

Land Selection

Land selectors moved into the Brisbane Valley area early in the 1860s in response to two factors — increasing immigration by Germans and the Queensland Government's methods of administering its Crown Lands. There were two types of opportunities — to work as labourers on pastoral stations or to select land on the new Tarampa and Wivenhoe Agricultural Reserves. People with some capital chose the latter and prospered because there was choice agricultural land reasonably close to the Main North Road.

The *Agricultural Reserves Act of 1861* was a compromise providing for the allocation of rich land for sale at £1 per acre, cultivation and fencing to be carried out by the purchaser. One objective was diversification of the economy by the cultivation of cotton selling at a high price during the American Civil War. As well, immigrants who arrived at their own expense were entitled to a Land Order valued at up to £30 when they proved their intention of staying in the colony. However, this form of land settlement produced a growing problem for the Colony; many immigrants arrived nearly penniless after purchasing their passage and sold their Land Orders cheaply to wealthy squatter-capitalists who purchased land and pre-empted river flats and areas along access roads to their runs.

Over the 120 years of settlement the implementation of Queensland land law in the Brisbane Valley has passed through the full circle and covered the whole range of legal applications. The economic situation of many rural residential land holders today demonstrates the same pioneering spirit and financial constraints which the original selectors faced in their efforts to achieve their vision — a reliable water supply, fuel, all-weather access roads, and low interest finance. Farm size has continually been a problem in the Brisbane Valley. Even in the 1870s eighty acre Homestead selections were not economically viable. Land owners have always had to supplement their primary income or use family labour. This has meant that various supplementary industries such as pigs, lucerne growing, potato growing, timber felling on private land, and gold mining have prospered intermittently.'

The Brisbane Valley has always been a region of individual achievers — graziers, small farmers, and

livestock dealers carving out economically successful niches. The Valley has divided itself into districts according to racial heritage as well as geographical divisions determined by bridges over the two rivers. Mount Beppo, one of the most luxuriantly rain forest areas when the runs were surveyed by surveyor Richard Austin in 1868, became a predominantly German area engaged in dairying and agriculture. The eastern side of the valley is the Irish sector. The Lowood, Prenzlau, Brightview, Tarampa, and Minden areas have always been strikingly German. The Scots and English have dominated the major selections in the Mount Esk, Linville, Colinton, Patrick Estate, Gallanani and Fernvale areas. Settlement prospered according to the availability and price of land, culminating most recently in negotiations about prices for resumptions for the Wivenhoe Dam.

Land selection in the Valley occurred in three waves — 1864 on the Agricultural Reserves, 1868-1872 when new immigrants took advantage of the *Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868*, and a constant stream throughout the late seventies and eighties; and at the turn of the century when slabs of Cressbrook and Colinton runs were subdivided. As government land resumption practices had always been a thorn in the side of graziers, it was they, especially the McConnells and Moores, who reacted to create a demand for land; after the turn of the century they financed condensed milk factories at Toogoolawah and Colinton to entice farmers to buy their subdivided land. The prosperity of the dairying industry meant expansion into marginal areas — frost affected and dry, unwatered, hilly, ring-barked country. Farmers on these blocks first cut and sold the timber and then stocked the land with dairy cows or grew bananas in the twenties. As the economic cycles unfolded and the generations aged, dairying foundered and the land was eventually sold to land developers. Some small blocks were amalgamated in the 1960s under various rural reconstruction schemes and turned over to cattle or were enveloped in the Wivenhoe Dam project.

Land selection in the Parish of Walloon commenced in 1865 near Borallon and towards Wanora area where Andrew Watherston selected Portion 96 of 50 acres 2 roods on 20 July 1865. He would have known the land as he had driven sheep



Baker's farm near Esk, a typical selection in the 1870s.

