THE QUEENSLAND POLICE FORCE

1895 - 1910


A Thesis
Submitted to the Department of History,
University of Queensland, for the
Degree of Master of Arts

February 1989.
I certify that except where otherwise specifically acknowledged, this Thesis is entirely the result of my own unaided work and that no part of it has previously been presented to the University of Queensland or any other University for any degree or award.

M. V. Kowald
ABSTRACT

This thesis is an institutional history of the Queensland Police Force from 1895 until 1910. It is also a social history with emphasis on the role, duties and life of the ordinary policeman. Thus it is a history 'from the bottom up' giving an account of life for the Constables and Sergeants in various parts of Queensland at that time. There is less direct emphasis on the ranks above Sergeant - that of the Sub-Inspectors, Inspectors and the Commissioner. The main thrust of the work is to illustrate that institutional histories of Police Forces written from the 'bottom up' can achieve the same overall effect as the 'top down' approach despite the fact that such institutions by their very nature are hierarchical with power centralised at the top. Whilst the major theme is one of methodology, it is also passive and indirect. Certainly the theme will not be as obvious and specific as the sub-themes. They include the arguments that control of the Force was primarily with the Commissioner with significant input from the Government and the community; that demographic, economic and environmental influences on Queensland had a direct influence on the history of Queensland’s Police Force; that Queensland policemen were disadvantaged in monetary terms when compared with other Australian Police Forces especially those of New South Wales and Victoria; and that while the Queensland policeman was generally well mannered, well respected and was closely associated with the community, the description of a typical
Queensland policeman varied with rank, age and the branch of the Force in which he served.

The study begins with a preface which places the thesis in the methodological context of other police histories which have been written both in Australia and overseas. The availability of sources is discussed and reasons given for choosing the particular time period. An overview of the 1864-1910 period follows which covers the beginnings of the Queensland Police Force until the end of the period under review. The terms of Commissioners Seymour (1864-1895), Parry-Okeden (1895-1905) and Cahill (1905-1917) are reviewed and their accomplishments discussed in the light of how it affected their men. Such influences are placed in the context of what was happening in Queensland at the time politically, economically and environmentally.

The following six chapters (Chapters 2 to 7) are devoted to a close analysis of the lives of ordinary policemen in relation to the administrative structure of the Force and their role within the Queensland community. Discussion takes place under the headings of Recruitment and training; Conditions; Remuneration; Duties; Extraneous duties and Equipment. In Chapter 2 with the use of statistics from oath books, a clear picture is established of the men who joined during the 1895-1910 period, covering their physical attributes of height and age, their religion, country of origin, educational ability...
and previous occupation. All aspects of training at the Depot are discussed including the physical demands of drill and the instruction of theoretical aspects of criminal law and police regulations.

Conditions of the Force are analysed in Chapter 3 both administratively with the influence of the hierarchy in promotions, dismissals, transfers and punishments and also environmentally by discussing conditions under which the men lived and worked. Remuneration of pay, allowances and superannuation, an important area of discontent, follows in Chapter 4 which allows a comprehensive comparison with other Police Forces. Discussion of their duties forms a major part of the Thesis to the extent that two Chapters (4 and 5) are used. The role of the different ranks is highlighted followed by the differentiation of the many duties whether they be beat, mounted, fatigue or clerical duties and whether the men be in the General Force, the Water Police or the Criminal Investigation Branch. Extraneous duties are discussed in a separate Chapter because of their number and variety. The categories of horses, bicycles, uniforms, arms, technology and the band are covered in Chapter 7 under the heading of Equipment. The conclusion gives a summation of the methodological perspective of the work with the inherent problems that are associated with this approach. The sub themes of the topic are also reiterated and consolidated.
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I wish to acknowledge the contribution made by a number of people and Government Departments to the completion of this Thesis. I undertook many hours of research at the Queensland State Archives where helpful advice was always readily available from a most courteous staff. Whilst to a lesser extent the John Oxley and Fryer Libraries were used, I wish to also express thanks for their help.

I was most fortunate to have complete support and cooperation from the Queensland Police Department and I am indeed grateful for the permission given to me by Mr. Ron Redmond, Acting Police Commissioner, to research records of the 1895-1910 period. In particular I would like to thank two people. Sergeant 1/C Bob Good was very generous in his support of this project and his criticisms from a police perspective were most appreciated. Gabrielle Flynn, Curator of the Police Museum, was also most helpful in allowing me to explore the records and photographs held in the Museum.

My most deserved thanks must go to my supervisor, Associate Professor Ross Johnston, whose encouragement and academic expertise were always cheerfully available. The combination of such cooperation from all these areas has made this study an enjoyable and challenging experience.
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>Acting Sergeant:</td>
<td>Act Sergt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Report:</td>
<td>AR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Secretary:</td>
<td>Col Sec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner:</td>
<td>Comm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constable:</td>
<td>Const</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constable First Class:</td>
<td>Const 1/C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Investigation Branch:</td>
<td>CIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector:</td>
<td>Insp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector First Class:</td>
<td>Insp 1/C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector Second Class:</td>
<td>Insp 2/C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector Third Class:</td>
<td>Insp 3/C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Secretary:</td>
<td>Home Sec</td>
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<td>QGG</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Mounted Police:</td>
<td>NMP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Report of the Royal Commission appointed to</td>
<td>1889 Royal Comm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inquire into the Constitution, Administration, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working of the Criminal Investigation Branch of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Force of Queensland:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Senior Constable:</td>
<td>Sen Const</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant:</td>
<td>Sen Sergt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant:</td>
<td>Sergt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sub-Inspector:</td>
<td>Sub-Insnp</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Inspector Second Class:</td>
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<td>Sub-Inspector Third Class:</td>
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<td>Second Progress Report:</td>
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<td>Under Secretary</td>
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## CONVERSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Mass</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inch = 25.4 mm</td>
<td>1 pound = 454 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 foot = 30.5 cm</td>
<td>1 stone = 6.36 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yard = 0.914 m</td>
<td>1 ounce = 28.38 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mile = 1.61 km</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Money</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 acre = 0.405 ha</td>
<td>12 pence (d.) = 1 shilling (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 shillings = 1 pound (£)</td>
</tr>
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When decimal currency was adopted in 1966, two dollars were equivalent to one pound.
Total freedom is anarchy, total order tyranny. The police who represent the collective interests of the community, are the agency which holds a balance somewhere between.¹

