BOWEN

THE FOUNDATION OF A NORTH QUEENSLAND PORT SETTLEMENT

1861 - 1880

Julie Stanley

Master's Qualifying Thesis

1984

University of Queensland

Brisbane
APPENDICES

Appendix One

Results from Census Taken in Bowen in 1864/65 and 1868

Page 192

Appendix Two

Vocabulary recorded by W. Hanlon from Bowen Aboriginal Tribe

Page 195
MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS

1. Sea Routes To and From Australia During the Nineteenth Century, and the Location of the First North Australian Port Settlements. p. 4

2. Location of Bowen, Port Denison and the Kennedy District of North Queensland - Prominent Physical Features and Pastoral Holdings in the Early 1860's. p. 24

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Dalrymple's Expedition Colleagues, 1861 p. 11

2. The Construction of the Jetty at Port Denison, Bowen 1864-1866 p. 31

3. Bowen's First Church of England, Built in 1865, with Clergyman's Residence p. 38

4. View of Bowen Townsite During the Late 1860 Noting the Completed Port Denison Jetty in Background p. 45

5. "The Crinoline Reigned Supreme" - A Group of Pastoral Settlers in the Kennedy Pastoral District Near Bowen in the late 1860's p. 59

6. Steamers Alongside the Jetty at Port Denison during the 1860's, when Bowen was theForemost Regional Port in North Queensland p. 99
ILLUSTRATIONS continued

7. A Contingent of Queensland Native Mounted Police in the 1860's, Similar to the Group Present at Bowen's First Settlement p. 130


10. The Bowen Post Office in 1873, an Important Part of North Queensland's Communications Link p. 168

11. A View of the Bowen Settlement Taken in 1878, with Port Denison and the Jetty in Background p. 180
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a regional study of the coastal port settlement of Bowen and its interaction with the surrounding Kennedy district of North Queensland, thrown open for settlement in 1861. The primary focus of the study is the progress of the first generation of settlement, 1861-1880. Presented in generally chronological form, the experimental successes and failures of the first white inhabitants of Australia's first enduring tropical settlement are examined. The emphasis is social, but issues of regional frontier economics, immigration from Europe and other Australian colonies, patterns of settlement in the district, political development featuring the first North Queensland separation movement, race relations during initial contact between the whites and Aborigines and sea and overland communications are integral components. For administrative purposes, the Queensland Government sub-divided the Kennedy into two regions, north and south, and it was the south Kennedy with which Bowen most interacted. Bowen was the first of several coastal frontier towns in the North Queensland area. Its early ambition was to become the capital of a new North Queensland colony, but rivalries for prominence in the region soon arose. Eventually, the centre of Townsville, to Bowen's north, overshadowed the first settlement, and by 1880, the future of Bowen as a permanent but secondary port was determined.

Due to my childhood links with Bowen, I became aware of the impressive amount of work carried out by the Bowen Historical Society and the fact that rare publications of the colonial period and copies of
the original local newspaper, the Port Denison Times, first published in 1864, had been carefully preserved for research purposes. This knowledge stimulated an interest in further examining themes which were raised during the course of my studies in North Queensland history at James Cook University in Townsville. Later residence in Brisbane allowed me the opportunity to extend my research at the John Oxley Library and the University of Queensland. An adequate selection of material has been gathered to permit a detailed study of early Bowen, as an example of North Queensland coastal settlement during the mid nineteenth century. To place this study in broader context, I would like to review briefly some more general Australian historical writings which prompted the direction of my research.

In "The Australian Legend", Russell Ward provides an insight into the influence of the bush workers in the Australian pastoral industry on the development of a unique frontier society. (1) As the south Kennedy was first settled for pastoral purposes with the accompaniment of squatters, shearsers, shepherds and labourers, many of Ward's observations can be evaluated against additional evidence offered by diary-keeping settlers such as Rachel Henning (2), a resident on Exmoor Station, the editorials and contributions in the local press and published accounts of pioneer life in the Bowen area. The pastoral flavour of Bowen's early society and business was pronounced for at least the first generation of settlement. Despite attempts at diversification, initially the port township was dependent on the hinterland grazing of cattle and sheep for its survival. Although different industries emerged during
the first two decades of settlement, for example agriculture and mining, the importance of pastoralism was never seriously challenged in the Bowen district. Thus the character of the squatting movement in North Queensland is of vital importance in the understanding of Bowen's foundation.

Because it was a port settlement, Bowen's destiny was very much shaped by shipping and sea routes. Geoffrey Blainey's "Tyranny of Distance" emphasizes the importance of distance and isolation, and to what extent shipping and maritime trade and strategy influenced coastal settlement in Australia. (3) Previous port settlements in Australia's tropics had been prompted by considerations of trade with the Asian north and safeguarding the Torres Strait sea route from the many competing European interests. All had failed due to extreme isolation and the settlers' unfamiliarity with an harsh, tropical environment. For its survival, Bowen had the advantage of servicing an expanding, pastoral hinterland - it was assured of regular trade and shipping contact with other eastern seaboard ports. For rapid progress, however, national sea route priorities and regional services linking larger ports to the frontier ports were vitally needed to favour Bowen. Bowen's ultimate decline to secondary port status in North Queensland was to some extent the result of broader national strategies of shipping and communications, and Blainey's work amply illustrates the broader maritime history of Australia in the nineteenth century.
Bowen was established as a white, European settlement. Many of the new arrivals were from across the oceans and had endured long and arduous voyages in order to make a new home. Others were less committed - they had come only to improve their fortunes and return home to Great Britain to conclude their lives in comfort. Yet others were 'native' or Australian-born whites, and had gained valuable experience in the southern colonies before venturing north in search of expanding opportunities to acquire land and an inheritance for future generations. Geoffrey Serle's "From Deserts the Prophets Come" is a perceptive analysis of the extent to which these various groups contributed to the social and cultural values of communities throughout Australia. He suggests yardsticks by which different influences can be measured - the emergence of local newspapers, the presence of churches, political life, social organisations, and adaptation to environment. Bowen's case history offers an opportunity to study many aspects of Australian colonial migration in microcosm. The adaptation of the immigrants to 'tropical conditions in the Bowen district develops as an important theme in this thesis.

Race relations between the Europeans and Aborigines during the period of colonial impact in Australia have been explored by C.D. Rowley in his volume, "The Destruction of Aboriginal Society". Rowley's was one of the first comprehensive attempts to assemble, on a national scale, the facts of the frontier clash and its aftermath. Later works on this theme include H.D. Reynolds'
"Aborigines and Settlers, the Australian Experience 1788-1939", which further documents and analyses the considerable violence between the traditional occupants of the land and the newcomers.(6) The North Queensland frontier around Bowen was settled at a later date than most areas of Australia. White supremacy was firmly established in the southern colonies, and the new arrivals had little reason to doubt their ultimate victory in the anticipated confrontation. But due to the particular characteristics of the region, the traditional pattern of frontier racial conflict varied and security for the settlers tended to be longer in coming. Isolation from the civilised south, inadequate police protection and control, the relatively sparse pastoral settlement and the rugged and bushy terrain which aided the guerrilla style warfare of the Aborigines all contributed to the protracted conflict. Newspaper reports of the early phase of settlement confirm that it was a violent and risky frontier and atrocities were committed by both sides at an alarming scale. The aftermath of the violence brought new problems, as the remnants of the dispossessed Aboriginal tribes became fringe-dwellers on the outskirts of Bowen, and outlying pastoral properties. This thesis attempts to place the frontier racial contact experience in national as well as regional perspective.

Additional themes for my study emerged after researching more specific material concerning North Queensland history. G.C. Bolton's "A Thousand Miles Away" is an essential modern reference
(vi)

for all students of history in the North Queensland area. I have found much information in this work to enable me to assess Bowen's development in relation to the overall settlement of the whole of North Queensland. Research carried on in the History Department of the James Cook University has greatly increased the detail and range of information available on the history of the Bowen district, and the most notable works have been compiled by H. Reynolds, Dr J. Farnfield and Dr N. Loos. In a series of lectures on North Queensland history which were published by the History Department, extra topics such as agricultural experimentation, the first North Queensland separation movement, regional rivalries, and different stages of development on the northern frontier, the character of immigration and settlement patterns are raised.

In Queensland, numerous regional histories relative to pioneer settlement have been published, but the majority are extremely sketchy and journalistic in approach and do not contribute greatly to reliable secondary source history research. Outstanding in its professionalism and thoroughness however, is A. Allingham's "Taming the Wilderness", a work which closely touches the formative years of the pastoral industry in the Kennedy district in which Bowen was located. It has been an invaluable guide in the formation of the ideas emerging in this thesis. Contemporary accounts of life in Bowen and the surrounding area during the 1860's and 1870's are available, but much of the information is
contradictory and difficult to confirm.

Alternatively, there is a wealth of primary source material. The manuscripts of the first settlers include the descriptive letters of Rachel Henning, written from Exmoor Station situated on the southern-most boundary of the south Kennedy. (9) Important details of pastoral life near Bowen are combined with more general observations on the significant events in the pioneers’ lives. Lucy Gray’s journals are not strictly of the Kennedy region, but do serve to illustrate the pastoral society and economic considerations of settlers during the early years of expansion throughout North Queensland. (10) Of newspapers, Bowen’s own Port Denison Times which dates from 1864 has been a constant reference for this thesis. Its first editor, F.T. Rayner, was diligent and often spirited in his recording of all significant topics during Bowen’s first two decades, and was a strong advocate of Bowen’s potential to develop as the major centre of North Queensland. Contributions to the editor also reflect a wide cross-section of community opinion at that time. Official correspondence of the first Government officials such as James Gordon provides an insight into the early workings of Bowen’s trade and management, while the reports of the Officer-in-Charge of the settlement, G.E. Dairymple, authentically document many of the major decisions taken by the first planners of Bowen.

The European settlement of North Queensland including the Bowen district, offered great natural assets as well as many serious
challenges and risks. It was only when the newcomers had learned to adapt to their particular tropical environment, and to husband their land, and to co-operate in planning its development that white settlement was assured. It took a whole generation of experimentation to accomplish this, and it is this first generation of settlement that is analysed in this work. It was a district that offered small settlers with limited means an opportunity. Unlike much of the rest of Australia where powerful landed interests controlled the community, North Queensland, particularly in the Bowen area, was not to remain a 'big man's frontier'. (11) Immigrants with limited or no financial backing were able to take advantage of pastoral, agricultural and mining developments to build a new life for themselves and their families. A particular brand of self-reliance and sense of independence grew up amongst them, and this characteristic can be traced through many facets of early frontier life.

To recapitulate, this study is a microcosmic view of coastal settlement in tropical North Queensland during the first generation of experimental settlement, 1861-1880. While it is by no means intended to be a detailed chronicle of year by year development of the town, district and community, it does attempt to highlight key issues and major themes in the progress of this particular settlement. Most significantly, the question of the settlers' expectations versus the reality
of the situation is examined. While it is the purpose of this thesis to explain the origins of settlement at Bowen, it is hoped that the study will also contribute to an examination of the broader themes of North Queensland history during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
Chapter 7 in particular refers to the Queensland pastoral scene.

(3) Blainey, G. The Tyranny of Distance, Melbourne, 1966.


(9) The exact location of the southern boundary in the Kennedy district in relation to Exmoor is difficult to determine with certainty, in view of conflicting information on several early maps.


(11) Bolton, G.C. op. cit. p. vii
CHAPTER ONE

NORTH QUEENSLAND EXPLORATION AND MOTIVES FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF Bowen.
The settlement of the port of Bowen on the North Queensland coast was the direct result of the pastoral expansion which occurred along the eastern seaboard of Australia in the mid 1800's. The Kennedy district, Bowen's hinterland, was officially proclaimed for European settlement as from 1 January 1861. It was to be pioneered by pastoralists and would constitute a northern extension of the broad grazing frontier. In an era of sea transportation, it was imperative that a seaport be developed to service this isolated area. The most northern seaport of note prior to the opening of the Kennedy district was Rockhampton, but this centre was too distant to be of any regular service to the occupants of the new district to the north. A more convenient and proximate coastal site was sought and discovered. In April, 1861, the Kennedy district had the beginnings of its new port settlement when the first settlers raised the British flag at Bowen, named in honour of Queensland's first Governor.

To place Bowen's settlement in national perspective, it is important to note the previous European attempts to establish ports in tropical Australia. Pastoral expansion had not always been the major incentive for founding port settlements in Australia's northern waters. The previous experimental ports had long been abandoned in the northern tropics by 1861. In the early nineteenth century, the colonial authorities had recognised the value of the Torres Strait sea route to Asia and expressed a willingness to safeguard this asset. Military stations were established on strategic coastal vantage points on the north
Australian coast. Fort Dundas on Melville Island and Fort Wellington on Raffles Bay (near present day Darwin) were built in succession between 1824 and 1827, but from the outset were ravaged by an unfamiliar climate and neglect. The nearest authorities and means of supply were located over 2,000 miles away. Lack of food, disease, native attacks and sullen convicts and embittered soldiers soon produced complete disillusionment. (1) The first experiment ended in failure in 1829 when these ports were abandoned.

Eight years later, in 1837, the colonial authorities resolved for another time to establish a settlement on this isolated coast with the double view of affording shelter to the crews of vessels wrecked in the hazardous Torres Strait and of endeavouring to throw open to British enterprise the neighbouring islands of the Indonesian archipelago, the East Indies. This settlement, Port Essington, was never more than a mere military post and the smallness of the party (approximately 40 marines) could not have been expected to do more than render their own condition more comfortable. However, for a few years, Port Essington did serve as a depot for important overland Australian expeditions from the south, such as that of Ludwig Leichhardt in 1844-1845. Some visits from Asian traders were received, but the settlement was poorly advertised and was finally abandoned in 1849 when the garrison and stores were removed to Sydney. (2)

On the eastern tropical coast of northern New South Wales another
experiment took place in 1846. The germ for the idea of the Gladstone Colony of Northern Australia is to be found in a despatch dated 30 April 1846, Downing Street, London, and addressed by the British Secretary for State, Gladstone, to the Governor of New South Wales. In it, a proposal is made to create a new colony in northern Australia and revive transportation to the new colony in a guarded and modified form.(3) Transportation of convicts to New South Wales had been abolished in 1840, and Britain was once more in need of a place of banishment for its criminals. Other factors considered were the potential of a northern port as a depot for supplying steam shipping with coal on the passage from Sydney to India, as coal had been discovered near Port Curtis, and the territorial advantage to be gained from laying firm claim to the northern sector of the southern continent.

Squatters welcomed the idea of the colony with a ready supply of cheap labour, as labour shortages in outlying pastoral stations had been severe in New South Wales since the cessation of transportation. Gladstone pursued the development of settlement at Port Curtis with enthusiasm, but before the first permanent buildings had been erected, he was succeeded by Earl Grey as Secretary for State and the whole plan was abandoned. The principal objections to the settlement had been that North Australia was too tropical a region to be cultivated by European labourers, and the expense of setting up a new colony was too great. (4) The establishment of Bowen some fifteen years later was to be the first successful attempt to overcome
SEA ROUTES TO AND FROM AUSTRALIA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AND THE LOCATION OF THE FIRST NORTH AUSTRALIAN PORT SETTLEMENTS.
these inhibiting ideas regarding the ability of Europeans to adapt to tropical settlement in Australia.

Although the area around the site of Bowen had for long been occupied by Aborigines, who found the coastal lowlands and ranges of the tropics a congenial habitat, it was the European coming that led to Bowen's foundation. The first recorded observations of the area by a white European were made by the noted navigator, Captain James Cook, during his epic voyage on the 'Endeavour' in 1770. As he sailed north along Australia's eastern seaboard, he passed and named Cape Gloucester, a prominent landmark near Bowen, and noted in his journal on 5 June,

"At daylight, the 'Endeavour' lay off a lofty promontory which was named Cape Gloucester. On the western side of the cape, the land trends away south west and south south west and forms a deep bay. The land in the bottom of this bay I could but just see from the masthead - it is very low. Without waiting to look into this bay which I called Edgecumbe Bay, we continued our course for the westward." (5)

Edgecumbe Bay was later to harbour the port of Bowen.

Following the settlement of New South Wales in 1788, trade between Sydney and eastern Asia developed and was conducted via the sea route through the Coral Sea and Torres Strait. Concerned with the hazard of the Barrier Reef to shipping using the route, the British Admiralty concerned itself with getting more accurate charts. Matthew Flinders in 1802 and Phillip King between 1818 and 1820 added considerably to knowledge of the
northern coasts. After the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rivalries of the Dutch and British traders for the commerce of the Indonesian archipelago had become intense. (6) By 1819, Britain possessed Singapore as an ideal trading base for its commercial invasion of the Indonesian islands. It was a natural progression of British strategy to strengthen the links between the colony of New South Wales and Singapore, and so capture the South East Asian trading opportunities. The Torres Strait sea route was the vital link and future ports along this route such as Bowen, could expect to derive considerable profit by servicing shipping and contributing to the trade.

Further naval surveys were undertaken along the northern Australian coast by Captains Wickham and Stokes between 1839 and 1841 in HMS Beagle. Captain Stokes was interested in the potential of the land for investment and settlement, and was impressed with the country watered by the Albert and Flinders Rivers at the base of the Gulf of Carpentaria. His glowing reports of unlimited fine pastures for development prompted enough public and official attention to mount an overland expedition to investigate the area. The New South Wales Legislative Council was also keen to establish an overland route between the settled parts of New South Wales and Port Essington to increase geographical knowledge of the area and at the same time open more direct lines of communication with Asia. (7) A comparative newcomer to Australian exploration, Ludwig Leichhardt, was chosen to lead the expedition.
It was during Leichhardt's expedition in 1844-45 from Jimbour Station on the Darling Downs to Port Essington, that the Kennedy district was first traversed by white men. By April 1845, the expedition passed through the watershed of the large Burdekin River, named by Leichhardt in honour of an expedition sponsor, and Leichhardt favourably commented on the country as some of the finest that he had seen. In describing it he wrote,

"It was very open with some plains slightly undulating or rising into ridges, beautifully grassed with sound ground." (8) The excellent condition of the expedition's steers while passing through this country was added confirmation of the area's suitability for grazing purposes. Following the success of the expedition, which had been fortuitously undertaken in an exceptionally favourable year with good rainfalls, Leichhardt publicised the newly discovered territory to colonial audiences. His journals were enthusiastically received in both Australia and Britain. Awareness of the explorer and his discoveries was heightened by his disappearance in 1848 and the subsequent clamour and publicity of search expeditions and associated fund raising. (9)

Yet the Kennedy district was not to be settled for over another decade. This delay was partly due to a number of discouraging setbacks in other northern areas, for example, the failure of the Gladstone Colony and the tragedy of Edmund Kennedy's expedition from Rockingham Bay to Cape York in 1848, when ten of thirteen men lost their lives to privations or Aborigines. The sole northern garrison, Port Essington, was abandoned in 1849, and the gold discoveries of 1851 turned attention back to
New South Wales and Victoria. (10) The well-watered pastures of the Burdekin were then too remote from existing settlements and markets to tempt most squatters.

There were exceptions however, far-sighted pioneering men anxious to investigate and lay claim to the best grazing lands for future occupation. It is certain that isolated trips were undertaken to the northern country by squatters during the early 1850's, but they were reticent about their findings until they could officially claim their chosen holdings. (11)

It was not until the overland expedition of the Gregory brothers in 1856 that Leichhardt's favourable reports on the Burdekin and surrounding Kennedy district were fully confirmed. Their observations recorded extensive available country with plentiful rich pastures and good supplies of water following good rainfalls. (12) These brothers had established a reliable reputation during their earlier explorations in Western Australia, so squatters accepted their recommendations readily. The exploration of the Gregorys was also motivated by strategic reasons as well as the need for pastoral expansion. The Colonial Office had written to them prior to their expedition that "there can be no question but that the interests of the eastern provinces, and of commerce, would be greatly promoted by the establishment of a practicable road between them and the Gulf of Carpentaria, as it is impossible to forsee the extensive and beneficial results to which it might lead in facilitating our intercourse
with the islands in the China Sea." (13) Certainly the officials of the day envisaged a thriving northern trade with Asia, which added greatly to the expectations of Bowen's first settlers when they established their town in the 1860's.

Gradually, events in the south turned more attention to the opportunities offered by the unsettled north. In 1859, the year of Queensland's separation from New South Wales, interest in the Kennedy district increased amongst southern squatters in the belief that the new Queensland Government would be sympathetic to the squatters' interests. In both New South Wales and Victoria, the power of the squatocracy had been eroded by the influx of new settlers during the goldrushes, and agitation for land reform in both colonies seemingly threatened the security of tenure on pastoral holdings. (14) The appeal of a new colony and its opportunities attracted George Elphinstone Dalrymple and in 1859, he set about raising financial backing for a proposed expedition to Australia's northeastern coastline. Citing the glowing reports of Leichhardt, Dalrymple soon gained the support of a syndicate of sponsors who were keen to have first selection of the land that was to be explored.

Although the sponsors were predominantly squatters, their objectives were quite broad. As well as seeking pastoral land, they also planned to establish a thriving and industrious European and Oriental mercantile and planting
In August 1859, Dalrymple had assembled his party of overlanders consisting of himself as leader, Ernest Henry, Richard Houghton, Philip Sellheim, a man called Hood, Henry Stone the surveyor, and two Aborigines. They departed Marlborough Station, north of Rockhampton, and proceeded north into the Kennedy district. The party was away for eight months, exploring the watershed of the Burdekin River and discovering pastures that fulfilled their expectations. Pastoral runs were hurriedly marked out in the hope of early claims on their return. However, the hostile nature of the Aborigines encountered along the way did not auger well for the security of future settlers.

During the party's absence from civilisation, the New South Wales Government proclaimed the districts of Kennedy and Mitchell for settlement, just three weeks before the new colony of Queensland assumed autonomy. However as soon as the Queensland cabinet took office it cancelled this proclamation, and the new Governor of Queensland, George Bowen, deferred all tenders for pastoral holdings until August 1860. Dalrymple reached civilisation in April 1860, with vivid descriptions of land "undoubtedly capable of becoming one of the finest and largest pastoral and agricultural regions of Australia." He also reported in correspondence with Governor Bowen that the Kennedy provided an admirable route for the passage of the proposed Anglo-Australian telegraph - a project that was of great importance to Queensland.
DALRYMPLE'S EXPEDITION COLLEAGUES. From left to right - Henry Stone (the surveyor), Philip Sellheim, Ernest Henry, and George Dalrymple. The portrait was taken in Sydney, in 1860, after the expedition to the Kennedy. From John Oxley Library, Brisbane.
Despite the fact that his syndicate had lost interest due to the political events which had prevented early claim to the pastoral holdings of the Kennedy, Dalrymple had gained the attention of the Queensland authorities who were inclined to reward him for his efforts.

Meanwhile, Captain Henry Sinclair of the nine ton ketch, 'Santa Barbara', had undertaken the sea voyage which led to the discovery of the Kennedy district port, Port Denison, to become the site for the township of Bowen. His search was prompted by newspaper reports that Sir Charles Cowper, Premier of New South Wales, had offered a reward for the discovery of a new port north of Rockhampton. (20) His companions for the voyage were Benjamin Poole and James Gordon. On October 15, 1859, the 'Santa Barbara' penetrated Edgecumbe Bay and Gordon recorded,

"We passed a couple of islands near the coast and inside the third we discovered that we were in a most splendid harbour where ships could remain in perfect safety. The harbour is formed partly by islands and partly by an elbow of mainland. Inside we found the water perfectly smooth though there was a strong north easterly blowing." (21) Named in honour of the Governor of New South Wales, Port Denison was promptly reported to the New South Wales authorities. Unfortunately, the reward was never forthcoming, but news of the fine harbour was welcomed by the newly formed Queensland Government. (22) Sinclair, Poole and Gordon
were later offered civil posts in the new settlement of Bowen to help compensate them for their valuable discovery. However, they never felt sufficiently rewarded for their efforts, and petitions continued to be written to the Queensland Government for the remainder of their lives.

The final impetus for northern settlement came with the inauguration of the Herbert ministry of Queensland. The young colony was acutely short of revenue and highly dependent on primary industry. Appreciating that the colony's principal resource at this time was land, the Government was determined to extend settlement as rapidly as possible and to enact suitable land legislation that would attract a rush of prospective settlers. (23) It was opportune for the Queensland Government that the opening of the new northern district coincided with the anti-squatter legislation of the southern colonies, as many disillusioned pastoralists were awaiting the first chance to move north. Care was taken to ensure that the land was not taken over by speculators and absentees. In the Land Act of 1860, it was stated that fourteen year leases would be granted over pastoral holdings that were stocked within a year of a grazing licence being taken out. (24) The broad aim of the legislation was to encourage rapid, productive occupation by pastoralists while retaining for the Government the power to encourage a change to agriculture when future conditions made it economically feasible. (25)
On August 11 1860, Lieutenant J.W. Smith R.N. was instructed by Governor Bowen to take command of the schooner 'Spitfire' and to carry out a search of the outlet of the mighty Burdekin River, of which Dalrymple's report spoke so highly. Further instructions were to report on Port Denison with a view to confirming Sinclair's description of it as an harbour suitable as a port of entry for the Kennedy district. By this time, Dalrymple had been offered the post of Commissioner for Crown Lands in the Kennedy, in recognition of his knowledge of and enthusiasm for development of the area, and he accompanied Lieutenant Smith on the voyage north from Brisbane. Despite exhaustive surveys, the mouth of the Burdekin River proved to be completely unnavigable and the 'Spitfire' turned south to assess the potential of Port Denison. The crew was not disappointed and their subsequent investigations concluded that it was a beautiful, spacious harbour, eminantly suitable as a port of access for the Kennedy. (26)

With the land regulations settled and the suitability of Port Denison as a port of access decided, it was at long last possible to declare the Kennedy district open for settlement. On 20 November 1860, the Queensland Government Gazette contained the following notice:

"His Excellency the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, has directed the publication of the Reports of the Government Expedition to the north-eastern coasts of Queensland - for the information of the public generally and
especially of persons intending to settle in the new district of the Kennedy.

It is proposed to open that district to occupation on January 1st, 1861. The local Commissioner of Crown Lands (Mr G.E. Dalrymple) will proceed from Rockhampton about February 1st, 1861, with a strong party of Queensland Native Police, for the protection of the settlers. It is expected that, about three weeks after leaving Rockhampton, this expedition will reach Port Denison. A vessel will be despatched to convey thither by sea the necessary stores etc.

Persons desirous of availing themselves of his Escort should apply forthwith to the Commissioner for Crown Lands.

Port Denison will be proclaimed as a Port of Entry and Clearance on or about March 1st, 1861." (27)

The first phase of exploration in North Queensland led to the choice of Port Denison as the site from which settlement was to be directed. Located on the latitude 20° south, its climate was wholly tropical, furnishing the first comprehensive experience of tropical occupation by Europeans in Australia. Another significant factor in its location was Port Denison's isolation from established centres of European settlement. The settlers were to find themselves far from civilisation in a frontier situation. The state capital and seat of government in Brisbane was almost 1,000 miles to the south, and irregular overland and sea transport were the only possible lines of communication. Distance and isolation proved to be a constant
preoccupation of the settlers during the first generation of settlement, not only in relation to links with the state capital, but also within the Kennedy itself, an area which covered an extensive 51,000 square miles. (28) Exploration in the Bowen district was by no means complete but enough knowledge had been gained to permit the opening of the area for European settlement. The first five years of Bowen's history were ones of energy and enthusiasm on the part of the new settlers, and it is this period of optimism that will be covered in the next chapter.


(3) Hogan, J.F. The Gladstone Colony, Sydney, 1897, p. 6

(4) ibid. p. 6

(5) Cook, J. in Reed, A.W. (ed) Extracts from the Journals of Captain James Cook Giving Full Account in his own words of his Adventures and Discoveries in Australia, Wellington, 1969, p. 74

(6) Blainey, G. The Tyranny of Distance. How Distance Shaped Australia's History, Melbourne, 1966, p. 83 (hereafter Tyranny of Distance)


(8) Leichhardt, L. Overland Expedition from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, London, 1847, p. 209

(9) Allingham, A. Taming the Wilderness: the First Decade of Pastoral Settlement in the Kennedy District, Townsville, 1977, p. 8 (hereafter Taming the Wilderness)


(11) Bolton, G. A Thousand Miles Away, Canberra, 1963, p. 15

(12) Gregory, A.C. Journals of Australian Explorations, Brisbane, 1848, p. 187

(13) Great Britain Parliament Papers Relating to An Expedition Recently Undertaken for the Purpose of Exploring the Northern Portion of Australia, London, 1846, p. 4 (Directions from the Colonial Office to A.C. Gregory authorising the expedition and defining its purpose)

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE continued

(15) ibid. p. 355

(16) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 11

(17) Bolton, G. A Thousand Miles Away, Canberra, 1963, p. 18

(18) Dalrymple, G.E. to Governor Bowen, April 1860, in Dalrymple, G.E. Exploration of the Districts Near the Burdekin, Sutt er and Belyando Rivers in North East Australia, London, 1860, p. 6

In his report to Governor Bowen, Dalrymple went on to say "The rich low country along the coast near the Burdekin and the alluvial flats of the river, particularly in the fine broad valley of its lower course, are admirably suited for tropical cultivation and especially for cotton, sugar and tobacco."