John Oxley Library

to the region in 1848 for the Bigges of Mount Brisbane. Within six months, on 26 January 1866, John Clarke Foote and Edward Edwards took up Portions 74 to 77, totalling 92 acres, and were followed by Thomas Collins and George Holloway with Portions 101 and 127 of 17 and 25 acres respectively on 16 July 1866; Thomas King took up Portion 177 of 24 acres on 27 August 1866. In the next twelve months three dozen selections totalling 1,400 acres were taken up in this area by the following selectors — Duncan Stewart, Elizabeth Smith, Michael Sullivan, Patrick Doyle, Edward and William McCarthy, Patrick, Michael, William and James Shea, Richard Watson, Patrick Sharry, C. Schneider, G. Thurecht and N. Quingor, Adam McDonald, James Little, John Webster, John Rea, William Heffernan, William Meahan, James Fitzgerald, D. Foley, William Adam Smith, James Slack, Carl Gees, Mary Moran, and Olivia Vance. The majority of these blocks were thirty acres in size and most were freeholded by 1875.²

The contemporary opinion was that the agriculturalist must take the place of the squatter in a land system where both leasing and freeholding complemented one another. However, to achieve this it was essential to have good access roads and railways so that the ruling squattocracy could not frighten the selectors out of an area by equating agriculture with starvation. Politicians argued in the early 1860s as to whether land legislation should entrench the squatters' pre-emptive rights or should encourage agricultural settlement. Queensland's first consistent land policy maker was Arthur Macalister, Member for Ipswich, Secretary for Lands and Works 1862-66 and

1868-69. As a solicitor he was neither squatter nor bushman and he brought administrative efficiency to the Crown Lands and Surveyor General's Offices, allowing him to dispense political favours to his supporters in the Moreton region.

While immigration and the number of Land Orders was high, little Crown Land was being sold at public auction and Treasury Department received insufficient revenue. Agricultural Reserves appeared to be chosen to suit neighbouring squatters and little of it was near roads or markets. There were four lobby groups in mid 1866 when Macalister was preparing to introduce his land legislation — the northern squatters, the Ministerialists, Brisbane businessmen and reformers, and Downs squatters and merchants led by George Raff. When his government was defeated by four votes on the issue of the reserve price for land, on 10 July 1866. This coincided with the government debt crisis following the closure of the Agra and Masterman's Bank in London.³

Macalister resigned on 14 August 1867 after his second attempt at land legislation failed; he achieved a liberal agricultural settlement measure in return for support of Mackenzie's Pastoral Occupation Bill. That ploy enabled the passage of the *Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868* aimed at populating the country with people instead of having it merely occupied by stock. Yet Macalister was aware that speculators could use the act to their advantage. It appeared to him that two or three run-holders close to the towns, possibly in the Brisbane Valley and Beenleigh areas, were determined to oppose free selection and in so doing

every other part of the colony was to be thrown open to the selectors. The government was unlikely to raise sufficient revenue from this Act to clear the deficit because immigrants selecting land would all be using Land Orders, which had increased in value by four times because of the Act. As the government already had £100,000 worth of Land Orders on the market, enough to purchase 400,000 acres of land at five shillings per acre, this effectively ruined the land fund of the colony.

He also criticized the Homestead clauses (76 and 77) which prevented the recovery of debts incurred by a homestead lessee during the five years of rental or thereafter; this would allow for frauds, Macalister said, to build an expensive house, surround the property with a good post and two rail fence, and plant a luxuriant orchard without fear of suits by his creditors. William Henry Walsh, member for Maryborough and coal mine owner and pastoralist, highlighted the problems which graziers such as those in the Brisbane Valley faced because of the 1868 act. He claimed that in the settled districts pastoralists would lose half their runs and have their rents doubled over the remainder, which was only held on an insecure lease arrangement.⁴

The first selections under this Act within the boundaries of the present Esk Shire were in April 1868. On 14 April 1868 James Leith Hay took up Portion 37 of 160 acres in the Parish of Burnett. John Redmond took up Portion 119, Parish of North on 1 May 1868 and Friederick Zuegling took up 82 acres in the Parish of North on 11 May 1868. James England, lessee of Tarampa run, was next, selecting 982 acres on the Tarampa run (Portion 311) on 29 May 1868. The next selections were in July when 1382 acres were selected in the Shire in the Parishes of North, Sahl, Burnett, and England. Daniel Dwyer selected 99 acres in the Parish of North on 4 July 1868. The same day, politician Arthur Macalister selected the neighbouring Portion 122 of 117 acres along the Brisbane River between present day Fernvale and Lowood. He sold it on 26 January 1872 to Roger North and John Redmond. The latter had selected Portion 123, Parish of North, of 358 acres on 15 July 1868 with a fine river frontage. On 15 July 1868 Robert Vernor, who became a highly respected citizen of the shire, took up Portion 39A in the Parish of Burnett on the opposite side of the river to Dwyer and Macalister. John Harris Jnr took up 293 acres with river frontage and running up to Horse Mountain in the Parish of Sahl on 11 July 1868.