* * *

This thesis is an institutional history of the Queensland Police Force from 1895 until 1910. By definition it is not a history of law and order in Queensland but rather an administrative social history of the men who comprised the Force at that time. The major theme whilst passive and indirect, will be one of methodology in which the approach will be ‘from the bottom up’ - from the perspective of the Constables and Sergeants with less direct emphasis on the higher ranks of Sub-Inspector, Inspector and Commissioner. Theoretical discussion will be limited to the methodology used in other Police Force histories especially those of Australian Forces. In so doing, this work will show that institutional histories of Police Forces using this approach can achieve the same overall effect as police histories written from the ‘top down’ despite the fact that such institutions by their very nature are hierarchical with power centralised at the top. Specific sub-themes will also be developed. They include the arguments that control of the

Force was primarily with the Commissioner with significant input from the Government and the community; that the demographic, economic and environmental influences on Queensland had a direct influence on the history of Queensland's Police Force; that Queensland policemen were disadvantaged in monetary terms when compared with other Australian Police Forces especially those of New South Wales and Victoria; and that while the Queensland policeman was generally well mannered, well respected and closely associated with the community, the description of a typical Queensland policeman varied with rank, age and the branch of the Force in which he served. Foot police in the towns were more dependent on authority and less self sufficient than mounted men who were usually more confident, self assured, had more initiative and were more robust to withstand the isolated and environmentally harsh conditions. The Water Police and Detectives of the Criminal Investigation Branch fitted somewhere in between these two categories because the nature of their work sometimes resulted in periods of unsupervised duty although there were times when they worked closely with other police in the towns.

The production of fully trained police officers in this period was largely entrusted to a three-fold system. This consisted of training for three months; followed by on-the-job training usually in a distant, country location
coupled with written directions in both manuals and irregular memoranda; and disciplinary supervision. After an overview of the 1864-1910 period, this paper will follow the life of the policeman as he passes through recruitment and training, followed by duty whether it be in the country or city, whether he be Mounted or Foot, a Detective in the CIB or a member of the Water Police. The police buildings in which he lived and worked, his contact with fellow officers, native Trackers and community, as well as the internal pressures and influences of punishments, promotions and transfers are all topics requiring discussion. Aspects of pay, allowances and superannuation especially in relation to other Police Forces and other jobs will be highlighted. It was almost always the police who tackled the problems of society – race relations, traffic and drugs – as they emerged before they were channelled into separate Departments. Such work formed the basis of extraneous duties which also included collecting statistics and acting as Inspectors for various Departments. Equipment is discussed under the categories of horses, bicycles, uniforms, arms, technology and the police band.

The 1895-1910 period has been chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, whilst there has been a study made of the Queensland Police Force prior to 1890, and various works written on the

Queensland Police Museum and the Queensland Police Department, a picture can be established of the working lives of the men and their families in the communities in which they served. Annual reports by the Commissioner and Parliamentary debates provide valuable material, also evidence given at the 1899 Royal Commission. Called primarily to investigate the Criminal Investigation Branch because of criticisms of its handling of three murders, especially the still unsolved Gatton murders of 1898, it gives insights into all aspects of the Force. Detailed evidence was given by more than seventy officers and until the Fitzgerald Inquiry of 1988-9, it has been the only comprehensive inquiry solely into the Queensland Police Force. To a lesser degree, the 1889 Royal Commission into the Civil Service has also been a useful source.

The topic of policing covers the relationship between criminals, crime, punishment and police. This broad area has been covered for various countries and within this framework crime has been given attention by authors such as

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Radinowicz,8 Cockburn,9 Tobias10 and in Australia, Mukherjee11 and Ward and Woods.12 The relationship between crime and Police Forces has been examined for England,13 America14 and Australia.15 Professional historians largely ignored the separate topic of police until the 1960s when Critchley16 published a history of the police of England and Wales and Fosdick wrote American Police Systems.17 Other


American works included studies of the Boston and New York Departments by Roger Lane and James Richardson respectively. Much remains to be done but James Richardson's *Urban Police in the United States* is regarded as fundamental to the study of police in the United States. Critchley's work is still significant for England while George Mosse's *Police Forces in History* illustrates the potential to be found in international comparisons.

The police literature of Australasia is limited when compared with that of America and Britain although the situation is improving. Wilson and Western's *The Policeman's Position Today and Tomorrow* and Chappell and Wilson's *The Police and the Public in Australia and New Zealand* provide studies which concentrate on the sociological aspects of policing in


the community. Sturma24 explores the relationship between crime and policing in nineteenth century Australia with emphasis on the social consequences of convictism. Mark Finnane’s recent volume of essays25 on the social history of policing in Australia offers a number of specific studies in areas such as the historical differences between rural and urban planning, the development of public order and police powers, and a re-evaluation of policing practices in relation to crimes involving women. Sandra Wilson examines four sociological studies which emphasize the importance of the administrative, regulatory and social role of police in the community as distinct from their role in criminal law enforcement.26 The publications by the Australian Institute of Criminology have also added to the study of policing27 covering areas such as legal powers, discipline and accountability, training, promotion and police resource materials.


Until the 1980s institutional studies of Australasian Police Forces were sketchy and certainly not scholarly.28 New Zealand now has a detailed account of the Force until 186729 and the first and only substantial institutional history of an Australian Police Force has been Robert Haldane's history of the Victorian Force.30 Robert Clyne has written on the South Australian Force although the time frame only extends to 1916.31 G.M. O'Brien takes a more generalised overview of Australian Police Forces in his work.32 Along with Clyne's book, the most recent work is a history of the women police in South Australia by Patricia Higgs and Christine Bettess.33 Whilst few in number, the books fill the area of Australian police histories which had been largely neglected. In providing this basic framework for beginning an assessment of historical problems of Police Forces, they all share a common

28. For example the Queensland Police Department produced the booklet, A Centenary History of the Queensland Police Force 1864-1963, (Brisbane, Police Department, 1964).


33. Patricia Higgs and Christine Bettess, To walk a fair beat, (South Australia, Past and Present Women Police Association, 1987).
approach - that of writing from the top down with emphasis on the Commissioners. In this respect then, they differ from this thesis.