(20) Gordon, J. How Bowen was Discovered, in Bowen Historical Society records, Bowen, p. 1

(21) ibid. p. 8

(22) Bolton, G. A Thousand Miles Away, Canberra, 1963, p. 19

(23) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 51

(24) Bolton, G. op. cit. p. 19

(25) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 17

(26) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 24

(27) Queensland Government Gazette, Brisbane, November 1860.

(28) Delamothe, P.R. Bowen's First Hundred Years 1770-1870, in Bowen Historical Society records, Bowen, p. 11
CHAPTER TWO

THE FIRST PHASE OF SETTLEMENT

1861-1865:

A TIME OF OPTIMISM
Despite many pioneering hardships, Bowen's first five years were a time of progress and optimism. The community was filled with a sense of urgency to promote the new township and district and a determination to establish Bowen as North Queensland's leading coastal port. Though frontier life in the tropics held many setbacks, the prevailing mood was one of enthusiasm and high expectation for Bowen's future. The town was still very much a primitive, colonial outpost and prominent among its needs was a jetty, but in the early 1860's there were many developments in the settlement to inspire confidence. The sense of isolation, the threat of Aboriginal attack, the apparent indifference of the Queensland Government and the lack of adequate officials to handle the day to day administration were all offset by the perceived potential of the town and district to offer all new arrivals a chance for rapid material betterment. By depicting the development of the settlement during its first five years, it is possible to highlight certain features which distinguished Bowen from other frontier towns, and to discover the reasons why the settlement survived whereas other tropical Australian settlements had formerly failed.

George Dalrymple led the first overland party of settlers to Bowen and the surrounding Kennedy district from Rockhampton on 25 February 1861. The journey took six weeks, due to floods caused by a heavy 'wet' season. Dalrymple had been
appointed Officer-in-Charge of the new settlement at Port Denison as well as Commissioner for Crown Lands and was responsible for the joint overland/sea expeditions to Bowen. His overland companions included prospective squatters who had already laid claim to pastoral runs in the Kennedy, and a contingent of well armed Native Mounted Police, charged with the protection of the white settlers in the event of Aboriginal attack. By sea, two ships brought officials, wives and children plus equipment and provisions for the settlement. The stores and personal belongings of the expeditionary party had been loaded on board vessels at Rockhampton. Passengers included James Gordon, one of the original discoverers of the port, Clarendon Stuart, a Government surveyor responsible for planning the new township, Fitzalan, the Government contractor for building, and D. Bell, a storekeeper. (1) There was a mix of Government officials and private individuals looking for business opportunities. The 'Jeanie Dove', a one hundred ton schooner, arrived at its Port Denison destination on 29 March 1861 with 63 settlers aboard, after a four day voyage from Rockhampton. (2) Sixteen days earlier, Captain Sinclair had arrived in command of his ketch 'Santa Barbara' and anchored off nearby Stone Island to avoid any clash with the numerous and hostile Aborigines camped on the mainland shore. In lieu of the monetary reward sought by Sinclair and his two companions for the discovery of Port Denison, the Government appointments of Harbour Master and Government Pilot, Sub-Collector of Customs and Clerk of Petty Sessions, and Clerk to the Commissioner had been offered to Sinclair, Gordon and Thomas respectively. (3)
The overland and sea parties made their 'rendez-vous' on the main beach that bordered the northern shore of Port Denison on 10 April 1861. The following morning the tiny frontier settlement was officially proclaimed and named Bowen, in honour of the Queensland Governor. The settlers in attendance numbered 111, including the Native Mounted Police, a modest start to North Queensland's conquest by white man. (4) The founding of Bowen was duly reported by Dalrymple in his first despatch to the Colonial Secretary in Brisbane.

"On the low hill beside the native wells, now the site of this and the tents of the other Government departments, we drew up in a line, and not having been seen by those on board, fired two volleys to attract attention. A gun was immediately fired by the 'Jeanie Dove' and Captain McDermott of that vessel, Mr Gordon, Officer of Customs, Mr Sinclair, Harbour Master, Mr Stuart, Surveyor, Lieutenant Powell of the Native Mounted Police, and Mr Fitzalan, Government Contractor, immediately came ashore and I had the deep gratification of thus completing the thorough co-operation of land and sea expeditions on a distant shore. Having found a plentiful supply of water for the requirements of the township - on the morning of Friday 11th of April, the main camp was moved to this place and a flagstaff erected on the Government reserve ridge and Captain McDermott hoisted the Ensign, thereon which those around gave three hearty cheers for Her Most Gracious Majesty and three more for His Excellency Sir George Ferguson Bowen." (5)

Bowen's natural attributes for settlement were considerable:
native wells close by the main beach that could provide water; hilly, scrubby country which could be cleared for building and farming; rich alluvial soils close to the Don River, which supplied a second source of water at some four miles from the townsite. Dalrymple optimistically noted that the land between the town, Queen's Bay and the Don River was composed of a rich alluvial soil which bore crops of close, long, fine and silky grass. He considered that the soil was "capable of producing in perfection cotton, sugar, tobacco, maize, and many other tropical productions." (6) Prospects for pastoral expansion in the Kennedy district were reported with equal enthusiasm. James Gordon noted in his first correspondence from Bowen that "people generally seem well satisfied with the place and have no intention of leaving. There are a number of squatters here at present and young men in search of runs who all speak well of there being good country inland and easy communications with the Port". (7) Later discontent with the problems of transport and communications in the district was not present in the early days of enthusiasm for the place.

For some weeks, the Bowen settlement looked extremely temporary with tents dotting the area in close proximity to the main beach. The Commissioner's marquee served as a focal point with its multi-purpose function - Crown Lands Office, the Court of Petty Sessions and Dalrymple's own quarters. Several settlers had erected their tents on temporary
sites allocated by the Surveyor, Clarendon Stuart. Top priority was given to the completion of the official townsite survey, and Stuart wasted little time in preparing a plan, marking out nearly 200 allotments, some of which were located well beyond the immediate town limits. (8) Both Stuart and Dalrymple shared high expectations for Bowen's leading role in North Queensland settlement, and the survey was conducted on a scale which befitted the future capital of a new northern colony. They also demonstrated an awareness of their tropical environment and the need to plan the town accordingly. All of the streets were made two chain wide, as Dalrymple noted in his reports that "in a tropical climate, a large width of thoroughfare contributes to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, by the greater facility for cleanliness, the free ventilation and capabilities of shade with rows of trees on the edges of the footways." (9)

The small contingent of Native Police camped on the outskirts of the tiny tent settlement and patrolled the area to thwart any Aboriginal attacks. Relations between Commandant Morisset and Dalrymple had been strained during the overland trip from Rockhampton when Dalrymple had dismissed an escort of Aboriginal women and insisted on no women in camp. As Officer-in-Charge of the new settlement, Dalrymple had been granted control of the Native Police, but he was instructed to minimise his interference in the decisions of the Commandant. (10) With the abscondence of four of the Aboriginal troopers in the first days of settlement, the effectiveness of
LOCATION OF BOWEN AND THE KENNEDY DISTRICT OF NORTH QUEENSLAND - PROMINENT PHYSICAL FEATURES AND PASTORAL HOLDINGS IN THE EARLY 1860's.
the small force dwindled further and the civilians had to take turn at keeping watch. The menace of Aboriginal raids was real. In anticipation of trouble, the whites had hastily erected a few rough, wooden buildings in which to shelter at night, and their precautions were tested on the very first night. As one of the camp recorded in his later memoirs,

"During the first night, the natives several times tried to surprise the camp, just before daylight, but thanks to the vigilance of the guard on watch, they were always seen before they got near enough to do any harm. Upon one occasion the native troopers were led against them and gave them such a severe drubbing as will be remembered by the tribe for many a day to come." (11) No doubt the new settlers felt extremely vulnerable despite their superior fire power, as they were well outnumbered and located in unfamiliar territory. Although little remorse was expressed at the spilling of Aboriginal blood, some Europeans did doubt that the indiscriminate tactics of the Native Police would best achieve security and safety on the frontier. Dalrymple frequently urged the Government to revise its approach to the treatment of Aborigines, and stressed that a larger protective force would discourage attack much more effectively than the original small force which relied solely on severe retaliatory action to exert control. Racial tension and violence was a major theme during the first generation of settlement in North Queensland and deserves a separate chapter in this thesis.
Within two months of arrival, some settlers were replacing their tents with buildings of timber and mud-brick to improve their comfort and express their sense of permanent settlement in the district. Unfortunately, the timber available around the town was inferior and sparse for building purposes, and alternative supplies were sought. A brick-maker discovered good brick clay in the township limits, and brick samples were prepared and sent to Brisbane for analysis. Sinclair's discovery of pine timber on the Cumberland Islands was thought to have solved the problem of shortage of fine timber, but it was subsequently reported that "the timber brought up from the Cumberland Islands has turned out very inferior, and in consequence of this, the 'Bounaparte' has been despatched to bring timber up from Brisbane."(12) The dwellings were primitive by any standard. Slab huts were far from weatherproof, especially during the tropical downpours experienced during the 'wet'. The roofs were made of bark, and the lack of windows and doors provided ready access for the host of stinging insects. Despite the discomforts, the settlers lived in these dwellings for several years, preferring to invest their money in business and land. In 1864, slab huts and tents still heavily outnumbered the more substantial weatherboard and metal houses in Bowen and throughout the pastoral district. (13)

Public building fell behind schedule. The Government Contractor, Fitzalan, had a contract for six months, from the 1 May, 1861, and was instructed to complete a small lock-
up, a Commissioner's Office and Court House. At the end of May, with the exception of the 12 x 6 feet wooden lock-up, little had been done towards the erection of the Government buildings. (14) By October of the same year, a report from the Port Denison correspondent to the Rockhampton Bulletin stated that "Mr Fitzalan, having entirely failed up to the present time in making any progress in his contract to erect Government buildings which were to be finished in six months from time of commencement, the Commissioner, in September, took the work out of his hands." (15) There had been considerable friction between Dalrymple and Fitzalan, due to Dalrymple's interference in the progress of the building. However, Dalrymple's action was premature, as the replacement contractors achieved even less progress, and Fitzalan was subsequently reinstated during the middle of 1862, and instructed to proceed as quickly as the local circumstances would allow. (16) Private building of houses was hampered because land sales had not been finalised for some months, and settlers were reluctant to build homes or business premises on land that could be sold to somebody else.

Despite much criticism from the Bowen settlers, the first sale of Bowen town allotments was held in Brisbane on 7 October 1861. Optimism in the future of the settlement was revealed by the prominent names of the purchasers - Ratcliffe Pring, the Queensland Attorney-General, R. Little, the Crown Solicitor, the Right Rev. Tufnell, the Bishop of Brisbane
and Dalrymple, the chief official in the settlement. (17) The total revenue raised was £2,083/11/1 - a considerable boost to the limited funds of the new Government. A petition from Bowen residents that these early land sales be held solely in Bowen to allow them a fair chance of bidding was ignored, and a second land auction was held in Brisbane in mid-October. To placate the residents, land sales were held in the same month in Bowen, but southern speculators had been able to buy the key allotments and for many years the principal businesses in Bowen had to rent sites from absentee land owners. (18)

The want of a jetty was apparent from the first day of settlement. The discharge of cargo in Port Denison was inconvenient owing to the broad flat which extended out from the main beach for about one quarter of a mile. At low tide, the flat was dry and carts could go out and take cargo from the boats. but during the strong south-easterlies which were prevalent in Bowen for at least six months of the year, this operation was seriously disrupted. Dalrymple requested "a boat and light draught vessel jetty immediately", and "ultimately a pier at which vessels of large size can load or discharge cargo." (19) Adequate port facilities were vital for the development of Bowen's sea trade, especially in view of the bulk cargoes of wool expected to be exported for the pastoral industry of the interior. Dalrymple favoured the inner point of the north entrance to Port Denison (later to
be named Dalrymple Point) as a site for a pier, as the structure would form a further protective barrier for the port and the area had adequate land for the erection of port and customs buildings. (20) But progress was slow, and in February 1862, the inhabitants of Bowen decided to take some action of their own and formed a joint stock company to raise funds for work on the jetty. Their initiative was short-lived but prompted the government to send the Minister for Lands and Works to pay an official visit to Bowen to finalise plans for a jetty financed by the government. After spirited public debate, the jetty site was chosen at the main beach, and the Dalrymple Point plan was abandoned. This port development was the first of its type in North Queensland and gave Bowen a leading start in developing as the north's number one port and trading centre.

On 12 April 1865, after four years since the founding of the town, the ceremony of driving the first pile of the wooden jetty was performed to much community jubilation. The jetty was built by day labour under the overseeing of a Residential Clerk of the Works. It was planned to make the jetty 980 yards long in order to accommodate vessels of up to twelve feet draught, even at low tide. There was difficulty in procuring suitable timber for the work which caused many delays. All timber had to be shipped from the Logan and Maryborough, far to the south. (21) The piles were of iron bark sheathered with
copper and the planking made of blue gum. (22) Work progressed, and questions were promptly asked in the Legislative Assembly when delays occurred due to shortage of building materials. The Government was constantly urged to spare no effort in completing this important asset for the port of Bowen. (23) By April, 1866, the barque 'Ellesmere' was in need of repair, and beached alongside the jetty and discharged the principal portion of its cargo, and subsequently loaded again from the jetty. Thus the first sea-going ship made use of the new jetty. (24)

Bowen was well on the way to success, but its greatest drawbacks were isolation and the lack of regular communication with the larger centres to the south. Officials, merchants, artisans and squatters suffered. They had to depend on sailing ships and the unpredictable arrival of steamers to do business with Brisbane and Sydney. The settlers complained to Dalrymple, who passed on their complaints to the Queensland Government. When this had little effect, he decided to go to Brisbane himself and present the settlers' petition for a better postal service and regular steamship service. (25) Meanwhile, his many duties as Commissioner for Crown Lands were neglected during his absence. During the 1860's, private trading schooners and the Australasian Steam Navigation Company provided a very indifferent service to and from Brisbane. In 1863, 23 vessels were registered entering port, and 18 registered as departures. (26) These shipping numbers actually decreased in the following year. The main reason for this slow progress was that Australian coastal trade at this
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE JETTY AT PORT DENISON, Bowen 1864-1866, PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
time ran along the south and then up the eastern coast of
Australia, which placed Port Denison in an isolated and costly
position in intra-Australian services. Faced with immense
transport difficulties, Bowen and district had little
alternative but to utilise coastal shipping when it was
available. But the irregularities and unreliability of the
service were of constant irritation to the inhabitants of the
port. Even the A.S.N. Co. had a habit of forgetting to call
at Bowen, despite the fact that it had been designated a
scheduled port.

In December 1865, the Port Denison Times editorial carried the
following remarks,

"... while the convenience of the more southern towns
has been studied, Bowen has been entirely overlooked and we
must submit to the exorbitant charges made by the Australasian
Steam Navigation Company. It is a well known fact that by the
existing fares; a trip to Sydney and back costs within a few
pounds of that charged by the Black Ball Line from Brisbane
to London. The amount of damage done to the town is incredible;
we have heard of numbers of people in Sydney who would visit
us with a view of establishing themselves here, but they are
deterred by the cost of the trip. The higher rate of freight
compels our merchants - to gain a fair remuneration - to charge
prices which might well be regarded as extortionate and thus the
monopoly of the A.S.N. Co. is felt by all classes." (27)
The frustrations of the early settlers, particularly the
squatters who had long overland distances with which to contend as well as the sea voyage, were clearly revealed in a letter of Rachel Henning written in 1862. She and her brother, Biddulph, lived on Exmoor Station bordering the south Kennedy and her vivid descriptions of all aspects of outback life contain many references to the shortcomings of the transport facilities in the area. Her words confirm the inconvenience caused by the poor shipping service to Bowen.

"Biddulph took the letters with him to Port Denison, whence he meant to start by the steamer for Brisbane, but after waiting a week in Port, which he describes as the dullest, hottest and generally most detestable little town he saw, it became evident that the steamer had missed this trip, so he came home ... the steamer is expected again next week, and he is going off to meet her. I hope he will be more fortunate. It is very inconvenient that the 'Murray' is so uncertain, as it is nearly 100 miles from here (Exmoor) to Port Denison."(28)

One wonders whether the crudeness of the frontier town was so offensive, or whether Biddulph's patience was at its end when he thus described the town. Certainly, the people of Bowen doubted their own wisdom in their original support of the A.S.N. Co. A new sea line had at first competed with the A.S.N. Co., the Queensland Steam Navigation Co., but when the A.S.N. Co. severely undercut rates, the locals chose to support the cheaper service, only to discover that as soon as serious competition was reduced, the rates were quickly raised again. (29)
Despite these hardships, business prospered in these early years. Bowen was clearly recognised as North Queensland's foremost trading centre, new stores were being erected, and the first townspeople dreamed of easy fortune as merchants and suppliers for the surrounding stations, which were also enjoying a prosperous outlook. Bowen's business was conducted in the early morning and late afternoon, with the exception of drinking which went on from daylight to the small hours of the next morning. By 1864, there were two licenced hotels, but numerous drinking shanties greatly boosted this trade in town. (30) In 1863, a newly arrived squatter passing through the settlement was able to observe,

"The new township was already a busy little place, as befitted Queensland's terminal port; there was coming and going in the improvised hotels and in the Lands' Office hut, where settlers filled in applications for land; there was an air of bustle in the stores which banked, bought and sold, and carried on agencies." (31) Two banks were operating within the first few years, the Australian Joint Stock Bank and the Bank of Wales, and they carried on steady business. A saw-mill and many merchant and trading houses prospered, as the drays carried their goods throughout the entire Kennedy district. Advertising in the Port Denison Times from 1864 covered a wide range of goods and services, and there seemed no reason to doubt that this prosperity would continue.

Socially, Bowen gradually transformed from a brash, frontier
outpost to a more civilised settlement with many of the
trappings of respectable society. In 1862, the explorer McKinlay
had returned from his search for Burke and Wills, and was
entertained in Bowen at an hotel "with lots of speeches and
songs" until four o'clock in the morning by thirty squatters
who "looked quite fierce with their long knives stuck in their
belts, and revolvers at their sides."(32) At Bowen it was
then customary to end the night's entertainment with a bottle
chorus - the singing of a sailor's shanty accompanied by each
man drawing an empty bottle down the side of a weatherboard house
in imitation of hauling ropes. The tiny town lock-up was
rarely short of a guest. (33) However, Bowen gradually lost
its rowdy outback manners. The inauguration of a local
newspaper in 1864 had an uplifting influence, as the stylish
editor, F.T. Rayner urged Bowen's citizens to foster culture
as well as material progress. His first editorial reflected the
optimistic feelings of the local residents.

"One can hardly restrain a feeling of exultation that we
are the pioneers of the Press in this magnificent region which
is destined at no distant day to occupy a position of high
consideration, not only through the colonies of the southern
hemisphere, but also among the nations of the world."(34)
The newspaper recorded meetings which proposed the establish-
ment of a library and museum in Bowen, fund raising concerts and
dances were advertised, community picnics and sports and horse
race meetings were planned. and a general pride in the town
was encouraged.
At first, Bowen was lacking in matters of law and order. The town police force numbered two, hardly sufficient to enforce the laws over such a vast area as the Kennedy. These numbers were slightly increased in 1864, but frontier justice was largely in the hands of the private citizen. The Native Mounted Police were solely responsible for dealing with Aboriginal threats, and at no stage enforced law and order amongst the white community. The more isolated station families were anxious about bushrangers, who gradually followed settlement into the Kennedy. Several outrages had been committed by this lawless group by 1864, and a public meeting was called to consider appropriate action. The lock-up was the sole symbol of frontier law, and the lack of a suitable court house was a constant source of criticism. During Dalrymple's many absences, legal matters tended to be neglected as his role as Police Magistrate could only be carried out when he was in town. During the period 1861-1880, plans for a permanent court house were never fulfilled, and court cases were held in rudimentary accommodation.

Religion quickly followed the first arrivals to Bowen, as it was an important component of the cultural baggage of mid-nineteenth century Britons and colonials. The more secular liberalism of this era did exclude the possibility of the Church completely dominating frontier society, but spiritually and socially, the early churches did play a significant role in the community. Reflecting the composition of the first white settlers, English, Irish and Scots in the main, the
Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church were the first to gather regular congregations. The early clergy were pioneers in the truest sense. In 1863, the Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Father Murley, arrived in Bowen aboard the 'Eagle', and to attend to the needs of all of his flock, rode by horse to the isolated Burdekin River. By December 1863, the Rev. James Reid was known to be coming to head the Presbyterian Church, and the newspaper editorial acknowledged his dedication in hastening to Bowen as soon as he had heard that a minister of religion was lacking for his church. (35) For the Church of England, the first church service was held by a resident minister in April 1864, when the Rev. Fred Grosvenor used the premises of Byrnes, Bassett and Company as a temporary house of prayer. (36) A permanent Church of England was built and opened in 1865, with a clergyman's residence alongside. Thus was the Christian influence firmly established in Bowen.

By 1865, the first, secular state financed school was in operation to provide for the educational needs of Bowen's youth. An inspector's report on the condition of the school during its first year observed that a permanent building was yet to be built, but that the temporary arrangement of a converted store with the capacity for 80 pupils was adequate. (37) Despite the very basic materials available to the teacher and pupils, the inspector was nevertheless favourably impressed with the conduct of the school. Praise was high for pupils and teacher, alike.
BOWEN'S FIRST CHURCH OF ENGLAND, BUILT IN 1865, WITH CLERGYMAN'S RESIDENCE. PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
"The children exhibit intelligence, keen interest in their work and a good understanding with their teacher of whose capacity and industry for school management I have formed a very favourable opinion."(38)

The number of enrolments at the state school in its first year was 77 compared with the 21 pupils enrolled at Bowen's two private schools. This early trend towards secular, instead of religious, private education, confirmed the national preference for liberalism. The tone of Bowen's remote frontier society was generally set by the search for individual progress and self-betterment in material assets. The virtues of hard work, manual skills, and the ability to cope and improvise were seen as more praiseworthy than classical scholarship. Schooling was basic but adequate for the evolving frontier society in Bowen. It held no pretensions for great intellectual achievement or entry to higher level education, but served the basic family needs of Bowen's settlers.

The strong link between town and country was a dominant theme in the early progress of Bowen. Until 1865, all significant bush tracks in North Queensland led to Bowen. The welfare of the pastoral industry was directly responsible for the prosperity enjoyed in the town. Although the sheep and cattle grazing industries had yet to produce significant fleeces and beef exports, confidence was high, and trading houses were very willing to extend almost unlimited credit to squatters. The bullock teams that toiled out of Bowen laden with all manner of
supplies were the lifeline between town and country. They returned with wool for export through Port Denison. The tropical 'wet' played havoc with this primitive system of transport during the summer months of December to March, but the bullockies earned a reputation for tackling the most difficult obstacles to keep the supply route open. The main routes from Bowen led south to Rockhampton, south-west to Bowen Downs and Mount Cornish in the Barcoo country, and north-west, as far as the new runs opening on the Etheridge River. (39) Rachel Henning greatly valued the arrival of the bullock drays at Exmoor when she wrote, "The drays brought up the usual amount of flour bags for the supply of the station, and not too soon, for we had come to our last pound, pretty nearly, besides borrowing from the neighbouring stations. The drays had been delayed again at the river and could not cross until someone went to the rescue, constructed a bottle-tree canoe and ferried the goods over, when the bullocks swam and dragged the empty drays through the water." (40)

By the middle of 1862, 454 applications had been sent in for an extent of 31,504 square miles, an area nearly as large as all Ireland and larger than Scotland. (41) All pastoral applications in the south Kennedy, and the north, had to be lodged at the Commissioner's tent in Bowen. The processing of these applications by Dalrymple was a complex, time-consuming task. Apart from his many duties of exploration, law and order and town administration, he was also expected to enforce the 1860 Land Act. Delays in processing pastoral lease applications soon aroused complaints which were presented before a Government
Inquiry held in Brisbane in 1862. Dalrymple defended himself against charges of negligence by reminding the Government of the far-ranging responsibilities that his job entailed, and that the vast extent of his district, the primitive nature of travel and communications both within the Kennedy district and between Bowen and the seat of Government in Brisbane led to unavoidable delays. (42) An Assistant Land Commissioner was duly appointed, and official surveys of the pastoral holdings were commenced to clarify the many boundary disputes.

Overland immigration of pastoral settlers continued during the early 1860's. The anti-squatter legislation in the southern colonies resumed millions of acres of squatters' holdings, squeezing many from the land. Small scale squatters and second generation squatters who anticipated the dissolution of their inheritances, felt threatened and turned with interest to the new country opening near Bowen, and listened appreciately to the discussion of the Queensland Government's proposed liberal land codes. (43) Richard Daintree showed enthusiasm for his venture into pastoralism when he described his share holding in glowing terms.

"The country I took up is found for pastoral prospects to exceed the expectations I had formed . . . there is a splendid lake on it I hear and magnificent plains."(44)

The pastoral frontier continued to expand westward and northward as high confidence in wool markets prevailed, despite
the fact that the success of the region as a wool and beef producing area had yet to be proven. Hand in hand with this expansion and development went greater financial indebtedness. Bowen's banking and merchant houses were only too keen to fuel this pastoral boom with credit on an ever increasing scale. Thriving on the expected trade between country and port, Bowen's population increased to 1,192 by October 1865.

Two major developments that promised progress for Bowen were the arrival of the overland telegraph with talk of a linkage via the Gulf of Carpentaria with the sea cable from London, and a plan for establishing a regular steamship service linking North Queensland ports direct with the Dutch East Indies via the Torres Strait. In 1864, £2,457/5/7 was allocated by the Queensland Government for the extension of the overland telegraph from Rockhampton to Bowen. This link would provide more reliable and rapid communication between Bowen and the southern capital, Brisbane. Until the connection of the telegraph service to Bowen, outgoing telegrams were sent by pack horse mail to Bloomsbury, north of Rockhampton, and replies returned the same way. By the end of 1865, the telegraph was almost connected to Bowen, and private and business interests were planning how best the new service could be utilised. Meanwhile, the Queensland Government engaged Frederick Walker to carry out investigations for possible routes for telegraph lines to link the eastern coast with the Gulf of Carpentaria, a potential landing site for the sea cable from
London. To be located on this direct telegraph service between Australia and Britain gave Bowen an obvious advantage in speedy communications. The completion of this scheme was not expected for several years, but the notion of greatly improved communications in the future, did much to bolster Bowen's early optimism in its development.

In 1860, the Queensland parliament had passed a resolution favouring direct connection by steamship with Britain, via Torres Strait and the Dutch East Indies. It was not until 1865 that a ship was chartered to perform this service on an experimental basis. Bowen immediately launched an all-out campaign to be preferred to larger rivals in the south, as the most suitable port of call for the steamship as it passed along the Queensland coast. The markets of South East Asia and Britain would be vastly more accessible if such a service could be expanded and include Bowen as a scheduled port of call. The Port Denison Times carried a notice concerning the proposed shipping service in January 1866, and expressed the community's hopes.

"We trust that the opportunities thus afforded for intercourse with Netherlands India will be the means of facilitating negotiations for a permanent service, and for the commencement and development of an extensive trade."(45) By then, Bowen's shipping needs were being met by a considerable range of shipping as illustrated in the shipping notices in the local paper. The screw steamer 'Amy' plied coastal waters between Bowen, the Burdekin and other northern ports and
Brisbane, carrying wool cargoes for delivery to the London Packet ships in Moreton Bay. The A.S.N. Co. was operating the steamer 'James Peterson' between Bowen, other northern ports and Sydney, the schooner 'Policeman' sailed between Bowen and Cardwell regularly, as well as the schooners 'Ariel' and 'Three Friends' linking Townsville, Cardwell and Bowen. Enquiries were made about local interest in supporting a shipping service between Bowen and the Gulf of Carpentaria, a newly developed outlet for the northern pastoral industry. Immigrant ships arrived occasionally from Britain to discharge their passengers, and shipping links seemed to be favouring the gradual expansion of Bowen's port.