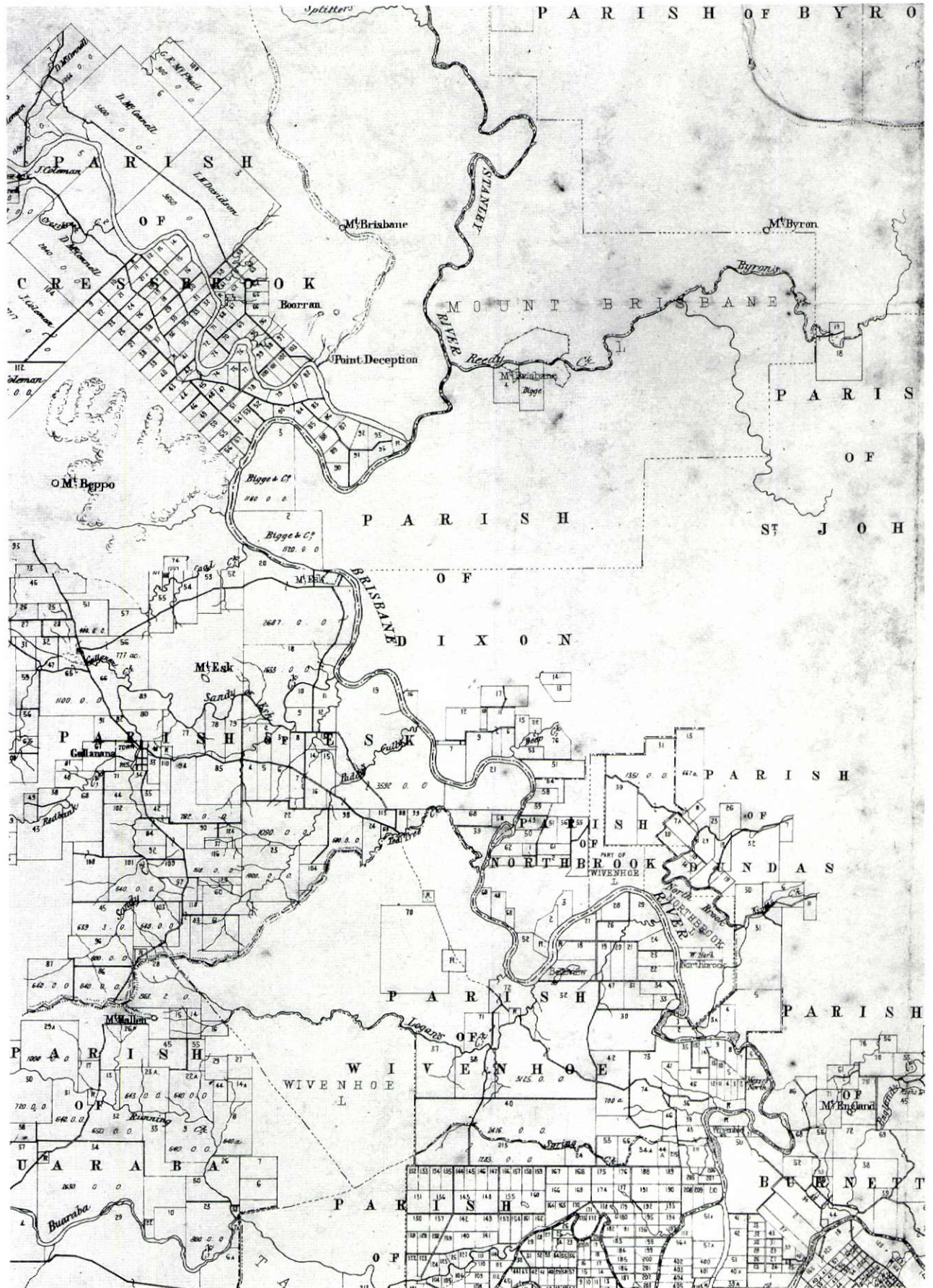
On 22 July 1868 Richard Watson Jnr, William and John Patrick, and Robert Noonan all invested in the area on the north side of the lower reaches of