Whilst this work is about the people who comprised the Queensland Police Force, it is first and foremost a history of an institution. Thus administrative influences, hierarchical distribution of power and external influences of government, environment and the economy transcend social aspects of personalities, families and living conditions. But it is not a purely administrative work after the style of Swanton’s *Police Institutions and Issues: American and Australian Perspectives.* His work is directed towards police administrators in matters such as training, controls, federal influence and leadership. This paper is more sociologically oriented because of the nature and selection of the primary sources. Whilst this aspect would seemingly place excessive emphasis on people rather than administrative structures, the very nature of the police administration with its well defined direction through written Manuals of Rules and Regulations, General Orders and Circular Memos makes it difficult for social factors to dominate.

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In the same way, the approach 'from the bottom' would tend to place inordinate emphasis on the lower orders and ignore the Commissioner. It will be seen that because the role of the Commissioner was so administratively significant it is impossible to ignore his contribution. Indeed his influence tends to overshadow the lower orders. The use of extensive primary material pertaining to the Constables and Sergeants ensures, however, that the 'bottom up' approach is maintained.

Whatever perspective is taken, one basic conclusion remains—control and development of the Force was primarily with the Commissioner influenced to varying degrees by the Government and the community. The category of Government referred not only to the parliamentarians but also to the laws which they passed and which were then to be upheld by the police. Whilst such influence is well documented, it is the community influence which is perhaps the most difficult to assess because so many groups played a part—the settlers on the land, townsfolk, the destitute, the unionists, the criminals, the strikers and the Aborigines.

The Force was a conservative institution which changed only when forced to do so. On a personal level policemen were large confident figures but as a group they were a slow, ambling bureaucracy held in check by a framework of law which
regulated almost every aspect of their lives. Criminal offences, procedures and power of arrest were decreed by law but so too were police subject to Police Regulations and Rules which extended far beyond the obvious parameters. The men were always under authority whether to the law, a superior officer or to the Government of the day, hence their conservatism.
Chapter 1

OVERVIEW 1864 - 1910

An overview of the Queensland Force from its beginnings until 1810 is required so that later discussion of the specific 1895-1910 period can be placed in a clearer perspective. The approach is chronological rather than the 'from the bottom' which the remainder of the thesis emphasises.

When the history of human institutions is considered it is only in recent times that the organized police service has emerged as the primary means by which society deals with lawlessness, threatening social disorder and individual breaches of legal codes. Not until 1829 were the foundations of the modern Australian, United Kingdom and United States Police Forces laid with the establishment of the 'New Police' in London by Sir Robert Peel.¹ At the same time a policing system was being effected in Ireland. This was a response to rural disorder, whereas in England and the United States it was essentially associated with urbanization in which the criminals in the cities were the ones to control. Policing in Australia was shaped partly by the conditions on the frontier with the expansion of settlement but also by the demands of

urbanization. More importantly, police were welcomed for protection unlike the situation in nineteenth-century England where R.D. Storch has argued that resistance to police 'was directly linked to the sentiment that the police were intruders and represented a threat to many aspects of community life'. In Australia the Police Forces were seen as the inevitable and readily acclaimed accompaniment of the transition to a stable social order. There was also the tendency to create specialised police to deal with special problems, hence the Water Police, Border Police and in Victoria the Gold Police. Control was centralised in each colony by the time of Federation which brought the Forces in closer conformity with the model of the Irish Constabulary rather than the English Forces where police remained under county, borough and metropolitan control. In one sense centralization weakened civilian supervision but as Sturma summarised 'the new concept of police envisioned that authority was to be managed with military efficiency but imposed with urban civility'. Notwithstanding such powers, the police were still only as good as the law they endeavoured to uphold and the politicians who passed the


legislation.
The Police Act of 1863 (27 Vic. No. 11) ⁴ which initiated a separate Queensland Police Force came into operation on 1 January 1884 with David Thompson Seymour as Acting Commissioner over eighty-five stations and 287 men - 150 white and 137 native police.⁵ In so doing, he assumed control of the General Force and the Native Police but not the Water Police. Not until 1869, however, were police removed from the control of the Magistrates. This was after much confusion and friction over the appointment of Magistrates as Inspectors. They not only judged cases but were required to be part of the police system and as a result, discipline within the Force suffered.

In 1874 Seymour announced a transitional policy for the Native Police of the phasing in of Trackers.⁶ This occurred very slowly with the Native Police being finally disbanded by the early 1900s. It had been an expedience devised by Europeans to exert power and control over the Aborigines in the absence of a formal declaration of war. To this end it was successful but by the late nineteenth century its practices and philosophy were being questioned. There was

⁴ This was amended by 'the Police Act of 1863 Amendment Act of 1881', (55 Vic. No. 32).

⁵ ‘AR 1884’, QYP, (1865), 455.

⁶ General Order 572, 4 August 1874, POL/4, QSA.
hardly any unoccupied land left and the Government and police stance was changing to that of protecting the Aborigines from starvation, exploitation by whites and opium related problems. The full implementation of the policy of protection was instituted with the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897. Some amendments to this were made in 1901.

Seymour laid the foundations for the Force which grew from 287 at the end of 1863 to 907 when Parry-Okeden took control on 1 July 1895. It increased further to 911 when Cahill became Commissioner on 1 April 1905 and by 1910, to 1050, a trebling of numbers since 1864 - see Appendix 1. The population of Queensland meanwhile had increased ten fold between 1864 and 1911 as Table 1 illustrates.

**TABLE 1: Population of Queensland 1864-1911**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>61467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>173283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>322853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>393718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>503266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


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7. 'AR 1864', *QVP*, (1865), 455.
8. 'AR 1895', *QVP*, 1(1896), 807.
9. 'AR 1905', *QPP*, 1 (1908), 1550.
10. 'AR 1910', *QPP*, 2 (1911-12), 644.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>People per sq mile</th>
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<th>Cost per inhabitant</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>697</td>
<td>578,767</td>
<td>6 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vic</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
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<td>832</td>
<td>43,236</td>
<td>4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>10,609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While police numbers did not keep pace with the increase in population, Table 2 shows that compared with other states, Queensland in fact had the best police to population ratio and also the highest police expenditure per capita. Although the effects of the 1902 drought and subsequent loss of revenue can be seen in the decreased amount spent on the
Force after 1901, Cahill's demands were obviously heard with a dramatic increase in the police vote between 1905 and 1906. Whilst the Queensland police ratios to population were always good in comparison with other states, such statistics were of less consequence to Queensland police when what they really wanted was better pay, superannuation and allowances. This was also despite the fact that the proportion of officers to men in Queensland was relatively good as illustrated in Table 3.