Impressive progress had been achieved during the first five years of Bowen's life. The township had grown from virgin land, and by 1865, had taken on a distinct air of permanence. Despite the constant threat of Aboriginal attack, squatters flocked to the Kennedy with their herds, and took advantage of the new Queensland Government's liberal pastoral laws. The strong link between town and port was forged as the bullock teams toiled between Bowen and the most far-flung outback station. The pastoral industry, the mainstay of Bowen, had still not seriously questioned its adaptability to the tropical environment. Bowen had clearly established itself as North Queensland's premier port, and the promise of improved shipping contact with the Dutch East Indies and Britain fuelled the enthusiasm of the settlers. Road and
VIEW OF THE Bowen TOWNSITE DURING THE LATE 1860's NOTING THE COMPLETED PORT DENISON JETTY IN BACKGROUND. PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
telegraph links were gradually improved to reduce the isolation of the town and district and the frontier character of life was mellowed by the introduction of regular church activity, education, an awareness of local politics as expressed in the local newspaper and a thriving business community.

It is clear that Bowen had its own distinctive characteristics: frontier conditions were if anything more difficult than in most other regions due to the marginal location, distance and isolation, and the tropical environment which was not fully understood. A spirit of independence was aroused by the lack of support from the far removed colonial government, and this later strengthened into a formal movement for separation. Bowen's strategic position in relation to the development of national and international shipping services was still unclear in 1865, but as the north's largest port, residents could expect continued expansion. The link between town and country was pronounced, and squatting influences undoubtedly kept the town alive during its formative years. For the first time in Australian history, white settlers had come sufficiently to terms with the unpredictable tropical environment to establish a permanent settlement in the tropical north of the country. Commercial incentive had proved the superior motive in settling the land, and despite hardship and setback, the squatting movement persevered, assuring that Bowen would continue to survive and even prosper in the favourable circumstances of the time.
(1) Honour Board for Bowen's First Settlers, Bowen Historical Society, displayed in the Historical Society Museum.

(2) Farnfield, J. Frontiersman. Melbourne, 1968, p. 38

(3) Bowen's Maritime History, prepared by R.M. Steen for the Bowen Historical Society, Bowen, p. 2

(4) Gordon, J. Letter to the Collector of Customs, 27 April, 1861, in Customs House Letter Book, Bowen Historical Society, Bowen, p. 1

(5) Dalrymple, G.E. Report to the Colonial Secretary, Brisbane, on Progress of Settlement at Port Denison, 25 May 1861, typescript at John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

(6) ibid.

(7) Gordon, J. op. cit.

(8) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 33 (The original survey of Bowen by Clarendon Stuart is still kept in the Queensland Department of Lands and Surveying, Brisbane)

(9) Dalrymple, G.E. op. cit.

(10) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 31

(11) Cunningham, M.W. Pioneering of the River Burdekin, typescript held by the Bowen Historical Society, Bowen.


(13) Sumner, R. "Pioneer Homesteads of North Queensland", Lectures on North Queensland History, Series 1, 1974, p. 48. In 1861 there were 35 tents recorded in the Kennedy district, and by 1864, there were 8 weatherboard houses, 1 metal house, 89 slab huts and 82 tents recorded.

(14) Cottrell, J. Early Courts and Court Houses, prepared for the Bowen Historical Society, Bowen, p. 1

(15) Bulletin, Rockhampton, October 1861, as quoted in Cottrell, op. cit.

(16) Kelly, G. Eugene Fitzalan, Botanist, Pioneer and Poet, 1830-1917, prepared for the Bowen Historical Society, Bowen, p. 4

(17) Doherty, W.J. The Bowen Book, Brisbane, 1920, p. 16
Questions were raised in the Legislative Assembly by the new Member for Kennedy and in response to the information that work on the jetty was delayed due to lack of materials, it was reported that in August 1865, 2 vessels freighted with timber for Bowen, had been despatched and a third vessel of larger dimensions was expected daily from Sydney to convey another cargo.

Steen, R.M. op. cit. This event was also recorded in the Port Denison Times, as was in fact any significant progress made on the construction of the jetty, thus illustrating the great local interest in the development of the port.

During the year 1863, 12 of the incoming ships to Port Denison were carrying mails from England, thus the most regular mail service from the south and Britain was monthly, but the service did not call every four weeks as it was highly irregular.

Port Denison Times. 2 December 1865.

Adams, D. The Letters of Rachel Henning, Letter from Exmoor Station to Etta, 27 December 1862, Sydney, 1954, p. 52
(34) Port Denison Times, 5 March, 1864

(35) ibid., 5 March, 1864

(36) Cottrell, J.M. & W.M. By S.S. Williams to Port Denison, A Narrative History of 'Holy Trinity' Bowen, p. 75

(37) Queensland Votes & Proceedings, 1865, General Report on the Condition of the Schools During the Year 1865, Brisbane, pp. 775-778

(38) ibid. p. 776

(39) Bolton, G. A Thousand Miles Away, Canberra, 1963, p. 28


(41) Legislative Council Journals, Vol. IV, 1862, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Crown Lands Act, as quoted in Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 38

(42) ibid. as quoted in Allingham, A. Taming the Wilderness, Townsville, 1977, p. 45

(43) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 16

(44) Daintree to Clark, September 1863 as quoted from Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 60

(45) Port Denison Times, 2 January, 1866
CHAPTER THREE

IMMIGRATION TO BOWEN AND DISTRICT 1861-1870:

ADAPTING TO A NEW ENVIRONMENT.
An important theme to emerge in an analysis of Bowen's formative years is immigration to the town and district. Colonial immigration to tropical North Queensland was in many ways experimental due to the unfamiliar tropical climate and environment, the extreme isolation of the new frontier from the settled areas to the south, and the new government legislation being introduced to encourage certain settlement patterns. The origin and motive for immigration to Bowen, the interaction between the different groups of settlers and their adaptability to the new environment provide insight into the socio-economic development of Bowen. This chapter concentrates on the first decade of settlement in Bowen, from the early months of 1861 when the first wave of settlers came rushing north in search of pastoral runs, until the closing of the decade, when the community had diversified and to some extent stabilised, to include not only squatters and pastoral workers, but agriculturists, miners, traders, merchants, tradesmen and government officials.

New settlers to Bowen and the surrounding Kennedy district were predominantly of British or European descent. The English, Scots, Irish and Germans, and 'native born' colonists far outnumbered the few other groups. They brought with them the cultural beliefs of the time: a respect for the work ethic, a firm belief in white race supremacy and their right to occupy the land and force their dominance over the local Aborigines. A dedication to material wealth and development came before all else. The nineteenth century was a time of pioneering new frontiers all around the world, and Bowen's
example to some extent reflected this world wide trend of Europeans flooding to the new opportunities offering in the newly developing countries.

During the nineteenth century, Australia had gained enormously by using land revenue to encourage and subsidise immigration. The settlement of North Queensland was no exception. The availability of huge tracts of land was undoubtedly the single most important attraction for immigration from both overseas and across the southern border with New South Wales. By the 1860's, much of explored Australia had been thrown open for settlement, and tropical North Queensland was one area which still had sufficient unsettled, potentially productive land to beckon settlers. While other Australian colonies were restricting immigration and formalising their policies to accommodate diverse post goldrush communities, the young colony of Queensland persisted in subsidising migrants from Britain and introduced legislation which would encourage colonists to uproot from southern properties and seek the wider opportunities of the tropical frontier. (1) During Bowen's first decade, there was much active encouragement from the Queensland Government for settlers to come and claim the land and establish new industries.

The first wave of settlement was pastoral. Throughout the early 1860's, anti-squatter legislation in the southern
colonies had resumed millions of acres of squatters' holdings to placate the mining class who had become so firmly entrenched there. (2) The displaced squatters turned with new interest to the pastoral frontier near Bowen. At the same time, the outbreak of the American Civil War had disrupted normal trade between the American colonies and Britain, and the prices of primary produce from the Australian colonies had risen sufficiently to create an optimistic mood amongst squatters. America became a less attractive destination for immigrants from Europe while the War raged. Thus, when the Kennedy district was declared open for pastoral settlement in 1861, there was an active rush of potential squatters to the region, and the district was quickly distributed between the most enterprising arrivals. Although the government's terms were considered liberal by standards of the day, pastoral leases were quite costly to stock and equip. The need to drive sheep over long distances to arrive at their northern destination, the high demand for breeding stock which increased prices, and the need to be self-sufficient all added greatly to the expenses of the squatters. Cattle provided a slightly cheaper alternative to sheep in setting up pastoral runs in the Kennedy. Hence, those squatters with more limited means tended to invest in cattle instead of sheep. (3) Bullock teams had to be purchased and maintained, large numbers of stock horses were required, stores, tools, furniture, clothing and other station necessities were all expensive to haul over long distances. A sobering array of costs awaited all of the squatters, and Rachel Henning was not
exaggerating when she wrote that "there is little prospect for anyone here now who has not a large capital to begin with - £8,000 or £10,000 at least." (4)

The Kennedy pastoral district was the first testing ground for the new Queensland Government's land legislation enacted in 1860. The government envisaged a long-term plan for North Queensland settlement, with the squatters acting as explorers, surveyors and developers; providing the government with quick returns and government revenue from rapid occupation of the land. This pastoral activity was to lead to mineral activity which had followed in other parts of Australia, and gold was considered the most attractive mineral. Finally, with capital and population, a tropical plantation industry was to be established upon the fertile coastal plains, and thence North Queensland could flourish on a treble economy basis. (5) Coastal trading centres, such as Bowen, would service these industries and provide the essential port facilities for the necessary import and export of goods.

The Queensland land legislation of 1860 comprised four separate Acts, each dealing with one category of land. The Act of chief relevance to the settling of the Kennedy was the Act to Facilitate the Occupation of Unoccupied Crown Lands, which was to encourage rapid, productive occupation by pastoralists while retaining for the government the power to encourage a change to agriculture when future conditions made it economically feasible. (6) The Queensland legislation
offered a fourteen year lease to the squatter, with rental
set at an increasing scale; for the first four years the
charge was ten shillings per square mile, and according to
size and stock carrying capacity it rose to between twenty-five
and fifty pounds per run for the next five years.
Thereafter, it was raised to between thirty and seventy pounds.
Runs were of twenty-five to one hundred square miles, but
there was no limit to the number of continuous runs held
by any one individual. These regulations were considered
very generous at the time, and were commonly referred to as
Queensland's liberal land policy. (7) All lease applications
were made at the Land Commissioner's office in Bowen, and
thus Bowen became the focal point of the northern squatting
migration and how effectively the new land laws were being
put into practice.

What of the type of people who came north as squatters?
Queensland's Governor Bowen was a keen observer of the migration
pattern developing in the far north of his colony. An aware-
ness of the traditional British class system was revealed
in his correspondence when he wrote;

"Most of the principal settlers in north east Australia
(Bowen and the Kennedy) have been attracted from Victoria
and New South Wales. There is however, a strong sprinkling
among them of retired officers of the British Army and Navy,
of Oxford and Cambridge men, preferring an adventurous life
in the open air, and other gentlemen of birth and education
recently arrived from England." (8) 'Native born' colonists
were still regarded as lower on the social scale than their
newly arrived cousins from Britain, despite their invaluable practical colonial experience in Australia. A population census taken in Bowen and district in 1862 revealed that according to place of birth, the English far outnumbered their nearest rivals, the Scots and Irish, but this information did not identify those who had already come from Britain and spent time in other Australian colonies before venturing north. (9)

During 1861 and 1862, the majority of squatters overlanded with herds of sheep or cattle from Rockhampton and centres further south. The British element mentioned by Governor Bowen, although not necessarily permanent settlers in the Bowen district, were to play a very prominent role in the early history of the area. Biddulph Henning who held runs in the south Kennedy was an example of this squatocracy - those squatters who hailed from a family background of squirearchy, the Church and Army officer corp of Britain. Thus his sister's letters, provide an invaluable guide in determining the social and economic mores of this group of settlers. From the numerous letters and diaries set down by this class of settler, it is possible to identify their chief motive for migration. Financial advancement, which led to ultimate return to the comforts of life in England was undoubtedly their main ambition. Many of them came from landed family backgrounds and they naturally gravitated to squatting in the colony, where they determined to deal in property and stock and work hard in order to acquire sufficient
funds to return and settle permanently in Britain at the earliest opportunity. (10) This class never achieved complete control over local politics in the Kennedy, and generally were accepted by the 'native born' squatters quite readily. Fools and failures may have received abundant recognition of their British origins, but the immigrants who were practical and successful were accepted as honorary Australians. (11) Thus the well-bred and well-born Henning rapidly became a very fair bushman and successful squatter of whom his sister could write,

"Biddulph is a capital master. He never lets any of the men gain the least advantage over him and yet they all like him." (12)

The second and numerically dominant category of squatters settled near Bowen on a much more permanent basis. Predominantly middle class in origin, they sought in the Kennedy an independent status not available to them in other colonies. They had previous experience in squatting in other colonies, and although this did not prepare them well for the different tropical environment encountered near Bowen, they had the tenacity and endurance to overcome the immediate difficulties and establish successful properties. Many were 'native born', Australians in the full sense, and had developed a brand of independence and self-reliance which served them well on such a remote frontier. Some had worked on the southern gold diggings, and had sufficient funds to buy pastoral leases and
and stock in the hope of converting their temporary luck into more consolidated fortune. They probably held high hopes for any mineral prospecting that they could do as a sideline.

The social character of these pioneers was diverse. Neighbouring squatters could represent social extremes, with one station insisting on the most formal manners and lifestyle possible in the bush, while the station alongside could be manned by the roughest frontiersmen. However, isolation and common hardship shared on the frontier were a great levelling influence, and there was little tolerance for assumed social superiority. Bush good neighbourliness and co-operation was essential for common survival. At Mt. McConnell, Lucy Gray described a common event when there was a "gathering of the neighbours" to help in a "general mustering of cattle". Notice was given some time before it began, and "people came themselves or sent their stockmen to help and collect the stock and any that belonged to them which may have strayed onto our property." (13) For her part, Rachel Henning revealed her social preferences and prejudices in describing the various visitors to Exmoor Station during the early 1860's. Her comments concerning a pair of young "colonials" who were overlanding illustrates the air of superiority that the newly arrived Britons sometimes felt. "Two atrocious young overlanders, first rate specimens of the free and easy young Australia" visited, and came up and "shook hands patronisingly with Biddulph, who had never seen them before in his life" in the
hope of "making themselves comfortable here for some days."

(14) Despite her criticism however, it would never have been contemplated that hospitality not be extended. Yet another observation about the 'native born' was made following the visit of a stout old gentleman who was the "proprietor of twelve thousand sheep" and his two daughters, who were "nice-looking" girls. They were natives and "a little colonial, as might be expected."(15) Certainly the situation at Exmoor where nobody sat in the parlour without a coat, and at Mt McConnell where similar standards were observed in honour of the lady of the house, Lucy, was typical of the British frontier society. Despite the contradictions of climate, the Victorian standards of dress were strictly observed by the outback women and the cumbersome crinolines reigned supreme. For the men, a more appropriate bush uniform emerged, which consisted of crimean shirts which were easily washed, and stout cord trousers and white moleskins, strong lace-up boots, a neckerchief and broad shading hat. (16)

With the pastoral lands effectively settled in the first couple of years of Bowen and district's life, attention turned to the need for a labour force to help the squatters run their herds. Since 1860, the Queensland Government had made intensive efforts to attract immigration to the new colony, and Bowen looked for its share of the new arrivals. The most important scheme of immigration funded by the Government was the Land Order System, which had been designed
"THE CRINOLINE REIGNED SUPREME" - A GROUP OF PASTORAL SETTLERS IN THE KENNEDY PASTORAL DISTRICT NEAR BOWEN DURING THE 1860's: PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
to subsidise needy immigrants to Queensland and provide them with the minimum capital to settle in their new home. It was originally provided that every adult immigrant from Britain or Germany who paid his or her own sea passage to Queensland was to be granted a land order for 18 acres, and after two years' residence in the colony, a further order for 12 acres. Land was the major attraction. The orders were valued at £18 and £12 respectively, and a shipowner who brought passengers at his own expense was given a land order for £18 for each adult carried to Queensland. Furthermore, assisted passages were given to any immigrant who was unable to pay full fare, and free passages were granted to female servants and persons whose circumstances were such as to warrant such assistance. (17)

By paying land orders instead of cash to the new immigrants, the young colony was saved the need of calling upon its meagre financial resources to meet the cost of immigration of free and assisted passengers. (18) It was under this land order system that many of Bowen's early settlers were landed. A certain amount of controversy arose during the early 1860's as to the nationality of the immigrants - or rather the proportions of the people of the several British nationalities. The regulations laid down that the nationalities year by year should consist of two-twelfths Scottish, three-twelfths Irish, and seven-twelfths English, but these proportions were never strictly observed. (19) The Rev. Dr Quinn, Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane, was influential in assisting Irish immigration, under the auspices of the Queensland Immigration
Society. Other societies were formed with the idea of promoting the immigration of special classes of workers to the new colony, and among these were the Bolton (Lancashire) Cotton Growing and Selling Company, and the Lancashire and Queensland Cotton Growing Co-operative Society, which reflected the dire straits in which the English cotton industry found itself following the outbreak of the American Civil War, when there was a great shortage of raw cotton. In 1860, a petition was presented to the Queensland Government bearing the signatures of many German freehold settlers in the new colony, asking that strong efforts be made to bring out further numbers of German colonists. As a direct outcome of this, an immigration agent of the Queensland Government was appointed to Germany to organise future passage of suitable German settlers, while Mr Henry Jordan was appointed to a comparable position in Britain. (20) The immigration pattern to Bowen during the 1860's reflected these influences, with the majority of English, Irish, Scots and German arrivals to the town and district being recruited by the Queensland Immigration Agents.

These immigrants were transported from Britain by the famous Black Ball Line of ships, that ran a fast service to Australia. Conditions were often overcrowded and uncomfortable, but attempts were made to maintain adequate hygiene by appointing medical officers to supervise each voyage. Initially, Bowen was not considered significant enough to attract the immigrants who were distributed between the Queensland ports of Moreton
Bay, Keppel Bay and Rockhampton. However, by 1864, reports in the local Port Denison Times indicated that sailing clippers were being directed to Bowen to discharge either some or all of their passengers. This helped boost the numbers of settlers urgently required to develop the pastoral and town industries in the area. By 1862, the Government had drafted immigration regulations which specified the proportions of immigrants to be sent to the different Queensland ports. Keppel Bay was to receive at least three-twelfths, Wide Bay two-twelfths and Port Denison one-twelfth, and the remainder were to be landed in Brisbane. A proviso was added that this arrangement was dependent upon the demand for labour and the willingness of immigrants to proceed to the respective ports. (21)

The first immigrant ship from Britain to Port Denison was the 'Wansfell', which carried a large group of approximately 500, recruited under the Land Order Scheme. It successfully navigated its way through the hazardous Great Barrier Reef near Bowen, and its passengers subsequently swelled Bowen's small population. A second immigrant ship, the 'Maryborough', arrived in Bowen from Liverpool in 1865. The ship carried about 445 passengers, many escaping the severe depression of England's cotton industry. The Queensland Agent for Immigration in London, Jordan, also notified the Government that for the 'Maryborough', he "was compelled to accept a very large proportion from Ireland ... or the ship could not have been dispatched in anything like the time for supplying the
demand for labour at a certain season at Port Denison". (22) An outbreak of typhoid at sea had proved fatal for twenty of the passengers, and on arrival in Port Denison, the ship was placed under quarantine at nearby Stone Island for over a week. (23) The 'Maryborough' had experienced a long voyage of 100 days at sea. However, the type of immigrants were of only limited value to the district. Factory workers were ill equipped to work as pastoral employees, and many of the new Irish immigrants were inclined to move south to the cities in search of the urban life with which they were familiar. By December 1865, reports in the local press were questioning the effectiveness of the operating immigration system. Following the arrival of another immigrant ship the 'Montmorency', which discharged 214 passengers in Bowen, the editor was moved to write in his column,

"With the selection made this time by our Immigration Agent in London, we must express our dissatisfaction . . . a portion of the labour now sent into the market is totally unfit for our infant state, and in fact ought never to have been allowed to leave the old country. We allude more especially to two or three confirmed invalids who the doctor assures us are suffering diseases contracted before coming on board, and whose recovery will necessarily be slow . . The class of immigrants best adapted to so young a colony, and more especially, to so young a settlement, are single men and women, or if married, without encumbrance."(24)
The 'Montmorency' brought 131 single men, 28 single girls, and 55 married couples, some with families. This disproportion between the sexes was not favourable for the stability of the newly arrived workforce. Single men were more likely to remain in Bowen and district if they found suitable marriage partners with whom to share their new frontier life. This influx of single men to these frontier areas of Australia did much to bolster the ethic of the bushman, the pioneering pastoral worker, accustomed to hard living, self-reliance and solitude. Rachel Henning certainly noticed this brand of self-reliance in the pastoral workers on her brother's station, 'Exmoor'. In one of her letters home to Britain, she spoke of "a good station manager" needing "a thorough knowledge of stock and country, besides much tact in dealing with the very free and independent gentry whom we have to employ as shepherds, stockmen, bushmen etc."(25) Although stations utilised female labour in the kitchens and about the homesteads, it was preferable for the squatters to reduce the numbers of employees' dependents, as station stores were difficult enough to maintain without extra mouths to feed. Thus, there was a certain contradiction between the desirability of encouraging an increase in female immigration to the district, and the reality of the economics of station management which favoured male, single workers.

Criticism was also directed against the attitude and expectations of some of the new arrivals, who expressed disillusionment
with job prospects when their particular trades or work experience could not be utilised in Bowen. The established community held the attitude that the immigrants would do well to take the first job offered, and gain valuable colonial experience before seeking to expand their opportunities in their chosen trade or enterprise. (26) As early as 1863, there were warning signs that this immigration system was not working as effectively as it should. The new arrivals were not settling the land as was intended. Almost as soon as the immigrants landed, they were met by agents willing to buy their land orders for cash. Trade carried on quite openly and prices which dealers were willing to pay were advertised. Many immigrants had no means with which to develop their land and welcomed the cash in hand. Even those who had money and farm training were advised by the locals not to attempt to establish themselves on the land until they had become accustomed to colonial methods. (27) The benefits that were intended to have been held out to agriculturists were in reality going to another class. The chief purchasers of land orders were squatters who used them for the purpose of acquiring under the pre-emptive rights attached to their pastoral leases, the most valuable parts of their runs. (28) However, the ships continued to arrive in port with mainly single, male immigrants. The 'Platypus' arrived in 1866 with 130 aboard, and the Bowen Immigration Barracks facilitated their placement into employment immediately after arrival. However, an economic recession in 1866-1868 eased the need for this type of immigrant, and the Land Order System gradually lost its significance in the settlement of Bowen. (see Appendix 1)
The second wave of immigration to the area was prompted by mineral prospecting. During the early years, the pastoral boom had gained the undivided attention of the squatters, and the northern frontier was too far from the established gold-fields of the south to attract even the most speculative of prospectors. It was only in September 1865 that the inhabitants of Townsville, the port to Bowen's north, eager to promote their infant settlement beyond the rival ports of Bowen and Cardwell, offered a reward of £1,000 to the finder of payable gold within their hinterland. Results soon followed, and diggings developed to the west of Townsville, attracting several parties from Bowen and further afield. (29) By 1865, there was a pronounced seepage of confidence in the pastoral industry in the north which developed into a crisis during 1866. A variety of frustrations faced the pastoral industry: inadequate political influence in the Queensland Government, the fluctuations of capital and investment, the unpredictable markets, as well as the rising threat of Aborigines and the constant hardships caused by isolation and the tropical environment. The squatters were coming to realise that the area could not match the high expectations originally placed in it.

The more realistic settlers saw the need for another industry to boost the flagging sheep and cattle grazing industry and mining seemed the natural alternative, as most of Australia was caught up in gold fever during the decades of the 1850's and 1860's. Bowen, not to be outdone by Townsville, had its own little rush in January 1867, when W.D. Bauerle reported
gold at Mt Wyatt. (30) About 70 men tried their luck there, some not unsuccessfully, but the Aborigines in this area were so hostile that by March that year, the field was virtually abandoned. North of the Burdekin, more favourable diggings were finding payable gold, which greatly favoured the port of Townsville and led to serious rivalry between the two ports. Townsville seized the trade of the Cape and Ravenswood diggings north of the Burdekin River, while the better port of Bowen languished because of the barrier of crossing the Burdekin, and squabbles among its leading businessmen. (31) By 1868, the people of Bowen were realising that more stimulus was required if the town was to keep pace with Townsville. In November, the Port Denison Times editorial carried the following message:

"Measures are being taken for offering a reward for the discovery of payable goldfields, for which Bowen will be the port. It is proposed that the stipulations shall be the same as those under which the Government reward is offered, with the additional proviso that Bowen shall be the port of supply. This reward will of course be over and above and independent of the Government reward. We are not yet in a position to state what amount the promoters of this scheme will be able to offer as an inducement to prospectors, but believe they are sanguine as to something handsome, say £1,000. Considering the great benefits to be derived from success in this matter, we cannot doubt that those interested will come forward liberally." (32)
Despite such efforts on the part of the town community, gold did not prove to be Bowen's salvation. The mining industry was well established north of the Burdekin, but the sole benefit that Bowen and the South Kennedy gained was a market for beef for the struggling pastoral industry.

Agriculture was to have a more promising future in Bowen. Coinciding with the outbreak of the American Civil War which cut cotton supplies to Britain's cotton industry, Bowen's foundation opened the way for cotton cultivation in North Queensland. To relieve the serious situation in Lancashire, the Queensland Government came under considerable pressure to give assistance to cotton companies. In August 1861, the Government complied with "Regulations for the granting of suitable portions of land to persons or companies undertaking the cultivation of cotton". (33) Incentives were given for the clearing, fencing and production of cotton on large acreages of land. Abundant land had already been made available for agriculture by the Crown Lands Alienation Act of the first parliament of Queensland in its first session. The intention of the Act was clearly to encourage diversification of the Queensland economy and ostensibly to meet the potential demands of would-be farmers without upsetting too much the pastoral industry on which the new colony was patently dependent. (34) The Bill introduced a policy of government-controlled selection in the form of Agricultural Reserves. A hundred thousand acres of land were to be specifically set aside for agriculture on the shores of navigable waters in Moreton Bay, Port Curtis and Keppel Bay. Within five miles of town
such as Bowen with a population of more than 500 people, generous areas of land were also reserved for agriculture. (35)

The alluvial plains on either side of the Don River were a tempting site for cotton cultivation. In 1864, a notice appeared in the local newspaper requesting Bowen settlers to obtain cotton seeds at the newspaper office for the purpose of proving whether the climate in Bowen was suitable for the growth of profitable cultivation of the cotton plant. (36) Reports from the south of the colony already indicated that the uncertainties of the Queensland climate, with flood and drought, were taking their toll on the newly established cotton plantations. However, the small farmers of Bowen were keen to experiment in the search for the ideal crop for their district. 1864 also saw the arrival of a sugar cane expert from Mauritius, Mr Desmazure, who expressed unqualified approval of the land in the vicinity of Bowen for the growing of sugar cane. Despite Bowen's unpredictable climate, with a tendency toward low rainfall of 40 inches per year, Desmazure was enthusiastic in his predictions for a successful sugar industry in Bowen. Certainly he saw the district at its worst, in August, after months without rain. Bowen was parchment dry, and the settlers accepted this planter's advice readily, knowing that the 'wet' season would greatly improve their sugar growing prospects. Estimates for the expenses incurred in starting and working cane were calculated on the assumption that European labour would be used, and this met the hearty approval of the Port Denison Times' editor. In view of the later change of community opinion about importation
of coloured labour, it is worth recording the early views held by Mr Rayner.