Lockyer Creek. The area became known as Patrick Estate following the family's success. Richard Watson selected Portion 160 in the Parish of England, William Patrick portions 181 and 182, John Patrick 195, and Robert Noonan 193. In a fortnight their brothers, John and Daniel Patrick and John Noonan selected Portions 192, 194, 183, 187, 205 and 210, and in another month they selected Portions 198, 204, 118, 119, 155, 196, 197, 51, 49, 39, 144, and 147, a total of 2,373 acres all in the Patrick Estate and Clarendon areas. In January and February 1869 Richard and John Watson continued acquiring selections, crossing Lockyer Creek into the centre of Clarendon with Portions 4,5,9 to 11, 34, 47, and 48 in the Parish of Tarampa, all being contiguous. James England was the other major landholder in the area, taking up 960 acres in Portions 131, 136, 143, and 148 in the Parish of England in the Tarampa area on 7 September 1868.

On 8 February 1869 Friederick Adermann, ancestor of the late Honourable Sir Charles Adermann and Honourable Evan Adermann, successive Members for Fisher (and latterly now Fairfax) acquired land in the area. He selected Portion 134 of 41 acres in the Parish of North, part of Fairney Lawn run. John McDonald took up 100 acres near Picnic Mountain on 1 August 1868; the land was transferred to Brisbane merchant, George Harris in 1872, to James Gulland, Ipswich collier in 1873, to Charles C. Martindale in 1874, and to Frederic J. Baynham in 1877. James Meakin took up 83 acres near Tarampa in August. One of the largest selections was Robert Hunter's 602 acres near Fernvale. This land was transferred to Martin Fahy on 27 September 1875. Charles Denning, later timbergetter and sawmiller, selected 160 acres on the hills of Glamorgan Vale on 1 October 1868. The first German selector registered was Friederick Zuegling on 11 May 1868, followed by Heinrich Falkehagen in February 1869. Other early selectors in the Parishes of North and Tarampa included Sterling Minor, Daniel Neurath, Heinrich Falkenhagen, Wilhelm Damro, Wilhelm Litzow, Friedrich Schmidt, John Erich, and John Friederich Schumann.

In early March 1869 the West Moreton Land Commissioner visited Mount Brisbane, Mount Esk, and Cressbrook runs and decided what land should be opened for selection. That discussion was always crucial in 'drawing the line on the map in the most advantageous position'. The resumed halves of these runs were thrown open for selection on 28 July 1869. The pastoralists and their managers then undertook a determined and vigorous wave of selection in the winter and spring of 1869 turning to their advantage an Act meant for

History of the Shire of Esk



Map of the eastern side of the shire showing the pattern of land selection to 1876.

small capitalists and immigrants. They obtained a commanding control through freeholding the most productive land in the resumed part of their runs. In seven weeks the Ivory, North, Bigge, and Bowman families selected 22,190 acres compared to 10,810 acres by small selectors. On 28 July 1869 alone over 14,000 acres were selected in the Parish of Esk. James Ivory of Eskdale selected 11,610 acres on 16 September 1869. 5,000 acres of that and a 924 acre pre-emptive purchase portion was transferred to Alfred Percy Lord on 18 June 1875 after Lord had come across from the Crow's Nest tinfields and finished toying with gold on Cressbrook Creek.

By December 1876 William Macarthur Bowman, manager of Mount Esk run, had taken up 7,725 acres of prime river flats, paying a total of £2,279 in rent to freehold them. Francis Bigge outlaid £2,399 in rent before freeholding his land, having already purchased a pre-emptive portion of 320 acres at £1 per acre on Reedy Creek in 1861. The Peters Brothers (Thomas, John, Henry and George) selected Homestead Portions 25 to 28, 31 and 32 near Esk totalling 840 acres in mid 1869. Hugh Conroy, ancestor of families of Esk Shire Councillors, currently represented by Cr C. Conroy, first applied for a selection on 28 July 1869 but it was rejected. His first selections accepted by the Land Court were Portions 21, 23 to 25 of 665 acres in the Parish of Wivenhoe, applied for on 22 November 1869 and freeholded on 28 June 1880. The land was situated on the western side of the Brisbane River opposite Northbrook and up to Bigge's Crossing. The other major selector in 1869 was William Dobbie who took up Portion 50 of 1,229 acres in the Parish of Burnett on 19 November 1869. The property had extensive Brisbane River frontage at Atkinson's Crossing and the Wivenhoe Bridge where the wall of the Wivenhoe Dam is today. Also during 1869 Joseph and William North between them selected 1,872 acres, 646 acres, and 5,964 acres of the Parishes of Burnett, Dundas, and Wivenhoe respectively.⁵