TABLE 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proportion of officers to men as at 31 December 1898</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The vastness of Australia is typified by the police to population statistics - see Tables 4 and 5. It can be seen that while Queensland was not as well off as New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand in this regard, it still rated better than South Australia and West Australia. The central and northern areas of Queensland were the most remote with vast distances between police stations. Thus mounted patrols were the norm, made difficult with poor horses in times of
drought and wet seasons.

**TABLE 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police to area</th>
<th>Queensland 1 to 775 sq mls</th>
<th>New South Wale 1 to 164 &quot; &quot;</th>
<th>Victoria 1 to 62 &quot; &quot;</th>
<th>South Aust 1 to 1095 &quot; &quot;</th>
<th>Western Aust 1 to 2535 &quot; &quot;</th>
<th>New Zealand 1 to 174 &quot; &quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Source: '1899 Royal Commission', *QVP*, 4 (1899), 886.

Whilst the central division had the longest distances between stations, its strength in respect of the population was in fact the highest of any division - see Table 6.

**TABLE 6: Divisions, police to population, Queensland, 1899**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Police to Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>1 to 729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1 to 405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>1 to 458</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: '1899 Royal Commission', *QVP*, 4 (1899), 886.

No strong conclusions can be deduced concerning the police strength in the towns. Table 7 suggests that Townsville had the best ratio and Charters Towers the worst. But such a situation would have quickly altered as mining declined in Charters Towers with a subsequent exodus to Townsville.

**TABLE 7: Towns to population, Queensland, 1898**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number of Police</th>
<th>Police to Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>107,840</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>1 to 596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockhampton</td>
<td>19,650</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1 to 678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsville</td>
<td>13,920</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1 to 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charters Towers</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1 to 800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each Commissioner had his own administrative structure. Seymour arranged the Force into Districts, the boundaries of these changing as settlement advanced. In 1893, he had the Force arranged thus:

TABLE 8: Seymour's Districts, Queensland, 1893

`A' District - Brisbane, Moreton
`B' District - Wide Bay
`C' District - Darling Downs
`D' District - Cook
`E' District - Kennedy
`F' District - Mitchell
`G' District - Burke (Cloncurry, Normanton)
`H' District - Port Curtis
`M' District - Maranoa
`W' District - Warrego

* Thursday Island

* A district without district letter designation

Source: 'AR 1893', QVP, 1 (1894), 715.

Parry-Okeden changed these divisions into seven Districts, (with an additional B1 district in 1897), each with sub-districts which were again divided into patrols or beats. They varied in the sense that certain towns were occasionally reassigned to different Districts and, as settlement advanced, this requirement necessitated the reallocation of district boundaries. The most significant departure from the norm was the creation of the Criminal Investigation Branch as a sub-district in 1898. Thus the administrative structure in 1899 was:
TABLE 9: Parry-Okeden’s Districts, Queensland, 1899

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A’ District</td>
<td>Brisbane, East Moreton, West Moreton, Wide Bay and Darling Downs sub-districts plus Criminal Investigation Branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'B' District</td>
<td>Maranoa sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'B1' District</td>
<td>Charleville and Thargomindah sub-districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'C' District</td>
<td>Port Curtis, Rockhampton and Clermont sub-districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'D' District</td>
<td>Longreach, Winton and Boulia sub-districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'E' District</td>
<td>Townsville, Mackay, Charters Towers and Hughenden sub-districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'F' District</td>
<td>Cairns, Cook and Torres sub-districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'G' District</td>
<td>Burke and Cloncurry sub-districts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Cahill also had his own arrangement after 1906, preferring to categorize into towns. Because of these varying boundaries for each district, it is difficult to compare police numbers in each ‘district’.

TABLE 10: Cahill’s Districts, Queensland, 1906

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>Normanton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns</td>
<td>Rockhampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleville</td>
<td>Roma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloncurry</td>
<td>Toowoomba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughenden</td>
<td>Townsville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longreach</td>
<td>Water Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Water Police and Criminal Investigation Branch were seen
as somewhat separate administratively although they both made a significant contribution to the Force. The Water Police especially was quite the 'forgotten' Force. Even in the yearly statistics of strength, their numbers were not always given - see Appendix 1. By 1902 the numbers were up to nine but because of a reduction in the estimates because of stringent economic conditions from the drought, this decreased to four - Sub-Inspector Ross, Acting Sergeant Henry Roughsedge (coxswain) and two boatmen, Constables G. Burge and W.H. Wardle. A police carpenter and four Constables were discharged on gratuities.11

The transfer of the Water Police to the general police under Seymour did not occur until 1893. Until then they were under the control of Port Office officials with recruitment quite separate from the General Force. The only qualification it seems was to have had naval experience; physical standards did not apply. For instance Constable John Gregg who joined in November 1889 was 5 ft. 5 ins., well below the required 5 ft. 8 ins. for the general police. He received no training, merely being sworn in before a Justice of the Peace and not Seymour.12


12. Personnel file, J. Gregg, A/38890, QSA.
As Gregg explained:

I have been ten years in the force, and have never seen a manual handed to a man to learn a regulation. We have never had anything except one or two old New South Wales Water Police Acts and a copy of the harbour regulations...and at Lytton we have actually nothing.\[^{13}\]

The Water Police headquarters were initially at Lower Fishermen's Island 'under canvas'.\[^{14}\] The hulk 'Prosperine' moored at the mouth of the Brisbane River was then used and between 1893 and 1900 the Water Police were transferred to headquarters at Lytton. In 1900 the headquarters moved again - to Kangaroo Point but it was considered too far away and inconvenient for the public. Concern was expressed that it should be close to the Gardens near the Edward Street ferry.\[^{15}\] This was achieved in 1901 when the office was moved to a new building just inside the Botanic Gardens, the cottage at Kangaroo Point then being occupied by a married Constable.\[^{16}\] A small brick cottage between the Naval and Port Offices in Edward Street was handed over to the Police Department from the Department of the Portmaster in 1905 and used initially for accommodation, as a day room and for storage of equipment. By the late 1900s it was being used as the Water Police Station in preference to the building in the

\[^{13}\] Constable J. Gregg, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 532.