"We do not believe in Coolie labour, nor do we consider it necessary . . . we think that the question of the profitable employment of European labour is settled, and as, moreover, a large proportion of the work on a sugar plantation can be performed by women and children, even under a tropical sun, there is no need to import a large number of foreigners whose habits are repugnant to our own." (37)

Early in 1865, J.F. Kelsey floated the Bowen Sugar Company. At this stage, maize, green fodder and vegetable gardens were the principal farm crops in the area, but by 1866, sugar cane cultivation occupied over 12 acres of land along the banks of the Don River, which ranked the crop fourth in importance according to acreage under cultivation. Cotton also increased in importance and by 1866, there were 35 acres under cultivation in the Bowen district. (38) Agricultural development in Bowen was considerable at this time. In the 12 month period from 1865 to 1866, acreage under cultivation increased from a little over 61 acres to 176 acres. Maize remained the most popular crop, but sugar cane and cotton were introduced at a rapid rate at this time. (39) By 1870, these two crops had become the two most significant crops in Bowen, occupying the most land. 163 acres were under cotton cultivation, and 81 acres were devoted to sugar cane plantations. (40)

Certainly the local newspaper held high hopes for these agricultural experiments being conducted in the district.
Although the Don River relied on seasonal rainfall for its surface water, plentiful underground water supplies were available throughout the whole year. The editor noted in March 1866,

"All along the course of the Don River there is an unfailing supply of the best of water, to be had by sinking, at the most, to a depth of thirty feet . . . and the land along its banks being of the very best quality, our farmers will only have themselves to blame if they do not succeed in raising crops of anything they wish to grow." (41)

The Bowen Sugar Company made considerable progress clearing land for cultivation, erecting fences and huts, and installing water pumps during 1866, and predictions were made that there would be canes "fit to cut for sugar" by August 1868. (42)

Cotton continued to prove promising, and one farmer Mr Bell showed much energy and perseverance in cultivating the crop and installing a windmill water pump as well as a cotton gin. (43)

The outcome of this agriculture on the immigration pattern of Bowen was the introduction of South Sea Island labour. As the need for reliable, inexpensive labour for the sugar and cotton fields grew, the question of introducing Coolie labour to the district was raised. During the mid-nineteenth century, there was a strong belief that men of Anglo-Saxon race could not labour manually in a tropical environment without disastrous physical and moral deterioration. (44)
Although these ideas did not coincide with the views of many Australians in the south who were flexing their muscles politically to advocate a vigorous and often radical democracy, the northern settlers nevertheless became outspoken in their demands for imported, cheaply priced labour. George Dalrymple, himself, subscribed to the idea and urged the Queensland Government to implement legislation to provide a labour force of indentured Indian Coolies for North Queensland agriculture. Indeed, by February 1866, the Port Denison Times editor had been convinced of the necessity to find more money saving methods of cultivating cotton and sugar, and Rayner went on record to say that all past experience proved that European labour for the growth of tropical crops was unsuitable, and that Coolie labour was a feasible alternative. But the northern settlers were not the first to grasp the opportunities of cheaper, coloured labour.

Captain Robert Towns was the first to take advantage of an 1862 Queensland Government Coolie Act, which provided conditions under which Asiatics could be indentured to work in the colony. He proposed to employ Indians to grow cotton on the Logan River, south of Brisbane. But Indians proved to be unavailable, and Chinese were too unpopular for Australian conditions, and Towns resorted to sending his schooner, 'Don Juan', to recruit labour in the New Hebrides of the South Pacific. Suitable workers were brought back and employed, and this set the precedent for the importation of the Pacific Islanders or Kanakas, to the northern ports. It is significant that the
local Aborigines had been dismissed as a suitable source of labour, due to their continuing hostility on the northern frontier and their lack of enthusiasm for work. (45) Later their chief contribution to the European economy of the north was in the pastoral industry, where they eventually proved untiring horsemen and natural bushmen well suited to working the country herds of cattle and sheep. However, in the mid 1860's, the Aborigines were still a source of fear for the Bowen district settlers, and there was no serious suggestion that their manpower be employed to boost the agricultural industry.

By July 1867, 281 South Sea Islanders had arrived in the Bowen district for assignment on pastoral, agricultural and town labour. Compared with the 358 who had arrived in Brisbane, and the 125 who had commenced work in the Maryborough, the numbers employed around Bowen were considerable. (46) In June 1865, the 'Telegraph' arrived with 30 Islanders. Then in September 1866, another 50 were landed in Port Denison from the 'Percy'. The largest contingent came in July 1867 when the 'Fanny Nicholson' brought 201 newly recruited Islanders to Port. (47) Many had formerly been engaged in the beche-de-mer fishing industry carried out in tropical Australian waters. They immediately impressed the local settlers with their athletic physiques and mild manners which would seem to have qualified them perfectly for the work that the Europeans had in mind. The early opinion of the white employers was sufficiently positive to encourage more
recruitment. In January 1868, the 'Spunkie' disembarked approximately 34 South Sea Islanders, and in April of the following year, 103 new arrivals entered port, 41 of whom had been allocated to nearby sheep stations. (48)

However, disillusionment soon crept into the Islander-European relations. Not only were there increasing numbers of reports of mistreatment of the Islanders during recruitment and employment, but public opinion between the Europeans was divided. Employment of Kanakas in Queensland was looked upon with great disfavour by a large portion of the Queensland public, particularly in the southern portion of the colony. In the north near Bowen, where the white landowners could see that cheap and servile labour was absolutely necessary for the economic cultivation of sugar cane, the South Sea Islander trade was viewed with more favour. Shopkeepers in Bowen were also favourable to the trade, for the Islanders spent all of their wages, to the last farthing, before leaving the colony, preferring a chest full of calicoes and beads, tobacco and cutlery, to the hard cash which would be entirely useless to them in their islands. (49) The mining population in the north was however, dead against the trade, being afraid that the labour might be introduced on the goldfields, and threaten the employment of the newly arrived European immigrants. In Bowen, no evidence was recorded of mistreatment of the Islanders but certainly, they were subject to the whims of the individual employer and any abuses would not have been brought to the public's attention. The Polynesian Labourers Act of
1868 served to protect the Islanders officially, though local opinion in Bowen felt that insufficient penalty was placed on those labourers who failed to fulfill their employment contracts. The Port Denison Times editor noted in 1869 that

"It is a matter of notoriety that Polynesians are frequently seen in a state of intoxication ... we hope that the police will keep a sharp look out and lay information against the first person who is detected in giving the black boys drinks." (50) The laws stated at that time that it was illegal for whites to supply alcohol for either Polynesians or Aborigines. In the same editorial, Rayner concluded that a large number more Polynesians were due to arrive in Port and it was likely that "many of those on whose application the boys have been brought will refuse to take charge of them." Clearly Polynesian labour was not as popular as it been initially. Even more importantly, agriculture in Bowen was tending away from the larger plantation crops such as sugar and cotton, and cheap labour was not so essential to the farmers' survival. Small agricultural holdings could be managed by one man and his family.

In 1870, the Bowen Sugar Company's progress was recorded, when its notice for sale appeared in the local press. By that year, the estate consisted of 1260 acres on the Don River. However, only about 70 acres had actually been cleared and cultivated and about 40 acres were occupied by the well-developed sugar cane with about 50 more cleared ready for planting. It was not
a spectacular development in comparison with the rapidly expanding agricultural pursuits in the Mackay district newly settled south of Bowen. There, higher rainfall better suited sugar cane. Although thirty tons of sugar and 3,729 gallons of rum were produced in Bowen in 1868, planting ceased in that year. Results had been disappointing, and the instigator, J.F. Kelsey, returned to Mauritius with a reputation for incompetence. (51)

Cotton farmers in the district did better for a while. In February 1869, Gideon Pott and Donald Bell sold 6 1/4 tons of New Orleans type cotton for 10 1/2 d. per pound average on the Brisbane market, and 1,000 lb. of Sea Island cotton fetched 1s. 6d. (52) The crop reached its peak in North Queensland in 1870, when 163 acres at Bowen and 190 acres at Townsville were planted. But such progress was puny when compared with the 14,000 acres of cotton on the Darling Downs in southern Queensland. A fall in world prices in 1870 was enough to end cultivation in North Queensland, and within four years there was not an acre under cotton in the area.

The main centre of sugar growing shifted to Mackay, following the introduction of cane to the area in 1865. 1,000 acres were brought under cane during 1869 and 1870, thus revealing the very limited nature of sugar-growing in the Bowen district. One or two farmers in Bowen had continued to plant sugar cane on a modest scale, but soon gave up for want of crushing facilities. Agriculture in Bowen had become small-crop farming.
Fruits and vegetables could be cultivated on small plots on the alluvial soils of the Don River, and the German immigrants in particular gained good results. Mr Zimmerman and Mr Muller received special mention frequently for the high quality of their produce. By 1870, the signs were clear that Bowen's future lay with small farms and diverse fruit and vegetable cropping, while the large sugar and cotton plantations prospered in other districts. Thus, the immigrants who were attracted to Bowen because of agricultural opportunities were those with small farming experience and sufficient capital to set up the necessary infrastructure. The German influence was strong, and these migrants proved well suited to the small scale enterprise, clearing many acres and establishing thriving gardens which supplied the town and goldfields of the north with fresh food.

Experimentation with cropping continued. The caretaker of Brisbane's Botanical Gardens played an enthusiastic role in introducing tropical fruits and other plants to agricultural areas in the colony. Seeds and plants were obtained from Java and other English and German colonies in the tropics, and cultivated in the Maryborough, Gladstone, Rockhampton and Bowen districts for observation. Indigo, cinnamon, ginger, tobacco, cassava, coffee, allspice, avocado pear, tallow tree, cherimoly and mango were typical of the plants introduced during the 1860's and 70's, and certainly, the mango was later to become a major export product of the Bowen district. (53)

The residents of the township of Bowen meanwhile experienced
good times and bad. Until 1865, Bowen had prospered steadily from the business that grew from the pastoral expansion throughout the Kennedy district. The port had developed adequate facilities to cope with the import and export of goods, the township had grown to boast numerous small trading houses, banking services, government offices and residences. A large proportion of Bowen's population consisted of mechanics and labouring men who were dependent for support on weekly wages obtained on building works. However, by 1865, little Government building was being carried out, and this large section of town residents became reliant on the small amount of building being funded by private business. (54) In the country too, depression was evident by late 1865, as no new pastoral runs were being taken up, and an increasing number of runs were offered for sale. This trend had been apparent the previous summer which was particularly dry and trying. The growing list of advertisements had prompted the Times editor to castigate those "faithless ones . . . failure was the result of inexperience" he insisted, and he did not want "this small minority to give the wrong impression of the district." (55) But the mood could not be stemmed; the previous enthusiasm of the squatters' letters home to Britain changed to lengthy explanations about ill luck and poor seasons, and requests for funds to tide them over. (55) By March 1866, a settler was moved to write at length on the economic situation of the town and district.
"Never, I believe, in the short history of this town of Bowen has circumstance more demanded more of its inhabitants, and all who are interested in the prosperity of the district in which we live, a display of that energy and perseverance for which the Anglo-Saxon race is so characteristic. For the most sanguine must admit that times here are really bad, and that something really needs to be done to revive trade, employ labour, and attract population and capital... In the past and present we have been depending entirely upon pastoral products for our support, and they are the only exports that we have..." and concluded that it was indeed time that Bowen diversified its trade, and added another "string to its bow". (57) But Bowen's trade suffered from this time on, and Townsville quickly assumed superiority, chanelling the newly discovered wealth of the goldfields of the North Kennedy through its town and port. Bowen's recovery from economical depression was slower and on a more modest scale, but it did recover.

By 1866, the estimated value of land in the municipality of Bowen was £3,236. There were 163 resident electors on the electoral roll, and the population of the town was about 1,250. (58) A spark of hope was raised with the discovery of the Bowen Coalfield during the mid 1860's, and the geologist, Richard Daintree satisfied himself that "the Bowen River Coalfield is of great extent and contains numerous seams of coal whose numbers, thickness and economic value might readily be ascertained by some extended research." (59) However, the demand for coal was not recognised in the region, and the coal-
field was not developed during the period discussed in this thesis. Despite regular calling of steamships which relied on coal to produce their steam power, the difficulties of developing the coalfield and providing transport to the port overcame the benefits. The British commercial crisis of 1866 was calamitous for the colony of Queensland, for it involved the collapse of the Agra and Masterson Bank with which the Government had recently negotiated loans for public works, notably railway construction. Repercussion of this crisis in marginal districts of the colony, such as Bowen, was extreme, particularly in view of their already depressed condition.

In the Kennedy, all hope of financial relief from the government, such as release from rents or other charges, dissolved, as did hopes of better roads and services. Expenditure on Native Police was directly curtailed and the immigration scheme halted. Evidently, town dwellers moved from Bowen to more thriving centres, as the Report on schools noted in 1866 that the new school in Bowen was complete and occupied, but that "at the beginning of the year, attendance had fallen off very much, in part from sickness, and in part from emigration."

(60) Some immigrants had failed to adapt to Bowen.

But for those who stayed, the town developed its own style. A study of the 1868 census reveals the occupations of the males in Bowen, and 72 were involved in trade and education, 50 were mechanics, 22 were civil officers, and 94 formed an unskilled work pool. (61) These categories were the largest, though there were also 29 mariners, 29 domestic servants and some miscellaneous workers recorded as well. The birth
country of residents of Bowen was also recorded, and the
great majority of people continued to come from England,
Ireland, Scotland, Germany and other Australian colonies. (62)
There was also a sprinkling of Chinese, Polynesians, French,
Indians, New Zealanders and Americans. In the township,
the numbers of men and women were approximately equal,
though in the country, there were 795 men to 232 women,
thus revealing the continuing disproportion of the sexes.
(63) Housing had become more permanent, with wooden houses
being the most common type of dwelling. The Church of
England, Presbyterian Church and Roman Catholic Church were
by 1868 joined by other houses of religion, including Hebrew,
Mohammedan, Lutheran and Baptist. Although the Bowen
community had diversified, it still remained a predominantly
British settlement, though the immigrants had been considerably
tempered by the tropical, frontier environment of the
colony of Queensland.

In conclusion, Bowen's immigration pattern during the 1860's
was stimulated by a three phase development. First was the
pastoral boom that opened up thousands of square miles of
land for a buoyant pastoral industry. The first squatters
lived in harsh and remote locations, but overcame the many
hardships to consolidate the pastoral industry in North
Queensland. The frontier environment was shared by upper
class Britons, in search of fortune in order to return to
the comforts of Britain, and others who saw their future
in the Kennedy. Although many of these immigrants over-
extended themselves with credit offered by banks and merchant houses, they struggled through the years of economic recession, and most managed to retain their stations and look forward to a more promising future in the late 1860's. Gradually wool was replaced by beef, as the tropics were found to be too unsuitable for sheep. The mining boom in the north gave the industry a much needed boost, and as transport and markets were improved, the squatters gradually built up their industry.

The need for pastoral labourers brought about the immigration system called the Land Order Scheme. It was an attempt on the part of the new Queensland Government to encourage immigration to the colony from England, Ireland, Scotland and Germany. The immigrants arrived in Bowen with little or no capital, but were granted 18 acres of land or sold this land for a handy amount of cash. These migrants formed the nucleus of labourers, tradesmen and artisans, who provided the building and labouring skills so vitally needed in the developing settlement. The Irish were escaping the depression in Ireland following the terrible famines of the 1840's, and the English tended to come from the cotton industry which had been dealt such a cruel blow by the American Civil War. German settlers were escaping the volatile German politics of the time, and came eager to establish a stable farming industry.

The mining boom was an important phase of development in North Queensland, but due to the location of the major mining
fields north of the Burdekin River, Bowen largely missed out on any trade and industry that the miners created. The Burdekin was a serious obstacle during the 'wet' season, and the more enterprising settlers at Townsville gained the most benefit from the Kennedy mining industry. Small quantities of gold were discovered near Bowen, but never developed into sizeable fields. The coal discovery promised greater potential, but the difficulties of excavation and transportation to the port prevented any development until much later. On balance, the mining boom did Bowen more harm than good, as the town lost many of its residents to the more prosperous gold towns and port of Townsville.

The agricultural development around Bowen had years of experimentation, but ultimately became well established on the alluvial flood plains of the Don River. Underground water reserves provided adequate water for irrigation, and the soil was rich and fertile. Sugar cane and cotton were introduced with great expectation, but yields were not satisfactory, and it soon became evident that other Queensland districts were better suited to the plantation crops. The introduction of South Sea Island labourers was an important part of this agricultural development in the area, although by 1870, Bowen was no longer attracting this category of immigrant. Plantation agriculture gradually was displaced by small crop farming, and fruits and vegetables were to become the major agricultural products of Bowen. All immigrants showed interest in making their livelihood in farming, though the Germans tended to be the most
successful. Whatever their origins, the first settlers at Bowen persevered to form the first permanent European community in tropical Queensland. Despite the hardships and challenges, these pioneers made a very important contribution to the socio-economic development of North Queensland.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE

(1) Blainey, G. *The Tyranny of Distance*, Melbourne, 1966, p. 168

(2) Allingham, A. *Taming the Wilderness*, Townsville, 1977, p. 49

(3) *ibid.*


(6) Allingham, A. *op. cit.* p. 16/17

(7) *ibid.* p. 17


(9) *Queensland Votes & Proceedings*, 1862, Census taken in Bowen in 1861. Results published. p. 422

(10) Allingham, A. *op. cit.* p. 33


(14) Adams, D. (ed) *op. cit.* Rachel to Mr Boyce, July 25, 1863, p. 59

(15) *ibid.* Rachel to Etta, September 21, 1863, p. 61

(16) Allingham, A. *op. cit.* p. 35


(18) *ibid.* p. 23

(20) ibid. p. 313

(21) Correspondence between Mr Jordan, Immigration Agent in London, and the Queensland Government in Queensland Parliamentary Papers Relating to Immigration in Queensland 1861-1869, Brisbane, 1869, p. 76

(22) ibid. Appendix B Immigration Regulations, p. 81

(23) Cottrell, J. Ships on Our Horizon, for Bowen Historical Society, Bowen, p. 8

(24) Port Denison Times, 5 and 12 December, 1865

(25) Adams, D. (ed) op. cit. Rachel to Etta, September 17, 1864, p. 77

(26) Port Denison Times, 27 December, 1865.

(27) Kleinschmidt, M.A. Migration and Settlement Schemes in Queensland, Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1951, p. 21/22

(28) ibid.

(29) Bolton, G. A Thousand Miles Away, Canberra, 1963, p. 44

(30) ibid. p. 46

(31) ibid. p. 48

(32) Port Denison Times, 7 November, 1868

(33) Farnfield, J. Frontiersman, Melbourne, 1968, p. 24

(34) ibid. p. 22

(35) ibid.

(36) Port Denison Times, 7 May 1864

(37) Port Denison Times, 4 August 1864

(38) Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1867, p. 1246

(39) Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1871-72, p. 634/635

(40) Port Denison Times, 17 March 1866

(41) ibid.

(42) ibid.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE continued


(44) Bolton, G. *op. cit.* p. 72

(45) *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1868, p. 549

(46) *Port Denison Times*, 17 March 1866


(48) *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1867, Return Showing the Number of South Sea Islanders who have arrived at Northern Ports of Queensland for period 1859-1867, p. 3

(49) *Port Denison Times*, January 1869

(50) Bolton, G. *A Thousand Miles Away*, Canberra, 1963, p. 73

(51) *ibid.*

(52) *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1867 p. 215/218

(53) *Port Denison Times*, 4 November, 1865

(54) *Port Denison Times*, 27 August, 1864

(55) Allingham, A. *op. cit.* p. 119

(56) *Port Denison Times*, 10 March 1866

(57) Recollections of J. Lott Esq from Bowen Historical Society, typescript available from Bowen Historical Museum, Bowen.


(59) *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1867, p. 200

(60) *ibid.* Vol. II, 1869, p. 256

(61) *ibid.*

(62) *ibid.*

(63) *ibid.*
CHAPTER FOUR

REGIONAL RIVALRY AND POLITICS IN NORTH QUEENSLAND:

1861 - 1880:

THE QUESTION OF NORTHERN SEPARATION.
Bowen's role in the first North Queensland separation movement was an interesting one, not often covered in discussion of the more well known movement of the 1880's. In the early 1860's, Bowen residents began agitating for a separate colony of North Queensland, and promoted the town as the logical capital for a new colony. Gradually, the Bowen forces joined with those of Rockhampton to the south, and although the common goal was to seek independence from government in Brisbane, rivalry between the two centres came to hamper the effectiveness of the movement. Both claimed that they were best suited to becoming the capital centre. The politicians representing Bowen certainly were involved in promoting the idea of northern separation, and they were speaking for the great majority of their electorate when they urged the formation of a new northern colony. But regional rivalry, chiefly between Bowen, Rockhampton, then later between Bowen, Townsville and Mackay proved too strong, and the lack of unification prevented the separation movement from achieving a separate colony in the North.

The settlers who came to open up northern Queensland in the 1860's brought the idea of separation with them. Many believed that the separation of Victoria and Queensland from New South Wales as settlement spread, indicated a pattern of things to come. It was commonly assumed in official circles, (1) and by northern settlers in general, that Queensland would sooner or later be sub-divided into two or more new colonies. The writings of John Dunmore Lang were particularly
influential in creating this outlook. Lang had taken an active part in gaining the separation of Victoria and Queensland from New South Wales and he strongly advocated further separations. Using the small states of the United States of America as his example, he wrote of the need for seven-colonies along the eastern seaboard of Australia. (2) Certainly, from the first days of Bowen's settlement, the idea seems to have taken root that it was only a matter of time and progress, before North Queensland would become eligible to form a separate colony.

Distance was an important factor in the development of this early separation movement. Brisbane, the capital city of Queensland, was placed in the extreme south-east corner of the colony, which comprised an enormous territory of 670,000 square miles. The irregularity and slowness of shipping communication between Port Denison and Brisbane further emphasized the distance and isolation of the north. Considerable delays were experienced in the mail service, government correspondence and trading, simply because the seat of government and main trading centre for the Queensland colony was situated approximately a thousand miles south of Bowen and the Kennedy.

While the northern frontier was sparsely settled and isolated, the rapidly growing centre of Brisbane came to dominate the colony's parliament and metropolitan interests were served at the expense of the north. Settlers engaged in
pastoral, mining and agricultural industries near Bowen felt that they were politically under-represented and that their interests were consequently ignored. Because the number of seats in parliament were allocated on the basis of population the north could never hope to outvote the south. Moreover, because the northern region of Queensland was in the tropics, there was a tendency for the northern industries to develop along lines quite different to those of the temperate southern portion of the colony. This led to serious conflicts of interest between the producers of north and south Queensland, for example, over the question of the introduction of Coolie labour, and also over shipping services and marketing priorities.

These then were some of the underlying factors predisposing North Queensland, and in particular Bowen, to the separation movement: a belief held from the time of first settlement, that separation was inevitable. the factor of distance from the governing capital, differences in climate, industry and population density between north and south, the inadequacies of regional communication, and the growth of a metropolitan monopoly in Brisbane. (3)

In correspondence between the Secretary for State for the Colonies and Governor Denison of New South Wales concerning the separation of the colony of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859, it was clearly stated that the new colony would
be further divided in future.

"It is desired that the separation of Queensland should take place with no further delay than may be actually requisite for the completion of necessary preliminaries. It will be desirable that the Crown should possess the power of subdividing further the Territory now erected into the Colony of Queensland, by detaching from such northern portion as may hereafter be found fit to be erected into separate colonies." (4) This represented an official view which no doubt filtered down to the settlers heading north. As early as April 1862, the Bowen correspondent to the Moreton Courier newspaper of Brisbane was moved to raise the subject of northern separation only one year after Bowen's foundation. Aroused by the possibility of conflict between Britain and the U.S.A., his concern for the protection of northern settlers was expressed.

"In the matter of protection, we have nothing but a flag flying, telling to 120 souls that they are under British rule . . . it is downright folly to imagine that we can be governed at such a distance from Brisbane. The northern ports ought to unite in bringing about a separation change." (5) There appears little mention specifically of northern separation in the two years following, but many grievances with the government administration in the south of the colony were raised. The Kennedy district, with Bowen as its main centre, did not receive representation in the Queensland Parliament until 1865. Until that time, grievances and requests were channelled through the Officer-in-Charge of the township, Dalrymple, 'who frequently visited Brisbane on official
business. However in October 1864, the electors of the Kennedy became enfranchised by the Additional Members Bill and Dalrymple was invited to run for election. It was vital to the northern settlers that they be represented by a Kennedy man, someone who had shared the hardships of life on the new frontier. (6) The opening of the Port Denison Times in March 1864, had also provided the town and district with a vehicle of public expression, and the editor, R.T. Rayner was quick to note that government neglect of Bowen could lead to increased demand for northern separation. (7) The creation of a new electorate including Bowen, and the establishment of the local newspaper were the two events that gave the northern separation movement its first impetus.

Dalrymple was gratified at the invitation to stand for election, and he replied to the Bowen supporters headed by the Mayor, that he was greatly honoured to have an opportunity for realising what had been his greatest ambition, which was to be the first man to represent in the Legislative Assembly, the interests of a district in the exploration, settlement and general advancement of which he had been so deeply interested. (8) The Kennedy electorate had 281 registered voters. The electoral roll was based on a liberal franchise which comprised the squatters, the townspeople of Bowen and a handful of settlers at Cardwell, further along the coast. As nearly every settler in the towns owned his own dwelling, however primitive, the only ones not qualified to vote were the shepherds, 'stockmen and a few nomadic labourers. In 1865,
there were no parties in parliament, and the relationship between the electors and candidates was personal and vital. Dalrymple duly formed his political programme, to satisfy both the squatters and townswellers, and was given an opportunity to write to the local press. For the squatters he promised to do everything in his power to bring about a change in land laws, in order to establish "the tenure of pastoral properties as a real security for capital." (9) By that time, the land boom of the North was collapsing and the squatters were needing additional capital investment to help them to retain their runs and stock. In marketing for new capital they found themselves at a serious disadvantage in competing with the squatters in the southern areas of the colony. Southern squatters, who had been granted pre-emptive right of purchase at £1 an acre under New South Wales legislation in 1847, could offer much better security than Kennedy men who were on a purely leasehold tenure. In growing bitterness and despair, many North Queenslanders saw the origin of their burdens in government error and neglect. They naturally felt that they had endured dangers and privations in extending settlement into the new district, thereby enhancing colonial revenue and prosperity, only to be abandoned in their crisis, with the generous promises of progress and development of 1861 long since dead. "Is this the pioneers due? Who has settled the waste land with difficulties the agriculturist never dreamt of", demanded a Kennedy squatter in a letter to the Port Denison Times.(10) Out of their discontent, a rising militant voice lashed out at what northerners saw as the self-interested, southern dominated colonial government.
They expected the new Kennedy member to champion their cause.

To the townspeople of Bowen Dalrymple promised to obtain from the Government a "just proportion of the revenue" for expenditure on public works in the north. (11) These included roads, telegraph, lighting of the coast, improvement of harbours and rivers, regular postal communication, a school and a hospital. He also advocated two schemes of importance to the whole colony, but of particular importance to Bowen and Cardwell: a regular steamship service between Brisbane and Singapore via Torres Strait, and a telegraph link to the Gulf of Carpentaria. Later he became closely associated with both these projects. He was well aware of Bowen's jealousy of Cardwell. To allay the suspicions of the majority of voters, he expressly declared he would "act conscientiously as member for the whole Kennedy, not for any one district". Finally, he stated he would give his support to the ministry then in power as long as it continued to look after the north.(12)

Dalrymple was an obvious choice, but not universally popular. Some felt that he would not give all of his allegiance to Bowen, and certainly his major interests had been centred further north, where he had invested in the Valley of Lagoons, near Cardwell. However, by the eve of the election, he had sold his interest in this property, and had the necessary time and money to qualify for parliament. Rather late in the election build-up, another candidate appeared in the person of Mr Pettigrew, who had opened a branch of his saw mills in Bowen. He had been at the fore-front of the fight for separation from New South Wales, and was an admirer and supporter
of Dr John Lang. At the time of the separation of Queensland, he was one of the largest single employers of labour in the colony. Apparently, he was not sufficiently well known in Bowen and throughout the pastoral district for victory, and at the declaration of the poll at Bowen on 25 March 1865, Dalrymple had won 78 votes to Pettigrew's 11. (14) A certain amount of apathy was revealed by the poor showing of votes. However, the emergence of Pettigrew during the pre-election contest highlighted a faction within the Kennedy. His supporters, who included Sinclair and Fitzalan, formed a nucleus of an anti-squatter group in Bowen. They supported bourgeoisie radicalism, which strongly opposed squirarchy and the dominance of squatting interests throughout the colony. (15)

The maiden speech from the new Member for Kennedy occurred in June 1865, during debate on a petition from central and northern districts. The Member for Maryborough, Mr Walsh, who introduced the motion, urged that the north had "peculiar wants and interests" and that it had "unknown and untapped resources", and after detailing the current grievances of this sector, he denounced the inequality of the northern and southern voice in government and consequent allocation of expenditure. (16) In his reply to the Member for Maryborough, Dalrymple offered him very little support; only on the subject of the northern labour and immigration did he concede there was any cause for concern and he thereby diverted the debate into a discussion of the possible intro-
duction of Coolie labour. (17) Whatever the reasons for Dalrymple’s action, it was not the orthodox northern stance and it was not until August 1865 that Dalrymple tabled a petition from northern electors and began the serious defence of Kennedy interests that his constituents expected of him. (18)

In December 1865, a report was printed in the Port Denison Times of a paper delivered by Dr John Lang on a visit to Gladstone. It advocated that a separate colony be established in the north of Queensland, with Bowen as the capital. Lang claimed that the Governor, Bowen, had once indicated on a map what he had considered an appropriate boundary between Queensland and a new colony to the north, and he went on to say,

"if I were a resident in the town of Bowen, Port Denison, I would insist that that good town should be the capital of another colony, of the future to the northward, of which the southern boundary should be not less than two degrees to the southward of Port Denison." (19) This was to be the beginning of an association between the residents of Bowen and the Kennedy who actively sought separation of the north, and the well known radical Dr Lang, who became a member of the Northern Separation League the following year. Northern agitation, centred in Bowen, heightened during 1866. Despite representation in parliament, it was clear that any improvements would be very slow in coming. The chief complaints focussed on the continuing lack of communications with Brisbane, and the ill-allocation of government moneys. The issue of the
need for Coolie labour to cope with tropical conditions was becoming more important, and the editor of the local paper rounded up his tirade against government neglect by stating that "separation is inevitable, and therefore it is of no use for those opposed to it to shut their eyes and fancy that by ignoring its existence, they retard its approach."(20)

By May 1866, it was noted in Bowen that the two journals of Rockhampton were open-mouthed about separation, and it was worth considering a joining of resources and effort to achieve North Queensland separation. However, the Bowen advocates were quick to stress that separation which included the scheme that Rockhampton be the capital would not be contemplated. It was to be distinctly understood that Bowen was only interested in uniting with the separation movement of Rockhampton on the premise that Bowen would be the seat of government for the new colony.(21) This marked the beginning of intense rivalry that existed between the various northern ports, competing for the trade and commerce of the hinterland squatters and shipping passing along the northern coast. Reluctantly, north Queensland joined hands with Rockhampton and the district of central Queensland in demanding separation. The boundary of the new northern colony was to be at the line of Dawes Range to the south of Gladstone. The Northern Separation League therefore had its centre in Rockhampton with affiliated leagues in Bowen and Mackay. However, internecine squabbling broke out frequently between Rockhampton and Gladstone, and between Rockhampton and its pastoral hinterland, as much as between central Queensland and north Queensland, and the movement
98.

seemed doomed. (22)

The initial momentum of the movement was lost during 1867 and 1868. Intermittent petitions were prepared for the government in Brisbane and colonial authorities in Britain, but little action followed. In November 1866, Dalrymple suggested that the Northern Separation League sponsor his travel to England with Sir Charles Nicholson to lobby the more powerful groups in the British parliament to help bring about the separation. However, the Bowen residents took a dim view of his request for a "sufficient sum" to be placed in his hands "to cover all expenses and remuneration for time expended" in order to undertake the responsibility of proceeding to England as the delegate of the Separation League. (23) Money was short in the town and district anyway, and Dalrymple had proved a little disappointing in his parliamentary performance on their behalf. Bowen residents were also becoming concerned about the rising fortunes of the rival port of Cleveland Bay, as more and more trade was being directed through that port from the north Kennedy goldfields.