Likewise the McConnells selected rich land out of Cressbrook run in 1869, having already purchased pre-emptive Portion 1 of 640 acres in 1861. In fact, within four years they selected 3,886 acres of agricultural land, 6,400 acres of first class pastoral land, and 18,130 acres of second class pastoral land out of Cressbrook run. D.C. McConnel took up selection numbers 1363 to 1365, 1565, 2068, and 2174 to 2176 on Cressbrook run between 1869 and 1873; they comprised 2,663 acres of agricultural land, 4,360 acres of first class pastoral land, and 10,013 acres of second class pastoral land, totalling 17,036 acres. His son, J.C. McConnel, took up

selection numbers 2437 and 2488 — 80 acres of agricultural land, 200 acres of first class pastoral land, and 2,106 acres of second class pastoral land. Other selectors on the same run were John Coleman, G.R. McPhail, and C. Spry on selections 1566 to 1568, 1987, 2069, 2070, 2441, 2442, and 2573, obtaining 1,143 acres of agricultural land, 1,840 acres of first class pastoral land and 6,011 acres of second class pastoral land.⁶

In the eighteen months to 30 June 1876 Brisbane Valley pastoral lessees, Alexander Raff, G.E. Forbes, Joseph North, Geoffrey N. Moore, John North, Frank Weinholt, and D.C. McConnell obtained Certificates of Fulfillment of conditions for 14,519 acres of selections in the West Moreton District, Raff being the most prolific. Ipswich surveyor and auctioneer, E. Bostock, was often the agent for these selectors. The land surrounding Cressbrook Lagoons between Esk and Colinton was surveyed into 80 acres blocks in 1877 for selection; these were highly prized, being so well watered, and otherwise should have been reserved for a travelling stock route. Also surveyed then were one square mile blocks on Cressbrook itself — specifically set aside for wealthy selectors as they were to be auctioned.⁷

Clearly these records show that wealthy graziers, merchants, and station managers used the *Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868* to obtain extensive tracts of fertile land with river frontages. The grazier had the advantage of knowing the surveyors and Land Commissioners as well as the land and its pitfalls, having worked it for cattle and sheep for nearly three decades. Raw immigrants had to hew farms out of forest or rough scrub; some could not even afford to fence their eighty acres and as a result cattle ran all over unfenced selections, free agistment for shrewd graziers. In 1878 immigrant selectors were angry with the Premier, Hon. John Douglas, for allowing eighty acre selections, tying them down with residence provisions and not allowing them to take up additional pieces to make the farming proposition economically viable.⁸

The scene at Tarampa in 1877 illustrates the life of selectors in the Brisbane Valley. England had developed the Tarampa run and sold it at a handsome profit to Kent and Weinholt. It was fine, rich, well-grassed fattening country. Tarampa Scrub was a German and Danish settlement of six years standing. The Germans had come out to Queensland on the *Lammershagen* and *Reichstag* and were all of happy disposition, strong frames, keen speculators, energetic and polite. They had been driven out of their country by war, conscription, and the hard life of agriculturalists.



Hugh Conroy and his wife, Margaret (née McNamara) who developed Castleholme at Bryden.

Cr. C.J. Conroy

Many of the men were former soldiers and wore regimental caps in the Tarampa paddocks.

Subsistence farming was their top priority. At first they planted corn between unburnt stumps and logs using handmade chipping hoes. Any surplus produce was exchanged in towns for bags of flour and sugar. They had 'longer stockings and heavier purses' and were more proficient than those in the Rosewood area where, according to local folklore, 'wallabies ate the English out and the Germans ate the wallabies out'. The houses, barns, stables, fences, and general improvements were larger, better built, and more comfortable and they had done more clearing of the land. Mixed crops — corn, cotton, arrowroot, vines, pumpkins, oats, barley, lucerne, wheat, potatoes, fruit, and numerous vegetable gardens — were grown at Tarampa rather than just corn and pumpkins as at Rosewood. They also raised cows, pigs, poultry, and hitched draught horses to their huge German waggons. The corn was shelled by hand but enterprising teamsters contracted to cart the bagged corn to market. The homestead areas

ranged from 60 to 200 acres, fenced with palings to keep out all the marsupials. The selectors sank wells and made paddock dams for water because well water was often salty at depth.⁹