\[^{14}\] Personnel file, J.W. Wassell, A/40345, QSA.

\[^{15}\] Chief Inspector to Comm, 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1901), 1038.

\[^{16}\] 'AR 1901', OPP, 1 (1902), 1024, A/41584, QSA.
Even after the administrative change, there were complaints that no-one showed any interest in the Water Police. Inspector Lamond admitted in 1896 that since the transfer to the general police in 1893 they had not received any instructions as to the nature of their duties. Parry-Okeden also added that the Water Police 'do what they can but they really have been allowed to drift for want of being put under [a] proper head and properly instructed'. To begin with, their equipment was outdated. They were actually river police, having only the facilities to patrol the Brisbane River but were being called upon to patrol Moreton Bay. Urquhart criticised their facilities during the 1899 Royal Commission. 'They paddle about in a little boat with two oars; but I really do not think they are of much use. They should have a steam launch'. Not until January 1907 was the 6.4 metre timber launch 'Patrol' purchased for use by the

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17. A/41584, QSA.
18. ibid., p. 530.
19. Inspector Lamond, 3 February 1896, A/41584, QSA.
20. Parry-Okeden, 12 February 1896, A/41584, QSA.
Police Department. The 9.1 metre timber launch 'Alert' previously called 'Hygeia' was built in 1907 for the Department of Public Health. Powered by a 12 h.p. engine, it was handed over to the Police Department in 1910 and used until 1935 when it was traded in on 'Patrol 2' (called 'Patrol').

After repeated requests for a few years, a motor launch was finally provided at Townsville in 1910 for rescue work, the policing of the Immigration Restriction Acts and the detection of the illegal trade of opium. Details of the duties of the Water Police will be given in Chapter 5-Duties.

The other section of the Force which was often treated quite separately was the Criminal Investigation Branch, known originally as the Detective Force until 1895. It was formed by Seymour in December 1864 in the same year as the General Force, their duties being to detect rather than prevent crime. They received no special training. It was rather a case of those who showed potential in this area being taken on. This was also the case with plain clothes men in the General Force although the CIB were concerned with more

22. Used in Brisbane until 1917, 'Patrol' was sent to Rockhampton in that year and used there until 1921. It was sold in Brisbane in 1921. File 105M, Queensland Police Department.
23. Police boats 'Patrol'. 'Alert', File 105M, Queensland Police Department.
serious crimes - of murder and serious larcenies. Details of the duties and methods of the CIB in relation to crime will be given in Chapter 5.

In 1864 Inspector Samuel John Lloyd from the Victorian Police Department was chosen to take charge initially of the Detective Force. On his retirement in February 1896, 1/C Sub-Inspector Nethercote was temporarily appointed in charge of the CIB. Sub-Inspector Urquhart had been placed in control of the city police when he came to Brisbane in 1895 and with the CIB under the city police, Urquhart was then in a more senior position than Sub-Inspector Nethercote. In 1897 Nethercote was removed as head of the CIB by Parry-Okeden and replaced by Inspector Urquhart after Urquhart complained that Nethercote should be taken off his staff.25 Many of the experienced detectives were also replaced. This move and the Urquhart transfer was criticised by Dickson, one of the 1899 Royal Commissioners, who said that Urquhart 'had absolutely no experience of the Detective Force, and had little or no experience of general police duty, except as a native police officer'. 26 He saw him as having a 'vindictive and tyrannical nature'. 27 It was also proved that Nethercote was

27. ibid., p. 174.
actually senior to Urquhart in rank - 1/C as opposed to Urquhart's 2/C rank - a situation which Parry-Okeden tried to deny at the 1899 Royal Commission. Parry-Okeden was ultimately responsible for the CIB and obviously wanted Urquhart to stay. He referred to the increased efficiency of the CIB under Urquhart when he quoted figures in his 1897 annual report that convictions in the higher courts were more than double the figure in the previous year. At the same time, he was concerned about the CIB's unreliability and inefficiency. He commented 'because the men are styled "detectives" they get extra pay and evade both regular police duty and police supervision'. He went so far as to say that the plain clothes men of the general force displayed more intelligence and energy.

Certainly the CIB/plain clothes/general force relationship was an uneasy one. Personnel files of detectives vindicate this. Detective James McQuaker of Charters Towers applied for and was granted a transfer in 1894 because of the 'strange distant and defiant manner he is treated by the Charters


29. 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 629.


31. ibid.
Towers police of late'. In Brisbane in 1899 there were six - three at Roma Street, one at the Valley, one at South Brisbane and one at Woolloongabba. In 1895 there were sixteen men in the CIB scattered throughout the state increasing to twenty-one in 1904 and twenty-four in 1918. By 1899 information was being exchanged between the two groups although not on particularly cooperative terms. Clearly the CIB wanted to be involved in major criminal offences and leave the 'petty larceny cases' to the plain clothes men. At the same time the CIB men were quick to request rewards from the Police Reward Fund for good work in solving cases.

In keeping with the requirements of an institutional history, the administrative structure needs to be considered in the context of the external factors of industrial, political, economic, environmental and technological influence. The years either side of the period under review were ones of industrial turmoil. The period prior to 1895 was marked by

32. Detective James McQuaker to Sub-Inspector Driscoll, 17 January 1894, A/40085, QSA.


34. Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 308.

35. A/41878, QSA.

36. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 227.
the Shearers’ Strikes of 1891 and 1894. Later there was the General Strike of 1912. Yet the police could only act within the law. During the 1894 Shearers’ Strike, Commissioner Seymour had requested further help from parliament, pointing out that whilst the police could lay their hands on the perpetrators of the crimes they did not have sufficient legislative power to deal with them.\(^{37}\) To overcome this problem, the Peace Preservation Act of 1894 was passed after much acrimonious debate and Parry-Okeden was appointed a Special Magistrate of the disturbed Flinders district. It has been suggested that Cabinet had him in mind when the Act was framed since the powers were very wide ranging. It was hoped that with him no injustices were likely to be done, but rather a mix of coercion and common sense would prevail.\(^{38}\) In reality, the Act made little difference to the outcome of the strike although Seymour stated that in anticipation of the Act, several of the most dangerous characters of the district disappeared.\(^{39}\) There were only a few arrests under the Act because by the time it was passed, most of the striking unionists were again seeking work. Furthermore, the majority of the measures passed were either financial or designed to amend existing statutes which had caused friction

\(^{37}\). Home Secretary, \textit{QPD}, 71 (1894), 497–8.