Although the ports with the better natural geography such as Port Denison were mounting all-out campaigns to be preferred to their rivals, it was becoming increasingly apparent that what made a good port in the colony was the port's facility of hinterland access. (24) Between 1863 and 1867, Bowen had been the foremost regional port in North Queensland, but the greater degree of port diversification was the result of geographical magnitude of the area and the dispersion of
STEAMERS ALONGSIDE THE JETTY AT PORT DENISON DURING THE 1860'S, WHEN BOWEN WAS THE FOREMOST REGIONAL PORT IN NORTH QUEENSLAND. PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
mineral deposits, which did not favour Bowen. With the
discovery of Ravenswood goldfield in 1870, the northern
mining boom was consolidated, and although other fields such
as Etheridge did something to boost the small port of Cardwell,
the port most benefited was Townsville. Despite a poor,
muddy apology for a harbour, Townsville seized the Cape and
Ravenswood trade while the better port of Bowen languished,
because of the barrier of the Burdekin River crossing and
the lack of enterprise amongst its businessmen. Between
1868 and 1871, Bowen lost one-third of its population; after
1870, Townsville handled the greater volume of shipping, and
although between 1871 and 1873, the Bowen hinterland saw
minor gold rushes at Marengo, the Normanby, and Happy Valley
on the Proserpine River, all were short-lived because of
rapidly diminishing returns and isolation from the main
centres of trading.(25)

But the prospect of northern separation was kept alive despite
the changing fortunes of the various contenders for capital
of the new colony. In 1867, Governor Bowen explicitly
predicted a separate North Queensland when he wrote to the
Secretary of State for the Colonies, and dismissed the idea of
maintaining a naval station at the tip of Cape York at consider­
able expense because "the rest of North Queensland will be
sure to seek separation so soon as it shall become self-support­
ing."(26) Brisbane had no intention of financing a project that
could fall within the boundaries of a new northern colony in
the near future.
By 1866, Dalrymple had been appointed Colonial Secretary in the Queensland parliament, but the financial crisis which was brought about by the failure of the Agra Bank, a chief creditor of the government, led to the dissolution of parliament and another election. In the Kennedy electorate, Dalrymple stood again for election, and this time he was opposed by K.H. Wills, a publican, who was described as a "worthy townsman" and "a simple honest man." (27) To win the votes of the electors, Dalrymple had to beat the separation drum as loudly as possible. (28) He explained the financial crisis in terms of reckless expenditure by the government which supported southern interests. The composition of the new Macalister Government suggested a deliberate ousting of northern interests. He declared that "the determined manner with which the inhabitants of Brisbane and Ipswich utterly ignore the interests of the north . . . convince me more and more of the absolute necessity for immediate separation." (29) As Wills declared himself equally sound on the separation issue, the election again became a choice between personalities. The Kennedy on the whole remained loyal to their first choice, as Dalrymple was returned with 98 votes against 58 for Wills. (30) In Bowen and Mackay and Cardwell, he had a good majority, but the new settlement of Townsville rejected him. Townsville residents were angry that the government had refused to grant any financial assistance to the new town, and also identified Dalrymple as a Bowen/Cardwell man, supporting the rival settlements while the promoters of Cleveland Bay had received no official encouragement. However, due to an official blunder in the
collecting and counting of Kennedy votes, Dalrymple's re-entry to parliament was delayed, and by the following year, dissolution of parliament had led to another general election. Dalrymple decided not to stand again, and his political role in the Kennedy and Bowen came to a finish.

During the 1860's, regionalism was rife throughout the colony of Queensland. All towns of any consequence were competing with Brisbane for the honour and profit of becoming capital; Brisbane people were jealous of the well established squatters in such areas as the Darling Downs; outlying squatters in such areas as the Kennedy were resentful of the power and privilege enjoyed by the southern squatters; the working men were showing signs that they regarded themselves as members of a distinct class. (31) But underlying all of this was a unity - all classes were aiming at the acquisition of property and the removal of all obstacles thereto. In politics, two groups emerged. On the one hand were the squatters, anxious to perpetuate their hold over the land and to ensure a surplus of cheap labour to augment their wealth, and on the other hand were the Liberals, who were opposed to any sort of inherited wealth or privilege, and who espoused the importance and dignity of the common man. (32) Bowen's electorate contained both political elements.

Certainly Bowen participated in the northern quest for separation throughout the sixties, but regionalism was also a potent force in northern politics, with the northern ports vying for first consideration as a future capital of a separate
northern colony. A notable difference between Queensland and southern colonies was the greater extent to which it defied the centralist tendencies which characterised Australia's economic growth. (33) This regionalism fed the separation movement. Separatism was the regional grievance of new and rapidly expanding areas such as Bowen and the Kennedy, where economic development outran the political and administrative capacities of the government. The sharp downturn in the expanding pastoral industry during 1866-69 only heightened the agitation, as the government was blamed for many ills and separation seemed to be a logical solution to their many problems.

The depression which followed the financial crisis of July 1866 proved a serious set-back to Bowen and the surrounding pastoral district. Until 1870, pronounced regionalism was a recurring theme, seen both in the continuing demand for northern separation and in the deepening divisions between it and its neighbours. The Port Denison Times continued in its robust manner and endured for posterity, but the growing rivalry between Townsville and Bowen reflected in current newspaper reporting rendered suspect an account of north Kennedy affairs derived mainly from the Bowen press. Unfortunately, the Townsville paper, Cleveland Bay Express, which commenced publication in 1865 did not survive posterity as well as the Bowen paper, and the only excerpts available are those that were reprinted in other colonial papers.
Townsville had grown rapidly from first settlement with orderly planning and an ambitious building programme, which included the inevitable hotel. Apart from a boiling down works which attracted stock from throughout the district, a cotton plantation was established and a wharf and substantial wool sheds constructed. (34) A number of merchants had set up business, including several who transferred from Bowen; a race club was to be established and vessels of the Australasian Steam Navigation Company serviced the port, however irregularly from 1865. Despite humid conditions during summer and a poor harbour, Townsville's distinct advantage over Cardwell to the north and Bowen to the south was in its easy access to the hinterland where the pastoral and mining industries were located. Mining had become a strong economic force in the north Kennedy by the end of the 1860's.

Popular legend laid heavy stress on personal rivalry between J.M. Black, one of Townsville's founders, and the citizens of Bowen in explaining the foundation of Townsville. As Robert Gray wrote, "it is doubtful whether it would even come into competition with Bowen except for a quarrel between Mr Black and the leading merchants of Bowen." (35) This disagreement concerned rates of carriage to the Woodstock and Fanning River stations in the north Kennedy, and there were other publicised incidents. However, these altercations can at most have played only a part in the initial impetus to
establish a more accessible, northerly port. Black and other upper Kennedy squatters wanted better access to their runs, and Townsville soon began to outstrip Bowen because of the objective superiority of its inland route. (36) In the years following the foundation of Townsville, the bitter rivalry which developed between Bowen and Cleveland Bay was very apparent in the press. Kennedy residents aligned themselves with their chosen centres, and Cardwell and Mackay vacillated in support according to their own best interests. In the Port Denison Times, J.M. Black was referred to as "The Great Mogul", Charles Eden wrote of "hateful Townsville" and a war of insult commenced when a Cleveland Bay balladist published his contribution which began: "Bowen once great now sings very small." (37)

Following Dalrymple's decision not to stand for re-election in 1867, several squatting identities were invited to stand for office as the Kennedy representative in Queensland parliament, including James Hall Scott, J.M. Black, J.G. Macdonald and E. Hifling. (38) As general manager of a large squatting enterprise, J.G. Macdonald was better situated than most, and the election narrowed to a two way contest between him and Thomas Fitzgerald, a sugar miller and farmer of Mackay. The final results of the election indicated a clear cut division between Bowen and the rest of the area. Thus Macdonald received 65% of the votes in Bowen, but only 10% elsewhere, and Fitzgerald received 90% of the votes outside Bowen, enough to give him a comfortable win. The results suggested the
readiness of the Townsville electorate, many of whom were squatters, to support a south Kennedy planter rather than the local squatter candidate mounted by Bowen. It also indicated the poor vote registered in the inland centres, and the growing political strength and awareness of the sugar farmers of Mackay. (39) Bowen was losing its political strength in the area, and its ambition to become a new northern capital.

After the election of Fitzgerald in 1867, the demand for separation changed tack to give strong support for decentralised provincial councils, in order to alleviate northern disabilities wrought by distance and isolation from the capital and the dominance of the southern sector of Queensland. Fitzgerald fully supported this alternative as he saw the impracticability of separation at the time, and furthermore, he had personal experience with the council system in New Zealand. He joined forces with the member for Leichhardt, A. Archer, who had prepared a draft bill for the purpose, and together they addressed a large public meeting in Rockhampton. The Bowen press reported that this meeting was significant for the entire northern district. (40) Little concrete action resulted, and it could be explained by the fact that the squatters were too preoccupied with their immediate troubles on the land, and were also waiting for the new land legislation being debated in parliament. The Alienation of Crown Land Act of February 1868 proved disappointing for the northerners. The Port Denison Times received a copy of the first Act of 1868 a month after it was passed, but reaction from the Times subscribers was slow. Except for some general regulations
the Act was concerned almost exclusively with land holding in the southern part of the colony. (41) Local Bowen squatters had received little or no relief from the long awaited legislation.

Meanwhile, a political reshuffle had placed Fitzgerald, the Kennedy representative, in the important portfolio of Colonial Treasurer, and Kennedy prospects immediately seemed a little brighter. Despite criticism from squatters for alleged overprotection of farming interests and for ignoring his pastoral constituents, Fitzgerald laboured long and hard in debate for his squatter electors, and during the land debate, he urged freeholding, at a low price of 5/- an acre, for northern pastures which were classified second grade with no agricultural potential. (42) In February 1869, there was yet another political upheaval in Brisbane which led to the resignation of Fitzgerald, who took no further part in parliamentary proceedings for the remainder of his term of office. The Kennedy thus lost representation at a crucial time. The local Bowen newspaper complained that "Fitzgerald has left us in the lurch", and his departure from politics certainly harmed the move for provincial councils, as support died almost at once in Bowen and the Kennedy, as well as other North Queensland areas. By the end of February 1869, two public meetings had been called in Bowen with the renewed demand for outright separation to be achieved by petitioning the British Government. (43)

In June 1869, elections were scheduled and a rather strange
event occurred in Bowen. The election contest in the Kennedy appeared to rest between Michael Cunningham and Mr Hardy, both supported by Townsville. (44) In response to this bid by Townsville to dominate the region's politics, Bowen residents nominated the English radical John Bright, "a man of some weight at home who will take our cause before the Queen." and "a champion of liberty" who will "break the iron rod of the south". (45) He was therefore included on the election card, and unbeknown to him, emerged the successful candidate by one vote to represent the Kennedy district in the colonial parliament. Strong support for John Bright was registered in Mackay, an expression perhaps that no other candidates had bothered to visit that town, and in Bowen, the overwhelming vote for Bright was as much an attempt to thwart Townsville, as genuine confidence in the candidate. (46) In the inland, the squatters hardly voted, displaying considerable apathy, and the election was in fact a contest among the three coastal townships of Bowen, Mackay and Townsville.

Mr Bright never did appear in the colony to take up his position in parliament. The John Bright episode received mention in the Queensland Parliamentary Debates as follows:

"The Speaker stated that he considered it to be his duty to report to the House that since the receipt by him on the 24th July last, of the Writ of Election certifying the return of John Bright Esquire for the Electoral District
of Kennedy, no such persons had ever presented himself to be sworn or had subscribed to the roll. Under those circumstances, it appeared to him that the Member for Kennedy had been absent for one whole session of the Legislature."

(47) The seat was subsequently declared vacant. Although this incident was considered by some to be a joke, it was in fact a solemn protest on two counts: a protest by the North Kennedy Separation League against the refusal of the south to assist the north in their efforts to realise their separate colony ambitions,(48) and a protest by Bowen and Mackay residents at Townsville's attempt to achieve regional political dominance.

Consequently, the separation movement was revived. By this time, North Queensland had progressed considerably and the discovery of gold at Cape River and Ravenswood made its economic future look promising. Bowen still hoped for a share in the trade from these northern goldfields, and refused to concede that Townsville provided more reliable and faster access to a port facility. The northern separatists were wary of association with Rockhampton as a result of their previous experience. Reasoning that their small population would deter the British Government from granting them fully-fledged responsible government, they adopted the aim of separation as a Crown Colony.(49) In a Crown Colony, the Queen, through her appointed officials, would control the legislation and all public officers. It was argued that North Queensland needed a period of tutelage under the British Colonial Office before it would be ready for the
onerous responsibilities of self-government. The main objective was simply for North Queensland to be recognised as a separate colony from the south.

This movement of 1869-1872 was the first move for the separation of North Queensland proper as distinct from central Queensland. This time the boundary of the new colony was to be at the line of Cape Palmerston south of Mackay, excluding Rockhampton and the central districts. In 1871, a petition was sent to England asking for separation, but it was refused by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1872 on the grounds that the complex question of separation had not been adequately discussed in the Queensland parliament. The British Government was reluctant to interfere in the internal affairs of self-governing colonies like Queensland. This negative reply effectively put a halt to the northern movement until the 1880's revival prompted by a strong sugar growing lobby.

But other internal factors also had contributed to the failure and collapse of the separation movements of the 1860's and early 1870's. Basically, local loyalty proved stronger than regional unity in the Kennedy. At first Bowen had vied with Rockhampton to be the capital of the planned new colony. Other towns such as Townsville and Mackay were unwilling to assist either Bowen or Rockhampton in the bid for supremacy. Co-operation had also been lacking between the northern pastoralists and the people in the coastal towns, as evidenced by the attempt of central Queensland squatters to organise an
anti-separation petition. Townsville also began to recognise its growing importance and plan its future as a possible capital of a new northern colony. During the remainder of the 1870's, there was little active campaigning for separation, though in 1876, Bowen and Townsville vainly attempted to initiate a movement. During this decade, northern complaints about financial discrimination became increasingly strident. Northerners believed that the centralisation of legislative and administrative powers in the south allowed the south to use the finances of the colony for its own benefit, and to neglect essential public works in the north. Public loans were raised on the security of the whole colony, but, according to many North Queenslanders, the money was applied mainly to southern development. Still the north had to pay its share of interest, though it received no direct benefit from developmental projects in southern Queensland. Administration was increasingly inefficient with greater distances from the capital as expansion continued. Furthermore, North Queensland lacked influence in parliament to remedy these injustices because seats were allocated on a population basis.

During the 1870's, pressure from North Queensland representatives in parliament, stimulated a number of legislative remedies. The idea was to divide Queensland into three or four provinces for financial purposes. Separate accounts of revenue and expenditure would be kept, and the parliamentary representatives of each of the provinces would form committees empowered to advise parliament on the financial administration
of their province. (51) Southerners tended to find these so-called "Financial Separation" Bills too drastic, while northerners felt that they did not go far enough in redressing their grievances. Pleasing no-one, they were easily postponed or shelved. In 1877, a Royal Commission was appointed in an attempt to allay discontent in the more distant parts of the colony, such as Bowen. As a result of its deliberations, another Financial Separation Bill was drawn up "to provide for the division of the colony into districts for financial purposes, and to adjust the general and local receipts and expenditure of the colony." (52) But this bill also failed to pass parliament.

During the 1870's, the editor of the Port Denison Times remained persistent in his calls for continuing efforts to bring about northern separation. It was an interesting editorial in March 1875 which encouraged the participation of the mining population in such a move.

"The large digging population is becoming aware of the fact that the profits from their labours are diminished in proportion to the misgovernement and its effects under which they suffer. This class is not always so orderly as those with more settled occupation, and when the extent of the disadvantage ... is fully known, this enforced drawback and factitious hindrance to a greater degree of prosperity will not be allowed to continue ... Incident upon separation there will be direct imports, which will remove a large portion of the expense incurred on the goldfield." (53) Obviously, the more dedicated separatists
saw the need to broaden the base of their supporters.

However, the northern miners were more interested in identifying with Townsville than Bowen. In August 1875, the Queenslander observed that Townsville had consolidated its position as the first centre of North Queensland, and on the other hand, "Bowen, splendidly situated as it is, with its magnificent bay and its jetty built at a cost to the country of £30,000 has gradually retrogressed into a comparatively insignificant place because Mt Wyatt and Marengo proved failures as goldfields, and no others were opened and squatting and agriculture proved insufficient of themselves to make the port a flourishing one." (54) Neither the miners nor squatters were sufficiently interested in the politics of the separation movement to add their voices to the more radical townspeople. They often seemed more intent on following their own affairs than those of the parliament.

By 1872, the Bowen jetty, once the source of so much community pride, had become infested with woodrot, and by 1875, was coming apart. All wharfage at that time was built of hardwoods, that could rapidly deteriorate under unfavourable conditions. (55) The Government patched it up as best it could, and did a small amount of dredging, but port trade had waned. Townsville had proved to have the better inland access, and the effects of the 1866 recession had ended Bowen's brief period of expansion. As late as 1868, the Port Denison Times had spoken of the amicable rivalry between the two ports, but by the mid 1870's, the truth stepped out
that another port could serve the Kennedy hinterland better. (56) Expansion throughout the whole of North Queensland had placed Bowen's role in the area in better perspective. It was no larger than all other North Queensland centres, as Townsville and Mackay had become more dominant, and the regional rivalry that had been so bitter throughout the 1870's finally placed Bowen in the losing, secondary position.

In summary, the period 1861-1880 was an active period for North Queensland political development, particularly in the first agitation for separation of a northern colony. The move for separation was sparked off by general southern government negligence, the large distance between the north and the seat of government in Brisbane, Queensland's capital, the poor communications by sea and land, and the lack of government spending on public works for the north. The pioneers in Bowen and the surrounding Kennedy district felt that they were owed better recognition for their efforts to settle a fairly hostile and remote land, thereby adding much needed revenue to the colony's Treasury. It was not viewed as a particularly radical move to demand separation, as it seemed a natural progression for the area once it had become sufficiently established, as had occurred in the separation of the colony of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859.

However, the separation movement foundered on the rock of regional rivalry, which became more and more intense during
the 1860's and 1870's. At first Bowen had envisaged heading the movement for separation and claiming the title of capital of any future northern colony, but it quickly became apparent that Rockhampton held a similar view for its own future. To boost the energy of the movement, the central and northern district joined force, though the critical question of which town would become future capital remained a point of controversy. The Kennedy gained political representation in the Queensland parliament in 1864, and the succession of politicians served the separation cause. The Members for Kennedy all appreciated the importance of promoting the north for separation in retaining the popularity of their constituents. Although the squatters had played a traditionally powerful role in Australian colonial politics, in the north few of them had the funds or leisure necessary for parliamentary service during the 1860's and early 1870's. In fact, in many elections, the pastoral vote for the Kennedy was minimal, and the elections were generally a contest between those supported by the three main coastal centres, Bowen, Townsville and Mackay.

On a more local level, Bowen pushed its own importance but failed to appreciate that physical location meant that its superior harbour was eventually overlooked in favour of the more strategically located Cleveland Bay. Access to the pastoral and mining industries of the hinterland was the chief criteria for a port's progress in the north, and Townsville rapidly emerged as the more favourably located centre.
Rivalry between the two ports was intense, with numerous personal feuds reported in the press. Each centre hoped to capitalise from the mining boom of the early 70's, but as most of the lucrative goldfields were situated north of the Burdekin River, trade tended to flow to Townsville at Bowen's loss. A hard core of separatists continued to promote Bowen as a potential capital of a new northern colony, but reality gradually dawned on even the most ardent spokesmen that Townsville had taken over as the chief centre of North Queensland by 1880. Bowen still serviced the South Kennedy properties, and was building a more productive agricultural industry, but this was insufficient to allow it to keep pace with Townsville's progress. Also the port of Mackay was quickly growing in response to the success of the sugar industry in that area. The first two decades of settlement in the Kennedy therefore could be viewed as a 'settling' period, during which regional priorities were clarified, and until this was completed, the move for northern separation could not gather the unified voice required to make it a reality.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

(1) Newcastle to Bowen, 14 December 1861, C.O. 234/4 No. 39 with despatch No. 51


(3) Doran, C.R. "Separation Movements in North Queensland in the Nineteenth Century" in Lectures in North Queensland History, 3rd Series, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, p. 88

(4) Despatch of Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle to the Governor of New South Wales, Sir W. Denison, 18 August 1859, concerning the separation of Moreton Bay (from N.S.W.) in N.S.W. Votes and Proceedings 1859-1860, Vol. 4, p. 961, typescript of which is held at J.C.U.N.Q.

(5) Moreton Courier, Bowen Correspondent, 30 April 1862

(6) Farnfield, J. Frontiersman, Melbourne, 1968, p. 77

(7) Port Denison Times, editorial, 5 March 1864

(8) Port Denison Times, 27 October 1864

(9) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 79

(10) Port Denison Times, letter to the editor, 30 May 1866

(11) ibid. 27 October 1864

(12) ibid.

(13) Pettigrew, W. Diary, typescript held by the Bowen Historical Society in the Bowen Historical Museum, from the John Oxley Library, Brisbane

(14) ibid.


(17) ibid. p. 248

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR continued.

(19) Port Denison Times, Report of Rev Dr Lang's Visit to Gladstone, 27 December 1865
(20) ibid. editorial, 14 March 1866
(21) ibid. 12 May 1866
(22) Doran, C.R. op. cit. p. 90
(23) Port Denison Times, November 1866
(27) Port Denison Times, 22 August 1866
(28) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 105
(29) Port Denison Times, 4 August 1866
(30) Farnfield, J. op. cit. p. 105
(31) Morrison, A.A. op. cit. p. 24
(32) ibid.
(33) Lewis, G. op. cit. p. 15
(34) Eden, C. My Wife and I in Queensland, an eight years' experience in the above colony, with some account of Polynesian Labour, London, 1872, p. 181
(35) Gray, R. Reminiscences of India and North Queensland, 1861-1905, Brisbane, 1907, p. 99/100
(36) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 183
(37) Port Denison Times, 16 May 1868
(38) ibid. editorial, 7 June 1867
(39) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 186
(40) Port Denison Times, 14 September 1867. Archer's proposed Bill to repeal the Provincial Councils on an Elective Basis provided for six Queensland provinces, Brisbane, Maryborough, Rockhampton, Bowen, Cleveland and Carpentaria. Their jurisdiction would be very wide including duties and customs, regulation of coinage, weights and measures, criminal law, waste lands, etc.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR continued.

(41) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 192


(43) *Port Denison Times*, 27 February 1869

(44) ibid. 3 July 1869

(45) ibid.

(46) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 197


(48) Bernays, C.A. *Queensland Politics During Sixty (1859-1919) Years*, Brisbane, 1919, p. 55

(49) Marquis of Normanby to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 December 1871, in *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, Vol. I, 1876, p. 660-662


(51) Doran, C.R. op. cit. p. 91

(52) *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 23, 1877, p. 521

(53) *Port Denison Times*, editorial, 27 March 1875

(54) *Queenslander*, 21 August 1875

(55) Lewis, G. op. cit. p. 132

(56) *Port Denison Times*, 25 July 1874
CHAPTER FIVE

RACE RELATIONS 1861-1880:

AN ERA OF ABORIGINE/EUROPEAN CONFLICT.
For many years, Australian race relations history has been written from the European viewpoint. A more balanced assessment has only come with the research work of such historians as Stanner, Rowley, Reynolds, Hartwig and Riskup, who have presented the "other side of the frontier" in interpreting racial conflict in newly opened frontiers in Australia. In Bowen and the surrounding Kennedy district, invaluable work has been carried out by Reynolds and Loos, and this chapter will draw heavily upon their background information.

It is my intention to analyse the particular race relations experience of the Aborigines and white settlers in Bowen and district in relation to the overall Australian experience. There were similarities and differences. For the first generation of settlement in this area of North Queensland, relations between the two races were dominated by violence and bloodshed, followed by an aftermath of misery, distrust and resettlement of the Bowen tribe. European attitudes changed from outright fear of the Aborigines to harsh resentment.

The Bowen district saw a more protracted conflict between the indigenes and new arrivals than most other frontier areas of Australia. Reasons for this include such factors as the indifferent government policies, the already formed attitudes of the early settlers, the nature of the terrain in the Bowen district and the tropical climatic pattern which influenced the form of white settlement. Isolation from white authority and the need to rely on personal sufficiency prevented
adequate law enforcement. The infamous Native Mounted Police had a considerable part to play. Both the Aborigines and Europeans had convinced themselves of the need for violent resistance and aggression by the time that Bowen was settled, and from the first day this mutual conflict was pursued. Although the conflict was inevitably scattered and sporadic and many encounters passed unrecorded, there is nonetheless ample material available to the researcher to provide insight into this important facet of North Queensland history.

Firstly, it is necessary to depict the Aboriginal society before white man came; subsequently to examine racial contact from the earliest encounters through the first ten years of frontier settlement in Bowen and district, followed by the second decade which was a period of fringe dwelling for the last remnants of the Bowen tribes. Two basic facts emerge: good intentions and benevolent policies notwithstanding, the very act of settlement by whites implied that whenever the Aborigines confronted the encroaching newcomer, they would be crushed and that such action generated a covert cultural resistance destined to last long after the initial frontier era closed. (2) The Europeans ventured north with a well-established history of dealing violently with Aborigines in the south, and sufficient news of their tactics had reached the Bowen district tribes to ensure that their reaction to intrusion would be one of armed resistance. Certainly there were attempts made by both government and individual to limit the aggression, but the isolation and large unoccupied areas of the Kennedy hampered effective control of both "sides of the frontier".
The inclusion of this chapter on race relations is essential to the full understanding of the character of frontier settlement in Bowen and the Kennedy.

Before European settlement, the district later to become the Kennedy, was occupied by more than sixteen independent Aboriginal tribes. Concentrating on the South Kennedy region, there were the Juru people south of the Burdekin delta, whose territory connected with that of the Gia of the Port Denison area and hinterland. Then the Ngara ranged south to Cape Conway and the adjacent Whitsunday Islands. The Biria lived along the Bowen River, and finally, the Bindal tribe occupied the territory between the Fanning River and the lower raches of the Burdekin. This was the established order of tribal territory at the time of inevitable European intrusion in 1861.