Another significant development at that time was the rise of the timber industry. The coming of the railway to Lowood in 1884 provided an enormous impetus to the timber industry, as well as providing access to markets for agricultural crops. Selectors such as Josiah and Thomas Hancock Jr. took up 3,427 acres in the Parish of Tarampa (Portions 336, 337 and 402) for the timber and later established a sawmill. The establishment of sawmills provided ready cash for struggling selectors who could sell off millable timber as they cleared land for agriculture.

The success of the cultivation of cotton and sugar cane in the Brisbane Valley encouraged the demand but the drought of 1882 reduced the numbers of selections being freeholded. Selectors in the Parish of Esk included G.H. Wilson, J. Beer, E. McDonald, W. Daniels, P. Lawlor, R. Price, J.

Henderson, G. Smith Snr. and Jnr., R. McGrory, T. Peters, J. Clifford, and H. Mackay. In the Parish of Wivenhoe there were T. Gregor, A.V. & D. Birch, P.C. Ihle, J. Noonan, W. Smith, and in Cressbrook Parish, D.C. McConnel, and G.E. Primrose in the Parish of Djuan. The Birchs were the earliest selectors having commenced on their 160 acres in 1869. At that time the rental in Wivenhoe was 7s. per acre and up to 10s. but in Esk Parish it was 5 to 6s.¹⁰

One of the most productive pockets which German immigrants selected in 1884 was Mount Beppo, on part of Cressbrook and Caboonbah runs. Selectors there constructed and maintained their own roads and maintained the public water supply which H.P. Somerset had established with piping, pump and trough beside a stock route. Settlement here expanded rapidly with J. Bulow, S. Schank of Minden, W. Griencke, G. Marscke, C. and H. Teske, A. Bernhagen, W. Schultz, R. Leisemann, and C. Kleier selecting land in 1884; F. Dumke, W. Wolff, F. Tetzlaff, C. Tetzlaff, G. Gillmeister, and R. D. Soden, previously of Pine Mountain followed in 1885. Most came from the Lowood area, having missed out in the boom following the arrival of the

railway. Bulow, Wolff, Dumke, and Teske had previously been soldiers in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 but in the Brisbane Valley their immediate problems were wallabies and drought. Nevertheless, they quickly changed the landscape from thick pine scrub to paling fences and pine shingle roofed cottages. The first load, eighty bags of maize, was despatched by bullock waggon from Schank's farm to Cribb and Foote at Ipswich in 1885.¹¹

Land Courts had local definitions of conditions of the Act to be met and these courts determined whether or not selectors fulfilled the conditions satisfactorily and obtained freehold title; neighbours often vouched for each other. However the courts could also be highly inquisitive of selector's farming practices and finances. Examples such as the Land Court inquiry in 1888 concerning Newman Ruddle's selection No. 5700 indicate the sharp practices of some selectors. In 1888 Constable Barbour of Wivenhoe (later of Kipper Creek, Biarra, and an Esk Shire Councillor) charged that the adjoining selector had paid a friend to appear before the Land Court pretending to be Ruddle, in order to obtain the land by fraud.

Cross's home at Linville. 1890.

John Oxley Library



Constable Barbour even wrote to the *Queenslander* newspaper reporting the escalation of rumours linking the neighbouring selector and the Acting Land Commissioner in land dealings to their mutual advantage.¹²

The Fernvale Timber Reserve was being surveyed into forty and fifty acre farm allotments in 1886. It was keenly sought even though it was only marginal agricultural land. Some land sold at auction at £6 per acre but three or four fifty acre blocks were unsold in September 1886. On the Mount Stanley (Colinton) run resumption, 28,960 acres of land were opened for selection as grazing farms in July 1887 as well as approximately 1,000 acres of forfeited agricultural selections in the Parishes of Deongwar, Esk, Biarra, and Wivenhoe. The applicants covered the available land five times over. In 1888 a hundred farms were surveyed between Esk and Murphy's Creek to service at least 240 applications, and several of these became orchardists. Farmers led by S. Mendelsohn petitioned the government for another village settlement of this type nine miles west of Esk. Within three years Mendelsohn had moved to Nanango planning to establish a wattle bark crushing business.¹³