\(^{38}\). H.C. Perry, \textit{A Son of Australia, Memories of W.E. Parry-Okeden, 1840–1928}, (Brisbane, Watson, Ferguson, 1928), pp. 250–2, 256.

\(^{39}\). Seymour’s last Annual Report, \textit{QYP}, 1 (1895), 1043.
in operation.\textsuperscript{40} It did show, however, that the government was prepared to increase police powers through legislation in order to preserve peace. When Parry-Okeden assumed the Commissionership the following year, he was well known to the Government. Indeed, having just been Under Secretary, the appointment as Police Commissioner could mean nothing in material advancement.

Again, there was some concern in 1907 when roustabouts and shearers stopped work in demand of higher wages at two stations in the Hughenden district. Trouble was averted when the roustabouts returned to work and the manager finally paid the shearers their demands.\textsuperscript{41} Cahill, however, was concerned enough in May 1907 to issue an urgent confidential memo to Inspectors requesting immediate information of any industrial strikes in their districts.\textsuperscript{42} Again in February 1909, he requested that strikes be immediately reported and continuing information sent by telegraph, as well as weekly reports with details of the number of strikers and the number of police reinforcements required. He stressed that the general principle must be followed that a striker must be treated


\textsuperscript{41} A/44830, QSA.

\textsuperscript{42} Memo, 4 May 1907, A/36349, QSA.
like any other private citizen UNTIL he breaks the law. But then the police must to be ready to take firm tough action on behalf of the Government. The role of the police then was a very difficult one. They had to prevent breaches of the peace and protect property and public order while at the same time refrain from disorderly displays of strength and hasty arrests. When action became necessary though, Cahill instructed that it had to taken 'promptly and firmly'.

Whilst the period 1895 - 1910 was relatively free from this direct strife, it was a time when organised unions were being established and political emphasis was changing. The people of property, the middle class in general, began to close ranks against a possible assault by the lower orders. So, apart from a few days of Labour rule in 1899, conservative governments controlled the parliament although after 1903 Queensland politics became a series of shifting alliances often with Labour politicians. Labour's hopes of forming a government in its own right suffered a severe blow when Kidston broke with the party and pursued his own more conservative course. He took with him a moderate Labour group and some of the Liberals. Such middle class conservatism within the parliamentary ranks had a direct influence on the Police Force, the police having the unenviable task of

43. Circular Memo 530, 22 February 1909, A/36349, QSA.
44. Ibid.
applying these middle class values to the working people from whom many had come. Whilst they were sympathetic towards the working class, and indeed many examples will be given showing this, collectively and historically they were opposed to such a class.45

The prospects for Queensland had seldom seemed brighter than at the opening of the 1880-90 decade. The seasons were good, the government was spending loan money lavishly and large amounts were being spent in introducing a stream of immigrants from Europe. Under Sir Thomas McIlwraith's vigorous constructive policy and the rapidly growing ascendancy of steam over sail, travel time between Europe and Australia was halved. Queensland's 112,176 new arrivals in the 1880s increased the 1880 population by over 84% in the next ten years, or almost equalled the total number of residents in the colony in 1871.46 Over-confidence prevailed with consequent excessive values put on property values. The discovery of artesian water in 1882 and the belief that more than half the state was artesian water-bearing country escalated land prices. Demand for real property ceased in 1888 and from then until the crisis in world money markets in


1893, values were upheld by the mortgages. The economic crisis of 1893 smote Queensland with prostrating force. Many institutions went under, and eventually had to undergo reconstruction. Seymour, along with prominent politicians who suffered financial losses, was declared insolvent because of injudicious investments in land and mining stocks. Criticism in parliament concerning his handling of the Shearers’ Strikes further tarnished an otherwise unblemished record.

Environmental influences were also very significant to Queensland’s economy at this time. The state’s orientation remained basically rural with thirty-eight percent of Queensland’s workforce in primary industry in 1901 although the Australian average was thirty-three percent. Although up to 1891 the urban population surpassed that of the country, Table 11 shows that after 1891 more people settled in rural areas. At the same time government policy encouraged this rural settlement. Thus the country policeman was very much to the fore.

47. Statement of affairs, Seymour, 27 January 1892, COL/A690, 92/2848; Seymour Debts, 25 January 1892, SCT/CA 168, QSA.

48. QPD, 71 (1894), 605.

TABLE 11.  
Urban and rural population increase 1886-1921

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total Increase</th>
<th>Urban Increase</th>
<th>Rural Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-1891</td>
<td>70865</td>
<td>62900</td>
<td>7965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>104411</td>
<td>45848</td>
<td>58563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1921</td>
<td>257843</td>
<td>118184</td>
<td>136357</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Agricultural Lands Purchase Act of 1894 and the closer settlement legislation of 1906 gave positive encouragement to agriculture and laid the foundations for both the grain and dairying aspects of agriculture. Police protection followed in the wake of this population increase and townships were formed.

Of great significance was the effect of the Great Drought of 1898-1903 which struck at a time when Queensland had just recovered from the economic blow of 1893. It made living conditions in the country almost intolerable and decreased the efficiency of the Force by rendering police horses too weak for patrol work. The most harmful administrative effect was a reduction in the police vote as a result of the State's decreased revenue from the land. The only positive effect for the Force was the influx of recruits to join at a time when the pastoral pursuits from whence they had come offered little prospect. But with a lowered budget and little room for expansion, the advantage was altered to one of an
opportunity to improve the quality rather than the quantity of the Force.

The drought also led to an effort to increase Government revenue through income tax introduced in 1902, coupled with a determined effort to reduce expenditure. The salaries of public servants were cut, police had their pay increments delayed and a reduction in the number of members in the Legislative Assembly was considered. Not until 1905 was the deficit made up and a small surplus recorded. The Government continued to be cautious in its spending, however, which directly affected the police vote. Federation threatened some loss of revenue with the transfer of customs revenue to the Commonwealth but compensation was looked for in the expected prosperity flowing from interstate freetrade.