The pattern of life and social organisation of the Aborigines here seem to have been an extension of that generally prevailing throughout mainland Australia. As hunter-gatherers, the Aborigines utilised a stone-age technology which was skilled and effective, if primitive. They lived in very close contact with the natural environment, and formed a collective society with an order based on general sharing of resources, notably food and worldly goods. A highly mobile people, who frequently went on 'walkabout', they valued personal property in the light of practical utility and ease of transport, placing little value on accumulations of material possessions or dwellings of substance. These standards and values were to be in
marked contrast with those of the incoming Europeans, and caused the settlers to greatly underestimate the complexity and durability of the Aboriginal culture.

In custom, there was a strong and fundamental bond between the Aboriginal people and their tribal land, as each man knew in intimate detail every feature of his natural environment. It provided essential plant, water, animal and bird life necessary to sustain life. Because of its all embracing supportive qualities, the land was imbued with a deep religious significance and held to a central place in Aboriginal mythology. (5) In society, law and social organisation were deeply embedded in religion and inevitably with the land. Thus there existed a complex web of association between Aboriginal society and the physical environment, the very commodity that the white men sought.(6)

Comparing pre-European North Queensland with the situation elsewhere in Australia, Loos concludes that it represented a "land of milk and honey" for the Aborigines.(7) This was particularly so for the coastal region near Bowen, rich in game, edible plants and a variety of seafood. In the interior, life was slightly more precarious during the frequent droughts, but water was always available beneath the sand of dry creeks, and the Aborigines were extremely resourceful in surviving in the most harsh conditions. It would appear that the South Kennedy provided a generally secure environment for its original occupants, and it warrants comment that their hunter-gathering activities were in greater harmony with the
natural environment than the land use activity of the incoming Europeans.

The well-being of the Aborigines was noted by early visitors to North Queensland. In 1846, Stokes reported that the Aborigines between Cape Cleveland and Port Denison were "stout broad shouldered, stalwart fellows, and fat withal . . . and good humoured."(8) Brayshaw calculates that the population of the Aborigines before contact with the Europeans was in the order of 12,000 for the Herbert-Burdekin region before 1861, (9) and Loos supports this suggestion of high density by stating that the sheer numbers of the Aborigines of North Queensland would have "posed a greater problem to the invading Europeans" than "on other frontiers."(10) The impression is therefore one of a necessarily demanding life-style, but the situation was one of comparative security and contentment, of intelligent adaptation to environment and utilisation of resources. The society was organised and stable, and though primitive by European standards, the Aborigines operated within the constraints of a traditional government which was practical and predictable.

The European settlers ventured to Bowen with predetermined notions of their racial superiority and civilisation, and the right to occupy land regardless of the indigenous inhabitants. Example in the south of Australia proved that the whites were more powerful and few doubted that their proposed productive use of the land gave them the right to claim it by force from the nomadic, primitive Aborigines.
Social Darwinism was to become a rising, influential theory which supported this attitude. The evolutionary theory seemed to prove that the "passing" of the Aborigine was a "natural necessity" which came about in obedience to "a natural law." (11) Of even greater importance than Social Darwinism in shaping the moral attitude of Bowen's settlers was the overriding commitment to material progress which characterised Australian settlement from its earliest years. For reasons of practicality, colonisation of the north was a distinct step forward in human progress involving the sacrifice of a few thousands of an inferior race. Overall, it was considered a small drawback for such a huge gain. (12) There were Liberals amongst the settlers who did argue for a more enlightened approach in the treatment of Aborigines, but their voice was a minority and the large distances and isolation of the frontier allowed the relentless pursuit of personal ambition to dominate race relations.

First recorded Aboriginal/European contact in the Kennedy was through the landings of British naval surveyors in the first half of the nineteenth century. Captain P. King encountered the Aborigines in 1819, and recorded friendly contacts at Rockingham Bay, with an exchange of gifts taking place. In 1843, J. Beet Jukes, naturalist aboard H.M.S. Fly, reported a similar response from the Aborigines at Point Upstart, Cleveland Bay and the lower Burdekin. (13) However, repeated and prolonged European visits led to friction, and by 1848, Aboriginal aggression had flared. It is likely to have been aroused by increasing sea traffic along the eastern coast and
consequent clashes between Aborigines and visitors less scrupulous or assiduous than the British naval commanders. The early reaction of amity and hospitality was verified by the experience of James Morrill, a shipwrecked British seaman, who with six other survivors came ashore at Cleveland Bay in 1846. Only Morrill survived to make contact with the outward spread of settlers some seventeen years later. At first Morrill had been taken in by the Juru tribe, but later transferred to the Wulguru of Mt Elliott, north of the Burdekin, with whom he lived for twelve or thirteen years. There seems to have been some religious significance in the acceptance of Morrill, as he was adopted into the tribal kinship system as a deceased brother reincarnate, but the incident illustrated the fallacy of preconceived expectations of instinctive Aboriginal ferocity. When Morrill returned to civilisation with the whites, the Aborigines showed obvious anguish at his departure, and he continued to have a strong empathy for the people to whom he owed his survival. Morrill was so confident of the compassionate nature of his former companions that in 1865, he urged continuance of the search for Leichhardt, being convinced that if the Aborigines found him in distress, they would certainly take him in, as they had done with Morrill.

By the time of Dalrymple's first exploration of the Kennedy district in 1859/60, the Aborigines were hostile to any white intrusion. The exploration party met fierce resistance to their progress, and Governor Bowen later wrote,
"The Aborigines in that part of the colony are reported as being very numerous and hostile and as exhibiting more athletic frames and a somewhat higher order of intellect . . . still the six Englishmen who composed Mr Dalrymple's party, though often attacked, were able to force their way through all opposition with the loss of a single individual." (16)

Certainly, Dalrymple was sufficiently impressed by the strength of the attacking Aborigines to insist on adequate Native Mounted Police protection for the expedition of first settlers to Bowen in 1861. During the sea exploration of Captain Sinclair and his crew which led to the actual discovery of Port Denison in 1859, many encounters with Aborigines occurred. James Gordon reported the extreme caution with which the white explorers approached any contacts with the indigenes. The Aborigines at Bowen at first acted friendly, and in fact were invited aboard the 'Santa Barbara' after helping to fetch water for the crew. However two days later, natives attempting to ambush the crew were repelled and the party departed hurriedly to report their discovery of the harbour. In the nearby Whitsunday Islands, the small crew had a very close shave with the Aborigines which caused Gordon to note in his journal that the Whitsunday Aborigines "are the most treacherous, murderous lot. They also understood the full importance of surprise which is the great art of war in all countries." (17)

E.M. Curr in his book 'The Australian Race' quotes a Sergeant B. O'Shea in describing the Aboriginal inhabitants of Port Denison at the time of first settlement. The first arrivals
had already been treated to a hostile exhibition by a large number of Aborigines on the shores of Port Denison, which forced the sea party to camp on nearby Stone Island, until the overland party arrived with the Native Mounted Police. The Bowen tribe lived a typically primitive lifestyle, wearing opossum cloaks at night to ward off the cold, ornaments made of kangaroo skin, shell and grass stems. Their weapons were a good deal carved and included wooden swords of up to five feet in length, spears, clubs, and boomerangs but no woomera. (18) The canoes of the Aborigines were made of pieces of bark stripped from the ironbark tree, sewn together and rendered watertight by smearing with the gum of the pine tree. When the first white settlers arrived in Port Denison there were an estimated 500 Aborigines living within easy distance of the new settlement, and many thousands spread north, west and south of the township. (19) Morrill was later able to describe the accuracy with which every action of the Europeans was reported. The Aboriginal intelligence section of tribal staff was far beyond anything the white men ever devised in the same period. The women were splendid scouts while the men hunted. News spread rapidly between the tribes, and any particular episodes of violence on the part of the new arrivals were well broadcast throughout the entire area. (20) Thus, the squatters encountered well informed Aborigines prepared to resist as pastoral settlement radiated out from Bowen.

Throughout the period of European settlement in Australia, colonial government never came to terms with the dilemma of Aborigines and land rights. In lieu of any real solution,
stop-gap provisions for Aboriginal protection were legislated but because of the nature and setting of squatting activity, these could be disregarded on the frontier. (21) Frontier occupation proceeded without rational or humane direction in regard to the Aborigines, and individual attitudes and decisions formed the real power. The recent history of frontier massacres by Aborigines in central Queensland, notably at Hornet Bank in 1857, and Cullen-la-ingo in 1861, were accepted as proof and warning of Aboriginal treachery and ferocity. The squatters passing through Bowen in 1861, with two generations of frontier lore and attitudes, bore the expectation that they would have to fight for their land and almost as a matter of course they brought with them, the established agent of frontier pacification, the Native Mounted Police, an obvious extension of the methods formerly employed by the New South Wales government. This force originated in New South Wales in 1842, and their effectiveness in the outer districts there led to their retention for frontier service as the squatting movement moved north. Detachments were generally small, comprising a senior European officer and perhaps a subordinate officer, a camp sargeant and usually between five to ten Aboriginal troopers. In the case of the first detachment of the Native Mounted Police to Bowen, there were 15 troopers, under the control of 3 European officers who reported to Lieutenant Powell, a particularly large force for the time, but hopelessly inadequate to patrol the enormous area of the newly proclaimed Kennedy district. (22) Instructions to the Queensland force outlined in parliament in 1861 provided that they should patrol squatting runs and be on call to the
A CONTINGENT OF QUEENSLAND NATIVE MOUNTED POLICE IN THE 1860's, SIMILAR TO THE GROUP PRESENT AT BOWEN'S FIRST SETTLEMENT. PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
squatters in any emergency. They were also to be employed to "disperse any large assemblages of blacks" as "such meetings invariably led to depredations or murders." Their duties also involved the apprehension of suspected Aboriginal criminals, and any suspected outrages were to be severely punished, to impress upon them the meaning and effectiveness of European authority. (23)

The Native Police set the tone of the law as it emphasised the sanction of force and was for over three decades the main instrument of government policy in Queensland. By 1861, its methods had aroused public criticism, which led to a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly to inquire into the organisation and management of the Force and to look at the whole question of "how far it may be practicable to ameliorate the present condition of the Aborigines" of Queensland. (24) Despite the grim evidence presented about atrocities carried out by the Native Police, the Inquiry found generally in favour of the Force, and it continued as the vehicle of government administration of the Aborigines in the Bowen district throughout the 1860's. Winifred Cowin who has studied the Native Police in detail, makes it clear that the uncertainty about the limits of its functions and powers remained throughout its existence. It was constantly involved in actions which were illegal for police, though not for a military body under conditions of martial law (which never seems to have been declared). (25)

Lieutenant Powell was an 'old hand' in the Force by the time
he arrived in Bowen. In 1857, he had been involved in the search for the Aboriginal culprit of the Frazer family massacre of central Queensland, when he headed a party of native troopers and white squatters on a punitive expedition in which Aborigines were pursued and attacked indiscriminately. (26) His Force in Bowen was mounted, uniformed and armed with deadly Snider carbines. The Officer-in-Charge of Bowen, Dalrymple, was a staunch advocate of the use of white troopers and the development of friendly, peaceful relations with the Aborigines. The two men soon clashed, and no doubt this interrupted the running of the Force. Yet, within two months of persistent Aboriginal attacks in the terrain to the north of Bowen, Dalrymple had modified his ideas and had resorted to active participation in what had become a situation of racial warfare. (27)

As occupation spread out from Bowen, squatters increasingly took dispersal and defence matters upon themselves. In December 1861 a police officer reported that a Bowen River squatter had formed a vigilante group to counter threatening Aborigines, and so the process continued throughout the northern district. It was indeed paradoxical that despite the clause in the squatting act which expressly forbade squatter interference with Aborigines on their runs,(28) the government made no secret of the fact that the paramilitary activity by settlers was condoned and expected. When the Bowen squatter, John Yeates, claimed damages from the government for not being adequately protected against Aboriginal attack, he was advised that it was his duty to arm and protect himself. (29)
Thus, direct participation in frontier conflict was a practical reality, and it was a rare squatter who did not share in the dispersal of Aborigines. By 1864, aggressive Aboriginal resistance became an intensive guerrilla campaign in which they utilised their special skill and resources of the natural environment to cause maximum injury to the Europeans. The scattered nature and scarcity of the European population assisted Aboriginal purpose, and having seen the futility of massed confrontation against armed European groups, they concentrated their attacks on isolated travellers and workers. From late 1864, "black outrages" were reported in the Port Denison Times in increasing numbers, amid general cries of anger and revenge.

The European mortality rate from this Aboriginal campaign is difficult to know for certain. Robert Gray calculated that "during the 60's, probably 10 to 15% of the white population lost their lives to the blacks". (30) The Native Police's Lieutenant Marlow considered 20 to 30% to be more accurate. (31) Loos and Reynolds have compiled a register from reports in newspapers, government records, diaries etc, and ascertained that there were 56 deaths attributable to Aboriginal resistance in North Queensland during the 1860's. (32) But many deaths must have gone unrecorded, lonely travellers lost without trace and shedders disappearing from their isolated bush postings. This Aboriginal hostility strongly discouraged labour in the Kennedy region, and the case of squatter Robert Gray abandoned by his shepherds typified the situation throughout much of the district. In Bowen, newly arrived
immigrants seeking work refused frontier employment. Pastoral runs languished for want of builders and labourers and stock went unshepherded and unprotected. At least two stations, Inkerman and Victoria Downs, were abandoned in the mid 1860's due to Aboriginal hostility.

On Reedy Creek Downs, W. Hill had "three shepherds in charge of 2,000 sheep each. They had to be armed with Terry Rifle and Colt's Revolver as the blacks were always on the aggressive." (33) Even the station hut had to have loop-holes in the walls to allow firing through and these were put to frequent use. (34) His final comments prove that armed resistance was very much accepted by both sides. He concluded that "the only wise thing to do on seeing a black was to shoot, and shoot straight, otherwise he would certainly spear you." (35) In his reminiscences of his days as a Native Mounted Police officer in the Kennedy district, Edward Kennedy recognised that it was "natural" for the Aborigines to fight for their land in the face of the white invasion. Thus he admitted that the frontier situation near Bowen was in fact regarded as a race war. He also admitted the excesses of Native Police methods, when he stated that "some episodes connected with the doings of the Force cannot be published" because "events happened which were unavoidable, and the 'boys' got beyond the control of officers in certain circumstances." (36) The Native Troopers were Aborigines drawn from various tribes in more settled districts, and they proved very adept at tracking and hunting down fellow Aborigines. Often they discarded their uniforms and disappeared into the bush in
pursuit of their human prey, while white officers were left behind, unable to control the situation.

However, not all white settlers were to condone bloodshed. At Exmoor, on the Bowen River, despite the loss of stock and station property to the local "wild blacks", Biddulph Henning was unwilling to shoot the offenders. When the stolen property was found in an Aboriginal camp on his property, the camp was burnt as a lesson and all of the Aboriginal weapons were confiscated but Biddulph Henning resisted the temptation to shoot them. Although his native station hands were very keen to kill their Aboriginal 'cousins', Henning prevented them from carrying out this usual form of frontier justice. (37) There seems to have been little race loyalty between different tribes, as an Aborigine from one tribe was quite willing to fire upon an Aborigine from another. It was this lack of unity between the different Aboriginal tribes that greatly weakened their strength of resistance. It also explained why guerrilla tactics were favoured, as the small tribal bands could carry out raids more effectively this way, without in any way relying on neighbouring tribes for support.

By the mid 1860's, stock losses were serious, and a sign that the Aborigines had been driven back from their hunting grounds and their game scattered, so that they were desperate for food. However, killings of sheep and cattle were not limited to meeting food demands, as the Aborigines were quick to realise the value of the stock to the squatters, and deliberately killed the animals as part of their war. (38) From the complaints
and estimates that were crowding into the offices of the Port Denison Times by 1866, the animals destroyed in this campaign must have numbered thousands. Such was the frequency of these incidents that the editor, Rayner, complained unsympathetically that he was sick of reporting stock losses. (39) The Aborigines had mounted a highly intelligent and effective economic campaign. The supply bullockies travelled in small convoys for mutual protection. If the heavily laden wagons were left unattended for any length of time, the Aborigines were quick to thieve foodstuffs and various metal objects which they could put to good use. Thus Aboriginal resistance in the district around Bowen developed into a well conceived strategy, using guerrilla tactics to avoid suicidal confrontation. The material loss to the squatters was certainly considerable and very keenly felt, and made the frontier experience a harrowing one especially when combined with the hardships of depression and environmental challenges also faced during the 1860's.

Despite this determined resistance of the Kennedy Aborigines, the long terms result was not in doubt. As one observer commented:

"There can be little doubt however, about the final result, as for every white man killed, six blackfellows on the average, bite the dust."(40) By 1868, the conflict had waned, and large areas were considered pacified with the Aborigines reduced in numbers and displaced from their traditional lands. Yet in several selected regions where terrain provided sanctuary, resistance continued for longer periods. At
A GROUP OF BOWEN TRIBE ABORIGINES WITH CEREMONIAL MARKINGS -
TAKEN IN THE EARLY 1880'S AFTER THE RACIAL WAR HAD FINISHED.

PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
Fletcher's Creek opposite the Dalrymple township on the Burdekin, the Aborigines found the permanent water, fish and game and natural fortification which allowed them to keep up prolonged resistance from a secure refuge. As late as 1870, Aborigines from this area were still attacking shepherd's huts and killing and scattering herds in the area.\(^{(41)}\) However, inevitably, the stores of game depleted and the last resisters were forced to leave their sanctuary and became easy targets for the squatters and Native Police. Some endeavoured to reach a settlement with the whites by means of diplomacy, as occurred at Strathdon station in the Bowen district. A squatter successfully negotiated with neighbouring clans to bring hostilities to an end. The report indicates that he used as a go-between a local Aboriginal woman who had been living on the station for some time.\(^{(42)}\)

Frontier conflict in the Kennedy during the 1860's was therefore a bitter racial war. In comparison with other Australian frontiers, Bowen suffered very high casualties and experienced a long period of fighting before the Aboriginal population was fully subdued. Not only were the Aborigines aided by the availability of abundant food resources and suitable places of resistance, but they were facilitated by the degree of isolation and scarcity of the European population, plus slow development and government economic restrictions on protection due to the coincidence of northern expansion with the depression. Government spending on the Native Police Force was curtailed as a direct result of the depression in 1865-66.
The coming of the Europeans was catastrophic for the Aborigines as they not only were killed wholesale, but lost possession of the roots of their society and culture, the land. Drawing from many sources, Reynolds concludes that the Aboriginal death rate in North Queensland was probably ten times greater than that of the European, though no more definite total estimate is possible than "a minimum of 5,000". (43) There can be no doubt that the loss was very great, not only due to shooting, but from malnutrition, European illness and also poisoning, as it was occasionally reported that poisoned flour was used to exterminate whole camps of Aborigines. (44)

As late as 1874, the findings of a Royal Commission on Aborigines expressed an almost universally accepted opinion throughout the colony that the Aborigines were a "race, the great majority of whom whatever may be done to improve their conditions, there was too much reason to fear are doomed to early extinction." (45) When hostilities ended, the Aborigines became prone to a new set of threats. The Crown Land's Alienation Act of 1868 included a clause giving the government power to grant, entrust or by proclamation to reserve, either temporarily or permanently, any Crown Lands required for the benefit of the Aboriginal inhabitants of the colony. It became the basis for an experimental reserve system undertaken in the mid seventies. In 1871, a reservation of 14,080 acres was set aside in the Kennedy district near Mackay, and Aborigines settled there fairly successfully for some time. However, little was done at Bowen or Townsville
before an end was put to the Commission's activities by the refusal of parliament to pass a vote of £1,600 requested to expand reserves in 1878. The Aborigines remained a lost race.

By the 1870's, racial contact had concentrated in the small towns servicing the pastoral frontier. Bowen attracted many of the tribes from the South Kennedy and a fringe settlement grew up on the outskirts of the town, much to the discomfort of the white townspeople. Although life in Bowen for Europeans was not as threatening as it was in the more remote districts, the community there still experienced collective anxiety when the Aborigines began huddling down at the nearby swamp. The town camp became a sanctuary where the remnants of local tribes were joined by others forced in from the hinterland by the dwindling food supplies or the crack of the Native Police Carbines. In October 1869, the Port Denison Times noted that the "blackfellows are coming about in considerable numbers, there being a good many camped on the Don River and a good many on this side of Muller's Lagoon. This last place is too near town, and they ought not be allowed to camp there, as they are a nuisance to their neighbours, not that they seem mischievous, but that their principal enjoyment in life, their recreation after the labours of hunting, seems to consist in a nightly concert, or dis-cert, if it be allowable to coin such a word, commencing about 8.00 pm and continuing till the small hours." Though the Times editor was gratified that the Aborigines were safe from random killing, he warned the Bowen inhabitants to keep on their guard, as
it was absurd to expect any kindly feeling to exist toward the whites in the hearts of the Aborigines, so shortly after the reign of terror by which they had been kept in subjection.

(48) By June 1869, there were more than 200 Aborigines gathering in Bowen's immediate vicinity, and serious questions were arising about how best to cope with this new development in contact between European and Aborigine.

Reynolds has researched the fringe camps of Aborigines in nineteenth century Queensland, and many of his conclusions are based on the evidence offered in the Port Denison Times of Bowen. The disintegration of the Aborigines is well chronicled by that newspaper, and many letters to the editor reflect the white thinking of the time. The idea of reserves being set aside for the last of the Aborigines was a frequent theme, and in June 1869, there was talk about the allocation of lands along the Don River for this cause. A station was suggested, which would be inhabited solely by the Aborigines, allowing them to pursue their traditional ways, thus removing the itinerant campers from close to the town, and also protecting them from some of the abuses that the whites offered. (49) In fact, the editor of the Port Denison Times expressed a very enlightened view in 1869 when he declared that it would be appropriate for the government to "appoint a Protector of Aborigines, whose duty it should be to go amongst them, learn something of their language" (see Appendix 2), ascertain their movements, mediate between them and the
Europeans, and protect the Aborigines from the whites and the whites from the Aborigines." (50) Another response to the plight of the Aborigines was forthcoming from Kennedy squatters in an unusual proposal, made as early as 1867, when conflict was by no means ended. A squatter petition was forwarded to Brisbane outlining a plan whereby several runs in the district would be reserved for exclusive Aboriginal use, (51) no doubt inspired by earlier reserve schemes in southern colonies. This proposal showed rare squatter inclination to share the land with the Aborigines amidst the atmosphere of nineteenth century expansion; like Morrill's proposal for a similar scheme, it would have involved inevitable difficulties, but it is regrettable that it received no more than summary attention from the government.

Various schemes were implemented in the country by the more enlightened squatters, to permit peaceful co-existence between whites and Aborigines. At Strathdon, Frederick Bode, a signatory to the unsuccessful petition of 1867, began to admit the Aborigines to his run in February 1868. He was ridiculed by fellow settlers, but persevered to allow over one hundred people to camp on his property. The predicted massacre was not forthcoming, and it was not long before the Aborigines were showing their skills as stockmen on the station. With this example and others, many Kennedy squatters admitted the Aborigines to their land in 1868-69, with many Aborigines presenting themselves at homesteads once the word had spread among them of the different treatment being dealt
out by the whites. (52) A new phase of race relations was thus ushered in.

A public debate on the question of Aboriginal protection and welfare was mounted in the Bowen district in the last years of the 1860's, largely stimulated by the actions of Rev Ian Black, the local Anglican minister. (53) Bode had recommended the provision of such practical items as metal axes and fishing nets, and urged that the government supply Aboriginal groups with perhaps a bullock a fortnight, which, as he pointed out, was much more suitable than flour rations and decidedly less expensive than the maintenance of the Native Police. Finally he suggested an annual government allocation of a blanket to each Aborigine. The distribution of blankets was duly adopted, but this was a completely inadequate gesture without contributions of food and land.

The settlements that formed on Bowen's outskirts for the Aborigines became the source of much misery and illness. Malnutrition continued as a major disability among the Aborigines after they had been "let in" because of poorly balanced and meagre diet and loss of their traditional food sources. Equally detrimental was the effect of alcohol, tobacco and even opium, which were found to hold a particularly strong attraction for the Aborigines. Alcohol was a major scourge, often supplied by unscrupulous Europeans in order to secure Aboriginal women, despite the illegality of supplying Aborigines with any spirits. The blacks' camp provided casual, underpaid sex for the male residents of Bowen. Only
a few weeks after the local tribes had been let in to Bowen, the Port Denison Times noted that even some prominent citizens had joined the nocturnal procession to the camp. (54)

The sedentary lifestyle in the fringe camps brought other problems. Confined in the same camp, members of different tribes were constantly warring with each other. Removed from their traditional hunting lands, the old beliefs of the Aborigines were gradually corroded. Traditional authorities were challenged by the young who adjusted more quickly to the new conditions, and who by employment and prostitution, came to provide the main support for the fringe dwellers. (55)

But, despite the deprivation and tensions of life in Bowen's fringe settlements, there were benefits when compared with the situation on some pastoral stations. Although some members of the pastoral camp were likely to be constantly employed with stock, or around the station homestead, pay was meagre and food only intermittently supplied to the whole camp, while the proprietorial attitudes of many squatters greatly limited Aboriginal freedom. Work in and around the town of Bowen was unreliable, but at least there was a variety of employer and task, and alternative possibilities in illegal activities. The townspeople found Aborigines useful as cheap unskilled labour in the absence of an adequate supply of white domestic servants. The blacks chopped wood, carried water, rounded up horses, scrubbed floors and scoured pots. There were no regulations concerning their pay - they could be paid poorly, or not at all. (56) But when the Aborigines became too useful or began to develop sought after skills, they posed
BOWEN ABORIGINES CAMPED ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE TOWN IN THE EARLY 1880's,
PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE
an unacceptable threat to white labour. In 1876, a Bowen correspondent referred to,

"the jealousy of many working men, who, to use their own expression, don't wish to see the bread taken out of a white man's mouth by a nigger, and endeavour in many cases to entice or frighten them away from any work they may be employed in."

(57)

Europeans made a list of other complaints about the Aborigines from the neighbouring camps - begging and drunkenness, noise and indecency. Theft was a problem, and in 1874, it was reported that corn and potatoes were being pilfered by the Aborigines in the Lower Don, and residents were urging that their camp be relocated further from European settlement.

However, despite criticism, abuse, and in some cases violence, the fringe dwelling Aborigines near Bowen were probably safer than their counterparts in the bush. There were some white residents in Bowen who opposed the use of indiscriminate violence and who afforded protection to the local Aborigines. The editorials in the Port Denison Times often acted as a conscience for the Europeans, reminding them that the Aborigines had received extremely harsh treatment in the past and deserved more consideration once peace had been declared. The presence of local police and magistrates, and potential witnesses was also a deterrent to overt violence. However, the Aborigines remained a people without their most treasured possession, land. In 1871, an editorial in the Queenslander noted the dissatisfaction that the white population continued to feel towards their Aboriginal neighbours.
"Outrages by blacks are becoming too frequent in the North, and crime of this kind is assuming a different aspect from the old time spearing of cattle or the massacre of station hands. The criminal black fellow of the present day frequents the town, gets drunk, robs houses, insults women and otherwise conducts himself like a civilised white blackguard." (58)

Aboriginal dissatisfaction with their treatment by the Europeans is far less chronicled, but a covert resistance was maintained. On a Kennedy station in 1874, local Aborigines dressed up two effigies of white men and all the warriors present - a great number - after exciting each other with war songs and dances, attacked the effigies with their tomahawks and cut them to pieces. (59) Once the Aborigines had come in from the bush to European communities, their defiance had to be hidden behind a mask of deference. However, their memories remained of the recent atrocities at the hands of white men and the Native Police, and it was an accurate observation of the Times editor when he wrote that "we shall do well to bear in mind that their feelings towards us are and must be those of resentment and hostility and that however the exhibition of those feelings may be restrained by motives of policy on their part, they do exist and probably will continue to do while the race lasts, and that this smouldering fire will be ready to burst into flame when favourable conditions offer." (60)

Throughout the 1870's, the relations between Europeans and
and Aborigines was an uneasy truce. Whites clearly held the upper hand, and the Aborigines had been forced to accept whatever protection and support was offered. The government made half-hearted efforts to establish a system of reservations to contain the last of the Kennedy tribes, but a shortage of funds soon interrupted this progress. The Aborigines suffered a breakdown of tribal structure and life-style, malnutrition, abuse, disease and psychological alienation. Their population continued to decline, and of the estimated 1,500 Aborigines living in the immediate area of Bowen in 1870, as few as 200 were to remain by the end of the century.(61) Admittance to European society, with its promise of food and security, was apparently quite as lethal to the Aborigines as the previous state of frontier warfare.