In the 1890s selectors found well watered agricultural land was scarce because the graziers had selected all the rich land along the river frontages. The good land between Lowood, Tarampa and Minden was predominantly owned by Germans. Life was harsh in the early years with people living under German waggons through winter until they could build a home. Frosts and pests ruined the maize and potato crops, bandicoots ringbarked the citrus trees, and foreclosures by merchants, Cribb and Foote, were common. In this way Cribb and Foote acquired pockets of land throughout the southern part of the Valley. Their emporium was despised by small selectors who often formed closeknit exchange and subsistence relationships to avoid dealings with Ipswich merchants even for purchase of seed.¹⁴

Land around Coominya was selected in 1896 when Buaraba station was thrown open to selection. The Hanrihans came that year taking up 1,200 acres. They sold out in 1902 and bought 160 acres of Tarampa station calling it 'Galtymore' after the mountains of Cork. Tarampa station, owned by the Jondaryan Estate Company, contained all the good land south of Lowood along Lockyer Creek nearly to Gatton. The nearby

residents petitioned the government to repurchase it in 1901. Staff surveyor, Waraker, marked out 144 portions, most of them fronting Lockyer Creek. It was opened to selection at £1.10.0 per acre at Laidley Court House on 29 September 1903. The re-purchase caused 'quite a stir' and some of the best selections did not go off because of poor roads. The initial selectors included Muller, A. Schlecht, Zillman, W. Steffans, and W. Janke. Surprisingly, one of the selectors' first financial problems was water.¹⁵

The Tarampa Re-purchased Estate was just one of the opportunities for selectors at the turn of the century. The advancing railway created a demand for land on which the longstanding graziers capitalized. The McConnells and Moores sold parts of Cressbrook and Colinton for dairying and both established condensed milk factories to service the selectors embarking on dairying. The rise of extensive dairying which brought great change to the shire, followed the development of agriculture.

ENDNOTES

1. QT 2 June 1877 p3 and 13 August 1878.
2. All land selection details in this chapter have been extracted from a range of sources — QGG, QV&P, LAN/P28 and 29, SUR/6, SUR/7-11, QT, ER and the pattern of land selection in the Brisbane Valley may be ascertained in the chronological sequence of these sources.
3. J.W. T., *The Land Question in Queensland: Being a Series of Letters To 'The Brisbane Courier'* (Brisbane, T. Pugh, 1866). (National Library Copy).
4. P.D. Wilson, 'Arthur Macalister' in D.J. Murphy and R.B. Joyce, *Queensland Political Portraits* (St Lucia, University of Queensland, 1978) pp45-70; B.R. Kingston, 'The Search for an Alternative to Free Selection' *Queensland Heritage* Vol 1 No 5 (November 1966) pp3-9; QPD Vol VI pp703-707 (11 December 1867).
5. QT 20 March 1869 p3, 29 June 1869 p2.
6. QV&P 1874 Vol 2 p595.
7. QV&P 1876 Vol 3 pp3289-3296; QT 12 June 1877 p3 and 16 October 1877 p3.
8. QT 7 August 1877 p3 and 13 August 1878.
9. BC 1 September 1877 p6; Sippel Family in Australia 1863-1985. Compiled and published by the Sippel family.
10. QV&P 1882 Vol 2 pp629-647; QV&P 1884 Vol 2 pp1,003-1,040.
11. ESKM 10 April 1883; M.G. Turner, et al, *The Late Henry Plantagenet Somerset and His Wife Katherine Rose of Caboonbah* (Unpublished Typescript, JOL); QT 30 December 1954.
12. QT 18 December 1886 and 21 May 1887 p807 c4; Q 3 and 17 March 1888.
13. QT 20 February 1886, 2 June 1888 and 27 February 1891; Q 12 June p928 and 11 September 1886 p408 c1 and 9 July 1887 p147 c3.
14. QT 27 February 1891 and 24 October 1893; Reminiscences of Mrs Margaret Schultz, 1971 (Held in Esk Shire Library Local History Collection).
15. BVKS 6 June 1986 p44; QT 21 May and 23 July 1903, 12 September and 6 October 1903, 4 June 1907 and 8 January 1938.