A closer administrative review now needs to be made of the 1895-1910 period. Commissioner D.T. Seymour reporting for the first time to the Queensland parliament noted that the most urgent need of his first year was the issuing of written instructions. The result was the Rules and Regulations of the Queensland police force first enacted in 1864 and

50. QPD, XCI (1903), 2.
amended in 1869. These prescribed the duties of the various ranks but paid limited attention to the work of policing. The Rules vested large powers in the hands of the Commissioner, who by the Police Act, was subject to the direction of the Minister (the Colonial Secretary, later Home Secretary). With the removal of Police Magistrates as Inspectors of police in 1869, such powers were enhanced and indeed the Commissioners tended to want it that way, with a tight rein kept on recruitment, punishments, promotions, transfers and expenditure. Discussions within will show that while there were exceptions to this rule with Parry-Okeden at the 1899 Royal Commission being accused of too much delegation and Cahill between 1903 and 1912 having limited control over police spending, power was still very much with the Commissioner. What needs to be addressed is the extent to which Government and the community influenced these powers.

The thoughts of Parry-Okeden written in his biography help with this assessment:

A Commissioner of Police is a target for all mudslingers, both in and out of Parliament. The mistake of a junior constable, the blunder of a sub-officer, the indiscretion of an inspector, all are deemed fit subjects for an attack on the Commissioner. These are pin pricks which sting and a highly sensitive and conscientious man must suffer acutely.54

53. Rules for the General Government and Discipline of the members of the Police Force of Queensland, (Brisbane, Government Printer, 1869).

54. H.C. Perry, A Son of Australia, p. 324.
When the Force languished during the twentieth century, the community through the agency of the Government appointed men from outside the Force to take charge and reorganise it. There was no other option during 1895-1910. All appointments as Commissioner were from outside the Force until Patrick Short rose through the ranks to achieve that position in 1921. Thus with each new Commissioner came different backgrounds, training, ideas and emphasis. Parry-Okeden arrived with very little police experience but vast public service experience, a personality which took a keen personal interest in his men and a protestant family heritage which had strong links with England. He was the perfect choice then to organise the Royal Visits and celebrations of Federation at the turn of the century. Cahill on the other hand had Irish police experience and a strong military background which produced an efficient Force but one which tended to place efficiency before compassion and Catholics before any other religion.

Seymour completed his thirty-one years in office on 30 June 1895 and whilst some complacency marked his term, this was understandable given his lengthy period in office. He was a forthright honourable person but a disciplinarian who was respected by his men, his police being 'honourable until
proved otherwise'. He provided much needed stability though at a time when Queensland was developing rapidly. Discussion of his contribution will be limited given his absence from the period under review. Some mention must be made though of the 1889 Royal Commission into the Civil Service which involved the Police Department as part of this Service. Grievances were heard from men in the ranks concerning pay and allowances, marriage, transfers, promotions and the tyrannical influence of Inspectors who were abusing their positions. Seymour came in for some criticism from the Commissioners concerning his lack of personal inspections and despite a comprehensive list of recommendations, it was later regretted by the 1899 Commissioners that so few of the 1889 recommendations had been carried out.

Parry-Okeden who succeeded Seymour in office will be given closer attention in this paper, also Cahill who followed Parry-Okeden as Commissioner. William Edward Parry-Okeden, I.S.O., was born 13 May 1840 in Victoria. After education at Melbourne Diocesan and Richmond Grammar Schools, he was articulated to a solicitor for three years. After being a

55. R. Spencer Browne, 'A Journalist's Memories', *Brisbane Courier*, 16 August 1924.

56. 'The Civil Service Royal Commission; Second Progress Report', *QVP*, 1 (1889), 661-831.

57. '1899 Royal Commission', *QVP*, 4 (1899), 160.
bushman and drover, he was appointed in 1870, as an Inspector of Border Patrol which engaged in customs duties and at times police work. He was appointed a Police Magistrate at Charleville in 1872, and Gayndah in 1881, being also Land Commissioner at both and Gold Warden at the latter. Being an outback man then, he had great sympathy as Police Commissioner for the police in remote areas of the north and west. After further responsibilities as Immigration Agent and a member of the Royal Commission into prisons, he was appointed Colonial Under Secretary in 1889. He became Police Commissioner 1 July 1895. Awarded the Imperial Service Order in 1903, he retired from the Commissionership on 31 March 1905 and died on 30 August 1926.58

Parry-Okeden set about his task in 1895 with enthusiasm and after restructuring the Districts he altered the ranks. The CIB 'class' structure for Detectives was positioned on the scale for the General Force. Thus from 1 July 1895, a 3/C Detective became a Senior Constable, a Second Class Detective a Sergeant and a First Class Detective a Senior Sergeant. In 1896 he appointed a Chief Inspector who in addition to being head of 'A' district rendered assistance to him for the management and direction of the Force. The new rank of 3/C Sub-Inspector was instituted in the same year. 'Senior Constable' was seen as an inconvenient and confusing title

58. Personnel file, W.E. Parry-Okeden, A/47922, QSA.
especially in two man stations where one Constable would be 'senior' to the other without having the Senior Constable rank. From 1896 it was changed to 'Acting Sergeant'. In 1897, he also instituted the grade of 1/C Constable which signified recognition of long service and good conduct but which did not constitute extra pay. It was from this list that Acting Sergeants were chosen. The rank of 1/C Constable was abolished from 31 March 1905 when Cahill took over.59

Parry-Okeden's period in office was marked by technological change. Photography commenced in 1893 but was used more extensively from the late 1890s. Fingerprinting was implemented in 1903. In 1901 Parry-Okeden visited the southern states and met with the heads of various Forces on the prospect of obtaining greater uniformity in systems of organization. He instituted the use of the bicycle for patrols from 1896 although he was also a fine judge of horses and was attuned to their needs. Horse-drawn vehicles, trams and cars after they appeared in Brisbane in 1898 came under the control of the Metropolitan Traffic Board. In 1905 after encouragement from both Parry-Okeden and later Cahill, this control passed to the police.