North Queensland's frontier experience followed a pattern which had been established not only in other Australian colonies, but in most countries where colonialism and imperialism had proceeded with its practice of domination of the inferior native race by one means or another. There was never any serious doubt amongst the European settlers that they would succeed in taking over the land and driving the original inhabitants from it. They felt completely justified in their approach by the higher order of their civilisation, which seemed to place their needs well above those of such a primitive, uncivilised race. In the Bowen district, the initial resistance of the Aborigines did cause the settlers setback, but this only served to heighten the aggression of the new settlers. For the first decade of settlement, race
relations could only be described as bloodthirsty and warlike. The isolation of the pastoral district, the remoteness of station homesteads, the solitary shepherds, and the lonely bush tracks for travellers, all aided the guerrilla style tactics of the resisting Aborigines, which lengthened the period of active conflict. While the settlers were struggling to come to terms with the tropical environment with its harsh climatic changes and uncertainties, they were confronted with the constant threat from the marauding Aborigines. The Queensland colonial government did little to protect either the whites or the Aborigines, with the Native Mounted Police the sole instrument of law and authority. The Bowen contingent conformed with the brutal reputation that the force had already acquired in other sectors of the colony, and revenged any Aboriginal aggression with indiscriminate slaughter. When the goldfields north of the Burdekin River became productive in the late 1860's, this token force was relocated to the Dalrymple township from Bowen, to afford better protection for the gold diggings and the well travelled road to Townsville. Thus the settlers south of the Burdekin were largely left to their own devices until the Native Police were returned to Bowen in 1873. By then, the active resistance of the Aborigines had been halted, and the remaining Aborigines were moving onto stations and to the outskirts of Bowen to form makeshift camps.

The second stage of Aborigine-European relations during the 1870's was not much improved on the first decade of conflict. Though the power of the Europeans had finally beaten the
Aborigines into submission, racial tensions continued. The fringe dwellers led sedentary lives, gradually losing their customs and traditions, and more and more becoming addicted to the worst aspects of white man's society. Prostitution, excess of alcohol and tobacco, malnutrition, inter-tribal disputation, and theft invaded their way of life. Although the white community at Bowen was hardly pleased with this development, the more unscrupulous characters actively encouraged the Aborigines to indulge in these demoralising practices. Government remained largely disinterested in alleviating the plight of the dispossessed people, and the Aborigines relied on the more humane Europeans for the few necessities that were forthcoming. The European population on the whole, resented the intrusion of these uncivilised people to the very limits of Bowen settlement, just as the Aborigines resented the settlers who had stolen their lands. An uneasy peace continued, with the whites taking a paternalistic stance in their treatment of the Aborigines, and the Aborigines feigning acceptance of their subservient status. Underlying this was a mutual disrespect and distrust.

On the frontier near Bowen, violence had been met with violence, and the resistance of the Aborigines had only intensified the conviction of the settlers that they had to fight for their lives and land. Any peaceful alternative was quickly quashed as self-defence became the prime preoccupation. The frontier dilemma was expressed by a squatter in a letter to the Port Denison Times, as he bitterly defended frontier action in the Bowen area. It is not "fun" and "bravado" he insisted,
but a grim matter of necessity, and he invited his urban critics to go to the bush and experience it for themselves.

(62) The lack of enlightened government direction was perhaps the single most important factor contributing to the destructive relationship between the Aborigines and settlers, but government, as a reflection of society, was dedicated to progress and development, and planning any policy for the Aborigines amidst the frugal budget programme of the 1860's had very low priority. There was no place for Native Police reform, for costly welfare or reserve schemes in the political thinking of the times. Materialism triumphed, and the more remote the frontier, the less humanitarianism prevailed.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FIVE

(1) Reynolds, H. "Settlers and Aborigines on the Pastoral Frontier" and "Racial Violence in North Queensland" in North Queensland Lectures, 1974/75 respectively. Also see Aborigines and Settlers, Melbourne, 1972; "Progress, Morality and the Dispossession of the Aborigines", Meanjin Quarterly, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1974; "The Other Side of the Frontier" ANZAAS conference paper, as above.

(2) Reynolds, H. Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience 1788-1939, Melbourne, 1972, p. 1


(4) Allingham, A. Taming the Wilderness, Townsville, 1977, p. 141


(6) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 142

(7) Loos, N. Ph. D. Thesis, History Department, James Cook University of North Queensland, p. 13

(8) Brayshaw, H. op. cit. p. 3 of Chapter 3

(9) ibid. p. 20 of Chapter 3

(10) Loos, N. op. cit. p. 15


(13) Loos, N. op. cit. p. 78-81

(14) Morrill, J. op. cit.

(15) Port Denison Times, 10 June 1865, By then Morrill was close to the end of his life and failed to appreciate the vast changes that had occurred in race relations since European occupation.

(16) Governor, G.E. Bowen to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Duke of Newcastle, 12 April, 1860, taken from Dalrymple, G.E. "Exploration of the Districts near the Burdekin, Sutor, and Belyando Rivers in North East Australia", London, 1860, p. 4
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FIVE continued

(17) Gordon, J. How Bowen Was Discovered, Bowen, 1933, p. 10

(18) Curr, E.M. The Australian Race: Its Origins, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia and the Routes By Which It Spread Itself Over the Continent, 4 volumes, Melbourne, 1886, p. 23

(19) Delamothe, P.R. Bowen's First Hundred Years, Bowen, p. 3

(20) Quoting J. Morrill, excerpt in C.T. Palethorpe's Cutting Book No. 1, held at John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

(21) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 147

(22) Bowen's First Settlers' Honour Board, on display at Bowen Historical Museum, Bowen.

(23) Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1861, Native Police Investigation, evidence from Lt. Wheeler, p. 17

(24) ibid. p. 1


(27) Loos, N. op. cit. p. 129

(28) Port Denison Times, 9 January 1869

(29) ibid. 31 August 1867


(31) ibid.


(33) Hill, W.R.O. 45 Years Experiences in North Queensland, 1861-1905, Brisbane, 1907, p. 30

(34) ibid.

(35) ibid.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FIVE continued

(38) Bennett, M.M. *Christison of Lammermoor*, London, 1927, p. 98

(39) One grazier signing himself "100 Miles from the Burdekin" claimed that his cattle losses were 27 in one night, 200 for the year and on a nearby run the loss stood at 1,000. *Port Denison Times*, 5 June 1869. John Yeates claimed to have lost 1,300 sheep. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, Vol. 2, p. 997 and there were many similar reports at this time.

(40) Carrington, G. *Colonial Adventures and Experience by a University Man*, London, 1871, p. 154

(41) Allingham, A. *op. cit.* p. 159

(42) *Port Denison Times*, 20 February, 1869

(43) Reynolds, H. "Racial Violence in North Queensland Lectures*, Townsville, 1975, p. 22-23

(44) Loos, N. *op. cit.* p. 185

(45) Cowin, W. B.A. Honours Thesis, History Department, University of Queensland, 1950, p. 65

(46) *ibid.*

(47) *Port Denison Times*, 9 October 1869

(48) *ibid.* 19 June 1869

(49) *ibid.*

(50) *ibid.* 3 April 1869

(51) *ibid.* 13 April 1867

(52) *ibid.* 6 March 1869

(53) Allingham, A. *op. cit.* p. 169

(54) *Port Denison Times*, editorial, 10 April 1869


(56) *ibid.*

(57) *Port Denison Times*, 5 August 1876

(58) Reynolds, H. *op. cit.* p. 257

(59) *Port Denison Times*, J. Hall Scott, 18 April, 1874
(60) Port Denison Times, editorial, 12 June 1869

(61) Loos, N. op. cit. p. 197

(62) Port Denison Times, letter to the editor, 10 January 1866
CHAPTER SIX

BOWEN'S EVOLUTION AS A PORT SETTLEMENT:

REALITY VERSUS EXPECTATION.
The culmination of this thesis is to examine the reasons why Bowen failed to live up to the early expectations of its founders during the first generation of settlement, 1861-1880. During the first five years, a mood of optimism and high expectation prevailed, as pastoral settlement fanned out from the port, and new settlers rushed to the area in search of their fortune. The financial depression of the mid 1860's dealt this positive outlook a cruel blow, but by that time, other setbacks were being felt, such as the aggressive resistance of the Aborigines, the extreme isolation of the settlement from other established centres, and the unpredictable climate. By the 1870's, gradual improvement was evident, as the depression was replaced by a more buoyant economy, as the Aborigines were brought under European control and the squatters and farmers had come to terms with the peculiarities of their tropical environment. Although it became obvious that the region was not able to fulfill original expectation, the Bowen settlers were coming to terms with the reality of their situation, and accepted that a steady and reliable livelihood could be made in the area, but that no overwhelming progress could be expected. By 1880, Bowen emerged as a stable but secondary port settlement, which was a far cry from the grandiose plans for its regional supremacy that were made by the first settlers.

This theme of reality versus expectation is an integral part of understanding the past and current development of the whole North Queensland region. High expectation and
optimism were not sufficient to guarantee the progress of the early settlement. Other ingredients were essential - strategic location, plentiful natural resources, favourable environment, suitability of the actual site for settlement, adequate potential for diversification of industry and the motivation of the settlers to promote their settlement. Bowen's example was to prove that when these important factors were lacking, progress was hampered and other centres in the region could compete for supremacy. Bowen was originally chosen as a site for port settlement because of its strategic location in relation to the newly proclaimed pastural district of the Kennedy. However, after the original enthusiasm, it became apparent that the natural barrier of the Burdekin River, the lack of mineral resources, in particular gold, the hardships caused by the tropical environment with frequent drought and the lack of foresight amongst some of the town's businessmen, were to cause serious set-back to Bowen's hopes to become the leading city of North Queensland. Instead of prime place, Bowen occupied a secondary function in the region. It became a small man's frontier. With modest capital and determination settlers could build a future for themselves. By 1880, Bowen had evolved from a flourishing new port centre for the entire Kennedy district, to a stable, but secondary port for a fairly confined district south of the Burdekin River. Much of its business and government function had relocated to the more successful centre of Townsville, and even the most parochial and optimistic residents of Bowen were forced to accept the reduced status of their town in the North Queensland region.
Bowen's strategic location was a vital factor in its development. The site was chosen for settlement primarily because the port was a fine, natural harbour for shipping, and located in an ideal place to service the expanding pastoral frontier. Exploration of the district that became known as the Kennedy had established that fine pastures existed for sheep at a time when favourable market conditions had stimulated an intense interest in squatting expansion. As the Kennedy was too far removed from the already established port of Rockhampton, another cutlet was sought, and Bowen duly fulfilled the role of the Kennedy port settlement. Settlers rushed to the area with high expectation raised by the glowing descriptions of the explorers. Other assets were also considered. In his first report recommendation for settlement of Bowen district, Dalrymple mentioned that "an admirable route exists through this region for the passage of the proposed Anglo-Australian telegraph."(1) Thus an impression was formed that the new settlement would be situated on the communications lifeline between Australia and England. Subsequent reports made by Dalrymple and Lieutenant Smith of the 'Spitfire' expedition confirmed that Bowen was a beautiful, natural harbour, eminently suitable as a port of access for the entire Kennedy.

The Kennedy experienced a minor land rush during its first years. The squatters invaded the district, undeterred by distance and heedless of future difficulties. The easy terms of the new Queensland land laws drew them like a magnet, and they had little thought for the hazards of pasturing sheep in a tropical environment. In the meantime, it was
decided that Brisbane was to be connected with the capitals of the other Australian colonies by telegraph wire. The Dutch, having finished the cable from Singapore to Batavia, expressed a desire to connect with Australia, and in the opening speech of Queensland's parliament in 1860, a cable from Java to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and a telegraph line from there to Brisbane via the new coastal settlements in Queensland was proposed. Direct trade with Britain via the Dutch East Indies and the Torres Strait sea route, which augered well for the North's future was also advocated.

(2) As one of the new ports along the coast, Bowen naturally formed high expectation for its part in these schemes. Supported by a thriving pastoral industry in the hinterland, the port could become a vital link in the chain of coastal centres that would trade directly with the Dutch East Indies, and that would receive telegraphic news from Britain ahead of the southern cities and colonies.

Although the first five years saw vigorous pastoral settlement in the Kennedy, it was some time before large quantities of wool were available for export through the port of Bowen. The town tended to serve as a forwarding centre for the many supplies that the stations required, rather than as an export outlet. In 1865, trade returns for imports in Bowen outweighed returns for exports by £103,100 to £33,165. (3) In comparison, the newly established port of Townsville received the benefit of the Kennedy export trade, as it had more direct access to the larger area of pastoral hinterland. The squatters were quickly made aware of the differences between the tropical
northern frontier and the southern pastures with which they had experience. In the early organisation of their flocks, Kennedy squatters followed the sheep breeding routine of southern Australia. Lambing occurred in August-September in time for the late spring shearing, but the climatic conditions in the north meant that this programme had lambs arriving at the beginning of the dry season, and this resulted in heavy losses because of lack of fodder. In 1862 and 1864, which were particularly dry seasons, only 30% of the lambs survived at Exmoor station, and in 1864, another squatter recorded losses of 100%. These realities of northern conditions gradually forced the squatters to revise their schedules and lambing was changed to follow the wet season when there was adequate grass available. However, this experimentation took valuable time, and the pastoral industry did not boost Bowen as quickly as was anticipated.

Sea transport was the only economical means of communication, transfer of goods and travel for passengers during this era. Bowen's progress relied heavily on attracting regular shipping to its port, and providing adequate port facilities to cope with the servicing of shipping. Early agitation for a jetty was rewarded with government action, and by 1866, Bowen had a new jetty offering convenient mooring and loading facilities for the sailing ships and steamers that called into port. Although the shipping service was irregular and unreliable, Bowen's location on the northern sea route from Australia to the Dutch East Indies via the Torres Straits seemed favourable with regard to developing future trading opportunities.
As early as March 1864, the editor of the Times was writing that it was "only a matter of time" before the Torres Strait sea route was opened and providing Bowen with an important shipping connection with the Dutch East Indies.(7) An improved mail service with England, an important consideration for many of Bowen's residents newly arrived from Britain, was also envisaged with a much faster Torres Strait sea passage between Australia and England. It was expected that Bowen would become an important port of call for all shipping using this northern route, and the town would benefit from the privilege of being one of the first Australian ports to receive mails from Britain and contact with the near Dutch East Indies.

The financial hardships of the Queensland government prevented it from investigating the possibility of a Torres Strait service until 1865. In that year, the government in Brisbane called for tenders for a monthly service between Brisbane and Batavia, calling at Port Denison and Cape York.(8) This led to the voyages of the 'Souchays' and S S 'Hero' in early 1866. Although Bowen settlers tended to view this development as the start of a whole new era for their port, a cautionary note was struck by the Brisbane authorities. They recognised that commercially, Queensland, and in particular the north, would benefit by the continuance of the Torres Strait sea route as a means of opening and extending trade with the fertile islands to the north, and with the Dutch East Indies and China. However, from a purely postal viewpoint, the inexpensive communication with Britain was more likely to be
obtained from the route in which all, or the greater portion, of Australian colonies combined. (9) Naturally, the southern colonies with their greater populations, preferred the southern route via the soon-to-be opened Suez canal and Point de Galle, as the British mails would arrive in their colonies first.

The planned opening of the Suez canal in 1869 was to prove extremely influential in deciding shipping route priorities from Britain to Australia. Further difficulties for the northern sea route were pointed out, when it was recognised that with the increased usage of the Torres Strait, lighthouses and pilots were needed to safeguard shipping, a costly exercise for the colony so recently set back by the economic depression. The fate of the northern sea route seemed sealed when the Brisbane postal authorities finally admitted that there could be no doubt that by means of the route via Suez and King George's Sound in Western Australia, the great bulk of mail for the Australian colonies could be carried to their destinations more swiftly and more cheaply than by any other route. (10) With the Brisbane authorities basically in agreement with the southern colonies over the most preferred sea route to England, Bowen and North Queensland stood very little chance of gaining permanent benefit from a service via Torres Strait. It was due to isolation from the more populous and politically powerful south, and due to the very sparse and scattered nature of northern settlement, that Bowen's location proved unfavourable for inclusion in the most important national shipping route to Britain.
The experimental trips of the 'Souchays' and 'Hero' demonstrated that the northern sea route was indeed feasible, and Bowen residents' heightened expectations were evident when they voiced the desire that Bowen not only be a port along the future shipping route, but become the actual terminus in Queensland. The newspaper carried the message that "it would be a great extravagance to carry the Batavian boats beyond Port Denison, where there is a good safe and easily accessible harbour, and convenience for making ordinary repairs and for obtaining such stores, provisions and water as might be required." What the Bowen settlers were overlooking was the power and influence of the more populous south. All Australian colonies participated in a common mail service between Australia and Britain, and three sea routes were available, the Torres Strait route, the Panama route and the Point de Galle route. The southern colonies did not favour the route which placed North Queensland in a more advantageous position, and thus the Point de Galle route was chosen as the most appropriate sea route between Australia and England. But Bowen settlers refused to abandon the Torres Strait scheme. It received frequent mention in the local press, and was promoted by the other northern ports as well.

By October 1866, Bowen was linked by telegraph line with Brisbane, by way of Mackay, Rockhampton, Camboon, Dalby, Toowoomba and Ipswich. The single galvanised iron wire was able to transmit morse code messages from one repeater station to the next with a hand operated set, and was considered the wonder of the age. Despite the ever-present threat
of bankruptcy that faced the struggling colony, the Queensland government planned to extend the telegraph line northward from Bowen to Townsville and Cardwell, then over the range westward to Burketown on the Gulf of Carpentaria. From there, it was hoped that an under sea cable could be laid to connect Australia with Java, and so to Britain. For the period during which Bowen was the terminus of the North Queensland telegraph, it was in the strong position of being able to transmit the first news from Britain to the southern centres and colonies. The S S 'Hero' was conducting regular mail to Bowen from Batavia, and as Port Denison was the first Australian port of call, the people of Bowen were the first Australians to receive the mail and news, and the first to be able to transmit this news to others in the colonies. It was noted that the working of the telegraph "has been thoroughly effective and of special value in the prompt transmission of European and Indian intelligence per the S S 'Hero'(14) and the Post-Master General of Queensland went on to say that "in connection with the mention of S S 'Hero', lately employed in conveyance of mails from Europe and India via Batavia, I may remind you on the occasion of the last voyage that vessel only arrived at Bowen on the morning of the 6 February 1867, and her telegrams were received at the Bowen office a few minutes before 9.00 am, and at 10.30 am, full telegraphic reports reached Brisbane, and at 11.15 am of the same morning were received in Sydney, a distance of 1,522 miles."

(15) Much depended on Bowen retaining the position as Australia's first port of call for shipping arriving with mails via the Torres Strait, for this combined shipping-
telegraph service to continue from that centre. The telegraph was soon to be connected with ports further north such as Townsville and Cardwell, but the port receiving the first mail would hold the privileged position of being the first to communicate important news from England to the rest of the colony.

In 1868, there was some consolation for Bowen when the Dutch East Indies government announced that it intended to establish a mail route between Batavia and Australia, via Torres Strait. Following the return of the mail steamer 'Souchays' from her first experimental voyage between Batavia and Port Denison, the Dutch East Indies government had shown interest in bearing a portion of the expense of installing a more permanent service. The Dutch saw benefits to be derived from the establishment of steam communication between Java and Australia. The length of the voyage was reckoned to average about 17 days between Batavia and Brisbane, with ports of call at Port Denison and Gladstone en route. Despite the success of the experimental voyages of the 'Souchays' and SS 'Hero', the Queensland government had been hampered by its lack of funds and the connection with the mail services of the other Australian colonies to take the initiative in establishing a regular service between Java and Queensland.

Bowen promoted the inclusion of Port Denison as a staging point for such a service, especially in view of the good coal supplies discovered some 50 miles inland. However,
the difficulties of transporting bulk coal to the port were conveniently overlooked. Shipping did in fact become established on a regular basis, linking Queensland and Java via the Torres Strait, but Bowen's part in the scheme did not become as important as had been envisaged. By 1873, there were many rival ports in North Queensland vying for a scheduled service, and Townsville by then had a greater claim to prominence than Port Denison. Regional rivalries were further emphasized when residents of the sugar-growing town of Mackay voiced opposition to any development of the shipping and trade with the Dutch East Indies on the grounds that they did not want to see cheap agricultural produce from Batavia being imported to Australia to compete with that of Mackay. (18) By 1870, the A.S.N. Co. had signed a contract which stipulated that a regular service be undertaken to all North Queensland ports from Brisbane which would continue for five years. Further improvements were made after November 1873, when, following the Palmer River gold rush and the opening of the port of Cooktown on the far North Queensland coast, a new service was initiated linking the coastal line to an overseas run via the Torres Strait to Singapore and London. (19) Much of the increased sea traffic which resulted was due to the gold discoveries in the interior of North Queensland, which tended to favour other ports than Bowen. In 1874, the shipping notices in the Port Denison Times mentioned a regular monthly service by steamer with India, China, Java and Japan, via the Torres Strait which was operated by the Eastern and Australian Mail Steam Company. (20) Meanwhile, sea communications along the Queensland coast were operated
between Port Denison and Rockhampton, Brisbane and Sydney by the Australasian Steam Navigation Company. The importance of the goldfields was emphasized by the notice which offered a passenger service to Cooktown for any prospective miners from the Bowen area. The Palmer River goldrush was in full swing. Although Port Denison attracted a fair amount of shipping during the 1870's, it was by no means the major port of call along the North Queensland coast. The early aspirations to become capital port of the northern area had been lost, due to location in relation to the Burdekin River barrier and the goldfields of North Queensland which were boosting port trade at other North Queensland coastal towns such as Townsville and Cooktown.

Neither did the fate of the telegraph link between Australia and England meet Bowen's expectations. Bowen and Townsville were linked by the telegraph line and it was pushed northwards to Cardwell. By the time that the line was being extended westward towards the Gulf of Carpentaria via Normanton and the Gilbert River, a race had developed between the Queensland and South Australian governments to first reach the northern coast with the telegraph, so that the important link to Britain would favour the winning colony. South Australia was building a telegraph line through central Australia, via Alice Springs and onto Darwin. In December 1870, the Times reported that there was little doubt that the telegraph from Cardwell to the Gulf shores would be completed early in 1871, well ahead of the South Australian rivals. (21) This prediction was not realised, as the line was not completed until January
The Bowen Post Office in 1873, an important part of North Queensland's communications link. Per courtesy of the John Oxley Library, Brisbane.
1872. Although Queensland did, in fact, complete its telegraph link to its outpost on the Gulf of the northern shores of Australia seven months ahead of its South Australia rival, it failed to get the submarine cable so that the telegraph line, which passed through Bowen, served for local use only. Location of North Queensland once again played a factor in the decision which passed over that area. When the Director of the British-Australia Telegraph Company arrived in Australia early in 1870, he favoured South Australia's claim for the cable to be landed at Port Darwin. He was influenced by Charles Todd, who had successfully constructed a line between Adelaide and Melbourne, and who had an interest in extending the telegraphic service of the south. For the British, the cost of laying a cable from Java to Port Darwin was considerably cheaper than laying a line along the longer route to the Gulf. Thus optimism that originally surrounded the idea of the Torres Strait sea route and the Gulf connection with the submarine telegraph cable to Java and onto Britain died for the residents of Bowen. By the 1870's, they were faced with the reality that the prime Australian shipping route was in the south, and the telegraph link with England was via Port Darwin and Adelaide, which placed the North Queensland service in a subsidiary role.

The regional rivalry that marked relations between the ports of Bowen and Townsville during the late 1860's and early 1870's was based on the proximity of each port to the pastoral and goldmining hinterland. Bowen was the first port established in 1861, and from there pastoral expansion
throughout the Kennedy took place. The major landmark of the region was the large Burdekin River, a string of water-holes for most of the year, but a raging torrent during the summer from January to March. It separated the Kennedy into the north and south, and Bowen was located in the southern sector. For the first five years of Kennedy settlement, the squatters on both sides of the Burdekin used Port Denison for their imports and exports, though the squatters on the northern side of the Burdekin found increasing difficulty in communications and transport across the river that became a major obstacle for part of the year.

The river was a highly significant moulding force in Kennedy settlement as it had attracted pastoralists first to its banks which guaranteed permanent water for settlers and stock, but unlike the large Murray-Darling of the south, it had no navigation potential and its steep banks would become death traps for weakened stock in time of drought. Moreover, in floodtime it was highly destructive and the floods could delay wagons with wool clip or essential supplies for up to four months and it soon became general policy for teamsters to avoid crossing it altogether in the 'wet'.

The township of Wickham grew up on its banks, out of the need of north Kennedy squatters for a port of access that would avoid the lower Burdekin crossing at Strathalbyn, and the development of the port at Cleveland Bay, Townsville, by private squatter enterprise occurred largely in response to this requirement.(23)

Townsville owed its establishment to the enterprise of John
Black, a Scot who had landed in Bowen in 1862 and become involved in pastoral enterprises. He had the support of a Sydney resident, Captain Robert Towns, a merchant, shipowner, trader and speculator, with plentiful funds. Black managed properties at Woodstock, Dotswood, and Fanning Downs, all on the north side of the Burdekin. He quickly realised the difficulties of continuing to use the road to Bowen, and was also aggravated by the businessmen of Bowen over a dispute concerning freight charges on goods transported to his stations. (24) His first attempt to sever ties with Port Denison was to establish a landing place at the mouth of the Burdekin, and in 1864, he organised an expedition which duly discovered a port outlet at Cleveland Bay. With the prospect of Townsville in sight, Black gave up his pastoral pursuits, and with the financial support of Captain Towns, exploited the new settlement at Bowen's expense. Though the harbour was inferior to the facilities offering at Port Denison, the location of the new port was more suitable for access to the north Kennedy. Warehouses soon contained considerable stocks of wool, and shipping was attracted to the port in increasing numbers.

Gold was discovered north of the Burdekin, commencing with the Star River deposits in 1866, which led to the Ravenswood and Charters Towers diggings of the 1870's, which finally determined the superiority of Townsville over Bowen. Natural resources for pastoralism were shared by both towns' hinterlands. However, the urgent need for diversification of industry on the frontier was fulfilled in the north Kennedy. Gold had greatly boosted development there. In the south Kennedy,
Bowen's hinterland, the gold discoveries were on a very small scale, and not adequate to develop into an alternative industry to squatting. Townsville promoters also seem to have been more energetic than their Bowen counterparts in stimulating the search for gold in their hinterland. In September 1865, the inhabitants of Townsville, eager to promote their infant settlement beyond the rival ports of Bowen and Cardwell offered a reward of £1,000 to the finder of payable gold within their hinterland. Following the success of the Star diggings, gold at Cape River, also north of the Burdekin became the harbinger of better times following the economic depression of the mid 1860's. The influx of miners to these diggings also created a market for the beef produced by northern pastoralists, who increasingly had converted their sheep herds into cattle herds, which were found to be better suited to the local, tropical conditions. Those squatters of the south Kennedy closest to the diggings had the advantage of selling their stock first. The struggling squatters of the south Kennedy hoped in vain for a local goldrush to provide a market closer to their stations. However, prosperity eluded them and they had to travel long distances with their stock to sell beef. A certain stagnation occurred in Bowen as a result of these developments.

Bowen's business houses continued to rely on the south Kennedy squatters and farmers, as well as some port trade and town industry for their custom. There were importers and exporters of every item of local trade, agents for insurance, shipping, and investment companies, firms that
provisioned squatters, backed the teamsters and packers, and stood behind the goldfields storekeepers when they sank capital into prospecting ventures and recouped it in running grog houses. However, the earliest Bowen firms, Ellis Read and Company, and Seaward, Marsh and Gegne, were soon overshadowed by Townsville rivals such as Samuel Allen and Clifton Aplin. By 1880, another Townsville firm, Burns Philp and Company had won paramountcy in North Queensland by developing wider and more varied interests. Townsville's commercial houses went from strength to strength, while the firms in Bowen were forced to accept more modest returns. Where such rivalries existed, it was the coming of the railway that clinched the advancement of one port over another, especially as Queensland's geography made for a decentralised railway system, with lines penetrating the interior from a number of points along the coast. Townsville and Bowen each had hopes of becoming the gateway to Charters Towers and the pastoral west. Bowen still had the better harbour, despite a rapidly deteriorating jetty, but Townsville had the better politicians, and was on the right side of the Burdekin. In 1877, a Liberal Queensland government decided to start the inland railway from Townsville, and five years later the line was opened to Charters Towers. Even Ravenswood's trade was claimed by Townsville, as a southern branch line was extended from the western rail line to that gold town. As the hinterland of Townsville expanded dramatically during the 1870's and 1880's, Bowen's hinterland diminished.

