo by the Governor, 1 December 1845 filed with Commissioner of Crown Lands, Moreton Bay District to Colonial Secretary, 20 December 1845 (NSW AO 4/3104, in-letter 264 of 1846).
2. The full title of the act was *An Act further to restrain the unauthorized occupation of Crown Lands, and to provide the means of defraying the expense of a Border Police.* Published in the Supplement to the NSW GG 6 April 1839 pp393-400 and also the NSW V&P [Legislative Council] 1844 Vol 2 pp13-14; Sections 2, 3, 10, 13, 14, 15 of the 1939 Act; *An Act for regulating the Sale of Waste Land belonging to the Crown in the Australian Colonies* (5 and 6 Vic. S.36) was passed by the United Kingdom government to retain the land revenue when New South Wales received self government in 1842.
3. NSW GG 1842 pp249, 689; *Australian* 12 May 1842; J. Campbell, *The Early Settlement of Queensland and other Articles* [Ipswich, 1875] p6; For an assessment of the Archers' careers in Australia see ADB Vol 1 pp22-23; The quotations are all taken from T. Archer *Recollections of a Rambling Life* [Yokohama, *Japan Gazette*, 1897] pp44, 48, 55, 64.
4. J. Hogan, *Building Queensland's Heritage* (Brisbane, National Trust of Queensland,) p52; Jean Bull, *Homesteads of Queensland* [copy held in JOL] p15; Mary McConnel 'Memories of Days Gone By' (typescript held by RHSQ); MBC 26 July 1851; Memo from letter by John McConnel, Cressbrook, to William McConnel, 18 August 1851 [89/59, Fryer, UQ].
5. Copy of letter of Henry Mort to his Mother and Sister, 28 January 1844, and other McConnel family information provided by Mr Duncan McConnel of Cressbrook and Mr Ross McConnel of Inverstanley via Esk; CLO/13 p4 [Z337] QSA; William Johnston, 'Old Bulimba' RHSQJ Vol 1 No 5 [October 1918] pp304-318; MBC 26 June 1852; SMH 18 August 1853 p3 c1; Mary McConnel, 'Memories of Days Gone By'.
6. NA 10 February 1857 and 4 August 1857; L.E. Skinner, 'The Days of the Squatting Acts Districts of Darling Downs and Moreton Bay' Part 1 *Queensland Heritage* Vol 6 No 6 [May 1977] p10; Bull, Jean 'Historic Queensland Stations' [Brisbane, QCL, 1960] p21; A.J. McConnel, 'Some Queensland Stations' BC 6 February 1932 p19; MBC 14 August 1852, 4 December 1852 and 15 October 1853; NA 14 December 1858.
7. T. Archer, *Recollections of a Rambling Life* *op.cit* pp62-64 quoted in J.G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days 1824-1842* (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1975) p295; CLO/13 p1 [Z337] [QSA]; MBC 26 July 1851; Jean Bull, *op.cit*; Charles Archer to his father in Norway, 29 April 1845 (Archer Letters) [JOL]; 89/5, Fryer, UQ.
8. T. Archer, *op.cit* pp.62-64 quoted in J.G. Steele, *op.cit*. p295; For an assessment of the Bowman family's careers see ADB Vol 1 pp137-139; Copies of correspondence of Andrew Watherston in 1851, 1854, 1872 and 1894 provided by Mrs C. Webb, Toogoolawah; Genealogical information on the Bowman family was provided by Mrs M. McIntosh, Boggabilla, NSW; MBC 26 September 1846, 17 October 1846, 17 and 31 July 1847, 9 October 1847 and 4 January 1851.
9. CLO/13 [Z337] [QSA]; Mary McConnel, 'Memories of Days Gone By'; MBC 12 February 1853; NA 26 February 1856.
10. MBC 21 August 1852 and 26 February 1853.11. CLO/13 p6 [Z337] [QSA]; Sydney May, ['Nomenclature'] p49 [JOL]; MBC 25 August 1849, 7 February 1852 and 14 August 1852.
12. J.E. Murphy & E.W. Easton, *Wilderness to Wealth* (Nanango, 1950) p25; MBC 14 August 1852; CLO/13 p5 [Z337] [QSA]; NA 3 August 1858. 13. CLO/13 p1 [Z337] [QSA]; H.S. Bloxsome, 'The Discovery, Exploration and Early Settlement of the Upper Burnett' RHSQJ Vol 3 No 5 (December 1945) pp 335, 340; MBC 18 August 1849; CLO/13 p1 [Z337] [QSA]; NA 15 February 1859.
14. *Sydney Herald* 14 and 15 March 1841; For an assessment of Sir Evan Mackenzie see ADB Vol 5 pp170-171; MBC 7 August 1847 quoting *Ross-Shire Advertiser*, 1 April 1848 quoting *Inverness Courier*; Dr S. Simpson to Colonial Office, 20 January 1843. *British Parliamentary Papers* (Colonies, Australia) Vol 8 [Irish University edition].
15. NA 4 August 1857.
16. J.G. Steele *The Petersons and the Uhrs, an Australian Family Since 1825* (St Lucia, Queensland Historical Facsimiles, 1980) pp7,17-19, 25,27,31; MBC 30 June 1849.
17. CLO/13 p7 [Z337] [QSA]; J.E. Murphy and E.W. Easton, *op.cit*.
18. MBC 23 June 1849 and 15 October 1849 quoting New South Wales GG; CLO/13 p7 [Z337] [QSA].
19. LAN/AF814, QSA; BC 6 February 1932 p19.
20. CLO/13 p2 [Z337] [QSA]; MBC 26 July 1851 and 8 March 1856; NA 2 September 1856, 9 March 1858, 12 April and 21 June 1859.
21. P86, M60, P86/2/6, Clapperton's Diary 1855-1859 (ABL Canberra).
22. *Ibid*.