With Bowen's lack of gold resources, attention turned to
developing its agriculture. The experimental plots along
the Don River and at Queens Beach were proving that sugar
cane was not the success that had been anticipated. Constantly
recurring droughts were a serious setback to Bowen's sugar
cane plantations. A few farmers persevered, and the Hildebrandt
brothers, German settlers, ran the district's first successful
crushing in September 1883. However, Mackay to the south of
Bowen, soon became the centre of North Queensland sugar
growing. In 1865, John Spiller planted a small plot of cane
in that district, and by the end of 1867, the first cane had
been crushed and reduced to juice in an ordinary boiler,
thus producing the first sugar in North Queensland.(27)
Mackay progressed rapidly, and a thousand acres were brought
under cane during 1869 and 1870, and during each of the
succeeding four years, a thousand more were planted. Bowen's
acreages under sugar were paltry in comparison. The more
reliable rains of the Mackay district were the main reason
for the success of this agricultural crop there. The planners
of Bowen held very high hopes for the production of cotton,
especially as Bowen's settlement coincided with the American
Civil War which severely disrupted cotton supplies to Britain's
large cotton industry. Predictions were made that the new
settlement would become a major cotton producing area, develop­
ing a prosperous plantation economy.

But these expectations also proved too optimistic. Although
the growing conditions in Bowen were suitable for this crop,
the community of farmers who tried to develop small plantations
regretted the slowness of the Queensland government in helping
them to find a market. The lack of regular transport, and the uncoordinated efforts to secure a reliable market led to the downgrading of cotton prospects in Bowen. Farmers tended to diversify, and fruits and vegetables, grains and grapes were all cultivated in the hope that an adequate living could be earned. The large plantation economy was not to become established in the Bowen district as in other North Queensland districts. Small farming with modest income was to become the lot of the agricultural industry in Bowen.

By 1870, Townsville had made impressive strides. The gold-field at Ravenswood had a population of 2,000 and a distinct air of permancy. (28) In that year, £97,916 worth of gold ore passed through Townsville out of a total export figure of £116,396. In only two years, Townsville's exports had increased by 50%. Meanwhile, exports through Bowen declined from £57,697 in 1868 to £51,844 in 1870, still predominantly pastoral products. In addition, Bowen lost one-third of its population in 1868-1871. Indeed by Christmas 1870, the Port Denison Times reported that many Bowen houses were uninhabited, and numerous buildings had been removed to Ravenswood. By 1872, Townsville with a population of 1,140 well surpassed Bowen's total of 717. (29)

With Bowen's importance more or less dependent on the wealth and prestige of the south Kennedy pastoralists, the political voice of this group was also influential in Bowen's development. Inherent in colonial squatting tradition and deriving from the British example, was the belief that land holders were particularly fitted and indeed obligated to
THE MAIN STREET OF BOWEN, HERBERT STREET, TAKEN IN 1873.

PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
serve in government. The Times editor in Bowen, Rayner, clearly had this expectation of Kennedy pastoralists and Australian history abounds with pastoral identities. (30) The Kennedy proved exceptional. Discounting Dalrymple as atypical of the class, Michael Cunningham's narrow defeat in the 1869 election was as near as any local grazier came to parliamentary office. The Additional Members Bill of 1869 which extended the franchise to miners meant the substantial erosion of squatter political power, but independently, few northern squatters had the funds or leisure necessary for parliamentary service in the 1860's and 1870's. Moreover, because of immediate preoccupations during the economic depression, the constant demands inherent in squatting in the new tropical environment, plus isolation and poor communications, very few squatters even knew election details. This is exemplified by the case of Michael Cunningham, unaware of his own political candidacy. The meagre sum of votes registered throughout the Kennedy during this period of study reflects the low political consciousness of the squatters of the inland.

The Kennedy tended to have parliamentary representatives from the urban and mining classes to the detriment of the important pastoral class. Mackay gained much from the representation of Fitzgerald, and Bowen seemed on the outer politically. The mining class had little interest in the causes of Bowen's residents, and with Townsville's growing importance during the 1870's, the more urban orientated politicians focussed on that centre rather than Bowen. After Bowen's initial agitation
for northern separation, with the added expectation that it would become the future capital of a separate northern colony, the situation at the end of the 1870's with minimal political voice was a disappointment. The separation movement did gather new momentum during the 1880's, but it was dominated by Mackay sugar growing interests, as they battled for the freedom to determine their own labour policy. They favoured the continuing importation of South Sea Island labour, which was bitterly opposed by the southerners. Bowen's part in the later separation movement was at most, peripheral. Because the dominant squatting group of the south Kennedy had failed to become involved in politics, Bowen remained at a disadvantage when the miners and town dwellers found representation from their ranks. Its ambitions to become a North Queensland capital were no longer viewed seriously.

To conclude, the first generation of settlement in Bowen saw a community grappling with the realities of their situation. Although the highly ambitious expectations did not eventuate, Bowen did become a permanent, stable town, with well established industries and a port that serviced a definite area of the south Kennedy. It was generally beyond the control of the first settlers that their settlement did not achieve a more prominent status in North Queensland - physical location in relation to the goldfields, and the major obstacle of the Burdekin were key reasons for Bowen's limited development. By the end of the 1880's, Bowen recognised its reduced status, and once accepted, this position did not greatly upset the residents who had grown accustomed to a quieter socio-
economic lifestyle. In appearance, Bowen was a scattered settlement of permanent, weatherboard houses, with a main street of more grand and distinctive business buildings. The jetty was patched, and shipping continued to call at port to maintain import and export trade. The roads from Bowen, north, south and west were gradually improved, and communications by telegraph and ship were far more regular and reliable. The Aborigines had been quelled, and most of the serious threats and hardships of frontier living had been greatly reduced. A second generation of settlers was being ushered in.
A VIEW OF THE BOWEN SETTLEMENT TAKEN IN 1878, WITH PORT DENISON AND THE JETTY IN BACKGROUND. PER COURTESY OF THE JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY, BRISBANE.
(2) Meston, A. Geographical History of Queensland, Brisbane, 1895, p. 18
(3) Cotter, P.M.L. The Development of the Ports and Harbours of Queensland 1860-1890, B.A. Honours, University of Queensland, 1958, table 1
(4) Allingham, A. Taming the Wilderness, Townsville, 1977, p. 90
(6) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 90
(7) Port Denison Times, 5 March 1864
(8) Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1866, p. 1326
(9) ibid.
(10) Queensland Votes and Proceedings, Volume II, p. 25
(11) Port Denison Times, 5 March 1864
(12) Port Denison Times, 6 April 1867
(14) Queensland Votes and Proceedings, Vol II 1867, p. 1003
(15) ibid.
(16) Port Denison Times, 18 April 1868
(18) Port Denison Times, 3 February 1872:
(19) Bolton, G. A Thousand Miles Away, Canberra, 1963, p. 76
(20) Port Denison Times, 28 February 1874
(21) Port Denison Times, 3 December 1870
(22) Pike, G. op. cit. p. 101
(23) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 65
(24) Doherty, W. The Bowen Book, Brisbane, 1920, p. 27
(25) Bolton, G. op. cit. p. 44
(26) ibid. p. 163

(27) Nilsson, J.A. History of Mackay, the Sugar Town 1862-1916, B.A. Honours, University of Queensland, 1963

(28) Bolton, G. op. cit. p. 73

(29) Allingham, A. op. cit. p. 189

(30) Port Denison Times editorial, 31 December 1870
CONCLUSION
The settlement of Bowen and the surrounding Kennedy district was quite a distinctive historical phenomenon. Settlement did not proceed along the simple conventional lines envisaged by its planners and intending pioneers. While it did provide land and opportunity for the early squatters, success was earned at an unexpected cost. The three phase industrial society in Bowen was not forthcoming as anticipated in 1861. Neither could the Kennedy claim to follow traditional patterns of pastoral settlement as a compromise was forced due to the circumstances operating in frontier North Queensland. The remote location and the nature of the northern tropical environment had a large influence on the settlement of Bowen.

The pioneers came to terms with their new physical environment only slowly and it was very difficult for observers in the south to appreciate the unique Kennedy district situation. The consequent indifference and misunderstanding, particularly on the part of the Queensland government, proved costly for the northern settlers, as was demonstrated in the political affairs of Bowen's first generation of settlement. Although the frontier usually induced social change, the most basic features of British landed society were maintained in some areas, and the Bowen district was greatly influenced by British custom and tradition. The immigration of Germans, Irish and Scots did broaden the cultural basis of the town,
and district.

Distance and environment were directly responsible for many of the trials of the Kennedy pioneers, but naturally there were other factors, not least of which was Aboriginal resistance. Over-expansion and land exploitation were significant among human errors as was government direction or lack of it. But northern settlers in and near Bowen encountered a cruel sequence of events detrimental to their fortunes in the first decade, beginning with inflated stock prices and followed by a succession of problems including the stock disease pleuropneumonia, and quarantine restrictions governing the movement of cattle and sheep to southern markets. Then came the wool depression of 1865 and the financial crisis of 1866, combined with the uncertainties of drought and flood in the tropical environment.

Adaptation to Bowen conditions was a long and harrowing business for the agriculturalists also. Sugar and cotton proved to be unsuccessful due to lack of markets and unsuitability of climate. Small garden crops did thrive, and gradually farming took on a market garden look. Experimentation with other tropical crops continued, and the farming community became a consolidated section of Bowen by 1880. Alluvial soils and underground water supplies promised a secure future for the small farmer. Plantations did not develop on the scale of other tropical areas through North Queensland, distinguishing Bowen's settlement from that of other northern centres.
Bowen's part in regional politics and the first northern separation movement contributed to an ongoing search for northern recognition. The Queensland government was dominated by southern interests, and North Queensland felt somewhat neglected and over-ruled. Early agitation for separation had its origins in Bowen, and the first settlers felt quite within their rights to expect that their district would become prominent in managing the affairs of a new northern colony. They underestimated the extreme rivalry that came to exist between Bowen and other northern coastal centres, as the fight for separation became fragmented by regional differences and competition for prominence. Northern separation was never achieved due to the lack of population and regional rivalry. However, Bowen residents had originally stimulated the movement, and political representation for North Queensland had its beginnings in the town.

The occupation of Bowen is a small segment in the history of European expansion during the nineteenth century. In this case, the attitudes and rationale embodied in the native policy accorded with those obtained elsewhere in the British empire, though previous frontier experience urged especially stringent measures in North Queensland. The record of racial conflict in Bowen is revealing of the European priorities of the era, and particularly underscores the preponderance of materialism, and commensurate hardening of human sensitivity.
For their part, the Bowen Aborigines were remarkably well informed and prepared to resist the encroachment of the Europeans. From the first day of settlement, they attacked in the hope of expelling this white population from their traditional lands. Despite their superior numbers, they lacked the fire power and organisation to seriously challenge the Europeans, though they did surprise the whites with their tenacity and endurance in conducting a frontier, guerrilla war for at least a decade. Their decimated tribes finally surrendered to white domination, and they formed fringe camps on the outskirts of the town and pastoral stations where they gained a little sustenance from the whites. The disease, alcohol, prostitution and corruption of the European culture was almost as lethal for the camp Aborigines as the white man's gun, and their numbers continued to reduce drastically. The government failed to introduce any capable and humane legislation to protect them from white abuse, and by 1880, their tragic future was assured.

It is an important theme in Bowen's early development that the high expectations of the first settlers were never fully realised. The most obvious reasons for Bowen's inability to live up to the ambitions of its residents during the first generation of settlement were the barrier of the Burdekin River and the lack of goldfields discovered in close proximity to the town to boost a failing pastoral industry. Although Bowen had a fine harbour and good service facilities, it languished through lack of hinterland
prosperity. Pastoralism was the great support for Bowen during its formative years, but when that industry suffered recession and hardship, there was no alternative industry to buoy Bowen's economy. Townsville quickly progressed at Bowen's expense because it was on the northern side of the Burdekin, with ready access to a vast pastoral area as well as the lucrative goldfields that thrived throughout the 1870's. Agriculture was an important part of Bowen's industry, but plantations on a grand scale were never developed due to the local climatic conditions, and small farming did not contribute to an expanding town business economy. The port, though well endowed with fine natural assets and an adequate harbour, fell behind after the first few years when it enjoyed the export and import trade for the whole Kennedy district. Little by little, other northern ports competed for the sea trade, and Bowen became less important as a sea trading centre.

The promises offered by the proposed telegraphic link between Queensland and Britain via the Gulf of Carpentaria were empty. Bowen had high hopes of being one of the first settlements in the Australian colonies to receive news from Britain, thus giving it an advantage over the south. However, the eventual link via Darwin and Adelaide completely bypassed North Queensland, and the much talked about telegraph service in Bowen, became merely a regional service linking northern centres with the capital, Brisbane. Similarly, the expectations of increased trade and commerce between North Queensland and the Dutch East Indies and
Asia with a major shipping route being utilised via the northern Torres Strait were short-lived. The port of Bowen was ideally located to feature as a major port in such a trade, but the power of the southern interests was too great, and the southern sea route between Australia and Britain became the major direction of sea traffic. At most the northern route via Torres Strait was a Queensland service, which never developed enough to really boost Bowen and other ports of call. Eventually, Bowen was completely bypassed as it lost importance in North Queensland.

As stated in the opening remarks, this thesis is conceived as a suggestion of certain themes that need to be explored in recording the settlement of a tropical North Queensland port town. It is not intended to be a definitive record describing the year by year development of the town and district, but rather a work which develops important themes that explain the origins and character of the settlement. The motive for settlement is significant, and exploration which led up to its foundation needs to be considered to understand why a particular site was chosen as the first settlement in North Queensland. The first years of European settlement were a time of great trial and tribulation, and this thesis examines the reasons why this particular settlement survived and prospered, where other attempts at Australian tropical settlement had failed. Immigration and the adaptability of the new arrivals determined the socio-economic character of Bowen, and this theme is explored. The experimental nature of the settlement is
highlighted with many examples such as buildings in the township, agricultural achievements, the modifications that were necessary for the pastoral industry to come to terms with the tropical environment, and the immigrant groups that proved most adaptable. Race relations between the Europeans and Aborigines reflected the violent nature of the remote northern frontier, and explain the determination and ruthlessness that were required for complete white domination in their new home. Both sides suffered at each other's hands, and certainly the Bowen experience was one of the most prolonged racial conflicts that had been seen in Australia. The aftermath was an era of mutual distrust and disrespect, and no solution was to be found for the landless Aborigines during the period discussed in this thesis. Finally, the overriding theme of the high expectations of the early settlers gradually being downgraded to accept the reality of their town's situation is examined. Why did a prominent settlement lose importance and become a secondary port town? The answers place Bowen's development during its first generation of settlement in a much broader North Queensland perspective. From North Queensland's first port, Bowen evolved into a secondary port settlement, servicing a greatly reduced hinterland area. But it did survive, and in a distinctive way, adapted to its tropical environment to become a lasting part of North Queensland's settlement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males over 14</th>
<th>Males under 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arrivals</strong></td>
<td>177</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Departures</strong></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females over 14</th>
<th>Females under 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arrivals</strong></td>
<td>191</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Departures</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males over 14</th>
<th>Males under 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arrivals</strong></td>
<td>471</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Departures</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females over 14</th>
<th>Females under 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arrivals</strong></td>
<td>295</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Departures</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### OCCUPATIONS OF MALES BOWEN - 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Officers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial/Legal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Commerce</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graziers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherds</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Hired</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunatics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES - BOWEN - 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Duties</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Commerce</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servants</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### COUNTRY OF BIRTH - BOWEN - 1868 (TOWN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England/Wales</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian colonies</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania/New Zealand</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### COUNTRY OF BIRTH - BOWEN - 1868 (RURAL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England/Wales</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian colonies</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania/New Zealand</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polynesian</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### RESIDENCES IN TOWN AND DISTRICT - BOWEN - 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tents</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### RELIGION - BOWEN - 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohommedan</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALL DETAILS TAKEN FROM CENSUS FIGURES PUBLISHED IN THE QUEENSLAND VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS 1865/1866/1868.
taken from the notes of W. Hanlon, Bowen - transcript in John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aboriginal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gun</td>
<td>Murrhginna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackfellow</td>
<td>Murree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Miggeroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat</td>
<td>Bullera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>no word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>Kooma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Gai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Kuggera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Oorah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground</td>
<td>Nannee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spear</td>
<td>Kunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boomerang</td>
<td>Wongull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Buldeena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Beegoonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kill</td>
<td>Munga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Winna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandicoot</td>
<td>Woodjalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koala</td>
<td>Woolmull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungry</td>
<td>Kubbeena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Purbera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wailaby</td>
<td>Gnullumbulla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot Season</td>
<td>Kurree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold Season</td>
<td>Weera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Child</td>
<td>Kumboola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>Oola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Binbee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Kooyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hut</td>
<td>Koogah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

OFFICIAL SOURCES

Government


Journal of the Legislative Council of Queensland

Queensland Government Gazette

Queensland Parliamentary Debates

Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly

Queensland State Archives

closed to the public - no records could be made available during the time of research for this thesis

Records Held by the Bowen Historical Society, Bowen

Honour Board for Bowen’s First Settlers

Daintree R. to Colonial Secretary Maryvale, 15 March 1868 re appointment as North Queensland Government geologist

Daintree R. Geological Report, Bowen River coalfields, 30 January 1866; Gilbert River goldfield, 18 April 1868. Daintree to Surveyor General’s Office; application for lease on Coppermine Creek, North Kennedy, correspondence July-August 1866

MANUSCRIPTS AND DIARIES

Cunningham, M.W. Pioneering of the River Burdekin, typescript held by the Bowen Historical Society


Gordon, J. Customs House Letter Book, prepared
197.

Collector of Customs, Bowen from 15 April 1861 to 3 February 1863. Bowen Historical Society

Fenwick, J. 

Diary, Experience in the Upper Burdekin, 1863. John Oxley Library

Gray, Lucy

Diary, Experience in North Queensland, September 1868-November 1872. John Oxley Library

Macdonald, J.G.

Journal 1864. Exploration from Port Denison to Gulf of Carpentaria and back. Bowen Historical Society

Scott, A.J.

On An Overland Expedition From Port Denison to Rockingham Bay in Queensland. John Oxley Library

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Port Denison Times, Bowen. 5 March 1864 - December 1875. 
Originals held at the Bowen Historical Museum, Bowen, and microfilms at Main Library, University of Queensland.

Port Denison Times Almanac, 1867. Fryer Library, University of Queensland.

Cleveland Bay Express, Townsville. 1865-66. Originals are unavailable but extracts have been printed in other papers such as the Port Denison Times and The Courier.

Cummins and Campbell Monthly, Townsville. Selected articles held at John Oxley Library, Brisbane -

"Bowen's March of Time - First Beginnings" May 1951

"Bowen Downs Road" May 1943

Pugh's Almanac 1861-1875

The Courier, of Brisbane 1860-1875 and The Queenslander, of Brisbane 1865-72 have been summarily covered.

BOOKS - Contemporary

Adams, D. (ed)


Bicknall, A.C.

Travel and Adventure in North Queensland, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1895
Bird, J.T.S.  
*The Early History of Rockhampton: Dealing Chiefly with Events Up Till 1870.* The Morning Bulletin, Rockhampton, 1904

Daintree, R.  
*Queensland, Australia, 1872*

Dalrymple, G.E.  
*Proposals for the Establishment of a New Pastoral Settlement in North Australia,* Brisbane, 1859

Carrington, G.  
*Colonial Adventures and Experience - By a University Man,* London, 1871

Carron, W.M.  
*Narrative of an Expedition Undertaken Under the Direction of the late Mr. Assistant Surveyor, E.B. Kennedy,* Kemp & Fairfax, Sydney, 1849

Collin, Capt.  
*Life and Adventures of an Essexman - Capt. Collin, a Queensland Pioneer.* 1914

Cook, J.  
*Extracts from the Journals of Captain James Cook Giving a full account in his own words of his adventures and discoveries in Australia.* ed by A.W. Reed, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1969

Curr, E.M.  
*The Australian Race. Its Origins, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia and Routes By Which It Spread Itself Over the Continent.* 4 volumes, Melbourne, 1886

Eden, C.H.  
*My Wife and I in Queensland: an Eight Years Experience in the above Colony, with some account of Polynesian Labour,* London, 1872

Gray, R.  
*Reminiscences of India and North Queensland, 1857-1912,* London, 1913

Gregory, A.C.  
*Journals of Australian Exploration,* Brisbane, 1848, p. 187

Hill, W.R.O.  
*Forty-five Years Experience in North Queensland, 1861-1905,* Brisbane, 1907

Hogan, J.F.  
*The Gladstone Colony, William Brooks & Co., Sydney,* 1897

Johnstone, R.A.  
*Spinifex and Wattle: Reminiscences of Pioneering Work in North Queensland,* Brisbane, 1905

Kennedy, E.B.  
*Four Years in Queensland,* Edward Stanford, London, 1870

King, P.P.  Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coast of Australia Performed Between the Years of 1818 and 1822, John Murray, London, 1827

Lang, J.D.  Cooksland in North East Australia, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, London, 1847

Landsborough, W.  Journal of Landsborough Expedition from Carpentaria, In Search of Burke and Wills, Melbourne, 1862


Leichhardt, L.  Overland Expedition from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, London, 1847

Lumholtz, C.  Among Cannibals—An Account of Four Years' Travels in Australia and of Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland, John Murray, London, 1889


Meston, A.  Geographic History of Queensland, Edmund Gregory, Brisbane, 1895

Palmer, E.  Early Days in North Queensland, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1903

de Stage, O.  Pages From a Squatters Note Book, London, 1901

BOOKS — LATER WORKS

Allingham, A.  Taming the Wilderness, the First Decade of Pastoral Settlement in the Kennedy District, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, 1977
Banton, M.  Race Relations, Tavistock Publications, Sydney, 1967

Bennett, M.M.  Christison of Lammermoor, London, 1927

Bernays, C.A.  Queensland Politics During Sixty Years (1859-1919) Years, A J Cumming, Brisbane, 1919

Black, J.  North Queensland Pioneers, Charters Towers, 1931

Blainey, G.  Tyranny of Distance, How Distance Shaped Australia's History, Melbourne, 1966

Bolton, G.C.  A Thousand Miles Away, A History of North Queensland to 1920, ANU, Canberra, 1963

Bowen Historical Society

Barker, E.M.  Newspaper History at Bowen, N.Q., 1864-1969

Cottrell, J.  Early Courts and Court Houses

Cottrell, J.  Ships On Our Horizon

Cottrell, J & W  By S S William to Port Denison. A Narrative History of 'Holy Trinity' Bowen.

Cunningham, E.  The Bowen River Saga.

Darwen, H.  Pioneer Pub Crawl. Along the Old Bowen Downs Road.

Delamothe, P.R.  Bowen's First Hundred Years, 1770-1870

Johns, R.F.  The Story of James Morrill

Jones, V.B.  Bowen Downs and the Road to Bowen

Kerr, E.  Frederick Robert Bode of Bromby Park. He Rode with Dalrymple

Maclean, M.  Pioneers Mr and Mrs J. Hall Scott and the Early Days of Queens Beach

Moller, N.  The History of the Bowen/Collinsville Railway

Steen, R.  The History of the Port of Bowen

Bowen's Maritime History
Davis, J. and Westgarth, W.

Tracks of McKinlay and Party Across Australia, London.

Doherty, W.J.  

The Bowen Book, Brisbane, 1920

Doherty, W.J.  

The Townsville Book, Brisbane, 1920

Farnfield, J.  

Frontiersman, A Biography of George Elphinstone Dalrymple, Melbourne, 1968

Greenwood, G. (ed)  

Australia: A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1955

Holthouse, H.  

Up Rode the Squatter, Adelaide, 1970

Maddock, K.  

The Australian Aborigines, A Portrait of Their Society, London, 1972

Reid, F.  

The Romance of the Great Barrier Reef, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1954

Reynolds, H.  

Aborigines and Settlers, The Australian Experience 1788-1939, Cassell Australia, Melbourne, 1972

Rowley, C.D.  

The Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Penguin Books, Melbourne, 1972

Rowley, C.D.  

Outcasts in White Australia, Penguin Books, Melbourne, 1972

Serle, G.  

From Deserts the Prophets Come - The Creative Spirit in Australia 1788-1972, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1973

Ward, R.  

The Australian Legend, Melbourne, 1958

Ward, R.  

Australia, Sydney, 1965

Woolmington, J.  

Aborigines in Colonial Society - Problems in Australian History Series Cassell, Melbourne, 1973

Wright, J.  

The Cry for the Dead, Oxford Uni Press, Melbourne, 1981

Yeates, N.  

Stone on Stone: A Pioneer Saga, Woolgoolga, 1979

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Adamson, S.  

The Queensland Sugar Industry, 1860-1917  

B.A. Hons, University of Queensland, 195
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anderson, D.</td>
<td>Queensland's Colonial Defence Policies 1860-1878</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnett, S.</td>
<td>A Study of the Queensland Native Mounted Police Force in the 1870's</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corfield, N.</td>
<td>The Development of the Cattle Industry in Queensland 1840-1890</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotter, P.M.L.</td>
<td>The Development of the Ports and Harbour of Queensland 1860-1890</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowin, W.</td>
<td>European-Aboriginal Relations in Early Queensland 1859-1897</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goleby, A.V.</td>
<td>The Problems and Feuds Engaging the Attention of the Settlers in the Northern Districts of New South Wales 1842-1859</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly, P.C.</td>
<td>The Life and Problems of the Queensland Squatter Over 100 Years 1850-1950</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleinschmidt, M.A.</td>
<td>Migration and Settlement Schemes in Queensland</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis, G.</td>
<td>A History of the Ports of Queensland 1859-1939 - A Study in Australian Economic Nationalism</td>
<td>Ph. D., University of Queensland</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loos, N.</td>
<td>Frontier Conflict in the Bowen District 1861-1874</td>
<td>M.A. Qualifying, James Cook University</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loos, N.</td>
<td>Aboriginal-European Relations in North Queensland 1861-1897</td>
<td>Ph. D., James Cook University</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald, L.</td>
<td>Land Settlement in the Northern Districts of Port Curtis and Leichhardt 1853-1869</td>
<td>M.A., University of Queensland</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilsson, J.A.</td>
<td>History of Mackay, the Sugar Town 1862-1916</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stubbs Brown, M.</td>
<td>The Foreign Trade of Queensland, 1859-1900</td>
<td>B.A. Hons, University of Queensland</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brayshaw, H.C.</td>
<td>&quot;Aboriginal Material Culture in the Herbert/Burdekin District: A Cultural Crossroads?&quot;</td>
<td><em>Lectures in North Queensland History</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Life on the Flinders River 1868-1870&quot;</td>
<td><em>Queensland Heritage</em> Vol. 1 No. 2, May 1965</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies, A.G.</td>
<td>&quot;Immigration and Immigrant Ships&quot;</td>
<td><em>J.R.H.S.Q.</em> Vol 2 No.6 1935</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foote, W.</td>
<td>&quot;Queensland Immigration and the Black-Ball Line&quot;</td>
<td><em>J.A.H.S.</em> June 1978</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McDonald, R.J.  "Republicanism in the 50's - The Case of John Dunmore Lang", J.R.A.H.S. Vol. 50 October 1964, pp262-276

Morrison, A.A.  "Colonial Society 1860-1890" Queensland Heritage Vol. 1 No. 5 November 1966


Reynolds, H.  "Aboriginal-European Contact History: Problems and Issues", J.A.S., No. 3 June 1978: pp52-64


The following journal articles were consulted only briefly:


Collinson, J.W.  "Cardwell - A Gateway to the West", J.R.H.S.Q., Vol. 6 No. 2


Davies, A.G.  "Immigration and the Immigrant Ships (Moreton Bay)", J.R.H.S.Q. Vol. 2 No. 6, 1920-1935


Reynolds, H. "Racial Thought in Early Colonial Australia", *A.J.P.H.* Vol. 20 No. 1, April 1974


Cahir, P. "Women in North Queensland" Lectures on North Queensland History, Series II, 1975


Reynolds, H. "Racial Violence in North Queensland", Lectures on North Queensland History, Series II, 1975

Reynolds, H. "Settlers and Aborigines on the Pastoral Frontier", Lectures on North Queensland History, Series I, 1974


Mercer, P.M. "Pacific Islanders in Colonial Queensland 1863-1906" Lectures in North Queensland History, Series I, 1974
MISCELLANEOUS

Bowen Sketchbook - miscellaneous correspondence and newspaper articles extracted from Bowen Historical Society records.

Bowen: Relevant Material Concerning the Beginning of Settlement.
   a collection of information collated by the John Oxley Library of Brisbane

Great Britain Parliament, Papers Relating to Immigration Queensland 1861-1869, Brisbane, 1869

Turner Cutting Books No. 3 and No. 6 - assorted newspaper clippings dated early twentieth century relating to early days of settlement in Bowen and North Queensland

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

The Daintree Collection of photographs - held by the John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

John Oxley Library Collection of photographs gathered from private sources and retained on file for research purposes.

Stuart, C. Town Plan of Bowen in Kennedy District - 1861, original held at the Department of Mapping and Surveying, Brisbane