59. 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 630; QPD, CIX (1911-2), 2001.
Parry-Okeden has been described as

a very tall Australian, who could ride a rough horse or pilot a winner in a steeplechase, could box almost too well for an amateur, could play excellent cricket, write a song and sing it to his own accompaniment. 80

He was a very sociable person and being keen on sport was eager to see his men at both work and play. Thus, it was during his time that the Police Band was encouraged and social trips were taken by police members and their families on either the government launch 'Lucinda' to Moreton Bay or by railway to places such as Cleveland. 'At all such gatherings the tall form of the Commissioner could be seen moving about amongst his men, joining in a game of cricket, romping with their children'. 81

Parry-Okeden was particularly gifted when it came to organising official visits. In 1896 he arranged a most imposing procession through the streets for the visit of the new Governor of Queensland, Lord Lamington. This was followed by a series of historic events which included the Queen's Diamond Jubilee (1897), the despatch of the first troops to the South African War (1899), the inauguration of the Commonwealth and the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, both in 1901.

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80. R. Spencer Browne, 'A Journalist's Memories', Brisbane Courier, 16 August 1924.

81. H.C. Perry, A Son of Australia, p. 263.
For eight weeks in late 1896 he visited North Queensland, travelling over 7000 kilometres - to enquire into the efficiency of the Native Police and their relations with Aborigines. His report suggested measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the blacks. He secured the appointment of Dr Roth as a Protector of Aboriginals and Parry-Okeden's suggestions contributed to the Aboriginal Protection Act of 1897. Yet despite his accomplishments and excellent past experience as a police magistrate and public servant, followed by his capable handling of the Shearer's Strikes, his administrative management of the Police Force was criticised at the 1899 Royal Commission. He was condemned for trusting 'too much to the representations of his officers'. The Commissioners concluded, however, that with the assistance of a Deputy Commissioner appointed from outside the Force, he should be able to prove himself competent to the discharge of his duties. Apart from a short time as Inspector of border patrol, five months as Acting Commissioner and experience as a Police Magistrate, his direct police experience was limited. But his broad intelligence and varied experience in the colony was an advantage and he largely escaped the wrath of the Commissioners. One Commissioner, however, Frederick Dickson,

added a particularly strong denunciation. He saw Parry-Okeden as sheltering behind his subordinate officers from the many acts of injustice and incompetency shown in the dealing with both officers and men and recommended that he be replaced by someone outside the Police Force. It is ironic that he should want someone outside the Force when he criticised Parry-Okeden for his lack of police experience. Parry-Okeden replied to these allegations a year later and although his reputation was dented, he was far from disgraced.

He had his critics in parliament also, the Labour member Mr Mc Donnell agreeing with the opinions expressed by the Commissioners. Lesina also said in 1904 that Parry-Okeden was never fitted for the position to head the Police Force, and whilst the police were able and courteous, they were badly officered. Unfortunately, the drought occurred during his term which decreased the estimates for the police vote and resulted in restrictions. In 1904-5, for instance,

83. F. Dickson, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 172-4.

84. ibid., p. 174.

85. 'Observations by the Commissioner of Police on the report, dated 29th November, 1899, of the Royal Commission...', QVP, 5 (1800), 570-3.

86. QPD, 83 (1899), 1604-5.

87. QPD, XCIII (1904), 1078.
the allowance for fencing police paddocks decreased from £350 to £100 and rations for Trackers from £3500 to £1750 (although this was matched by a marked decrease in the number of Trackers from eighty to forty).  

The 1899 Royal Commission which sat from 1 August 1899 until 29 November 1899 was called primarily to investigate the constitution, administration and working of the CIB following the branch's inefficiency in handling three murders cases: at Gatton, Oxley and Woolloongabba. There had also been complaints in connection with promotions, fines, punishments and favouritism. It took on the scope of the somewhat similar 1883 inquiry into the Victorian Police, which had followed the Kelly gang episode. The Queensland Commission also investigated aspects of organization, control, enrolment, discipline, efficiency, promotions, transfers and appointments in the general force. Five Commissioners presided - Arthur B. Noel, (chairman); and Frederick W. Dickson, both lawyers; Thomas Garvin, a Superintendent in the NSW Police Force; John Sadleir, a former Superintendent of

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88. General Order 718, 20 October 1904, A/36277, p. 107, QSA.
88. QPD, LXXXI (1899), 523.
the Victorian Police Force 71 and politician Theodor O. Unmack. The press were admitted 'in order to stimulate the timid', 72 witnesses coming forward who would otherwise have remained silent. Good community relationships between police and the public were highlighted when the public were given the opportunity to air their grievances. The Commissioners concluded that the 'police behave with circumspection' and that most of the cases reported, when investigated, proved trivial and not worthy of special comment. 73

The bulk of the evidence concerned the three murders. The first occurred at Oxley. On the afternoon of 14 December 1898, Frederick Hill reported that his son, Stephen, aged sixteen was missing. After much delay, the matter was finally brought to the attention of the Criminal Investigation Branch who treated it as merely a missing person case, refusing to believe in the possibility of mishap. The finding of the Commission was that the boy's father was bandied about from one police office to another. Whilst a man was arrested, there was insufficient evidence to sustain a charge.

71. Sadleir had been demoted after being found guilty of error in judgement by the Royal Commission which followed the Kelly episode as discussed in John McQuilton, The Kelly Outbreak, 1878-1880, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979), p.179.

72. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 159.

73. ibid.
The Royal Commission did not criticise the police in their handling of the Woolloongabba murder but by far the more serious case was that of the murders at Gatton. Two sisters and a brother of the Murphy family were found murdered on 27 December 1898 in a paddock near their home outside Gatton. The case was never solved and the police were heavily criticised for their handling of the investigations. Firstly, Sergeant Arrell who was the first policeman on the scene did not take a note book with him for recording; nor did he take proper precautions to prevent the crowd who formed from treading on the ground and obliterating tracks. He left the scene to send a telegram which went unopened at the Commissioner's office until nine the next morning. On the 27th Inspector Urquhart had received confirmed reports of the murder from the deceased's brother who was a policeman but he did not leave for Gatton until the next morning (the 28th) even though there had been a train at midnight. The Royal Commission concluded that 'there was lack of cohesion and efficient organization to enable them to cope with serious crimes in such a manner as the people of the colony are entitled to expect'.

Sergeant Arrell, had he been fully prepared for such an emergency, would have acted more efficiently. But as will be highlighted in the section on police clerks, he was essentially a police clerk because all his time was taken up with clerical duties. This is more a

74. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 167.
criticism of administration than of training. The absence of training for Detectives, however, could be criticised because of the gross mishandling of the case.

Major William Geoffrey Cahill, V.D., C.M.G., was born at Roscommon, Ireland on 7 November 1854. He was a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary before coming to Queensland shortly before 1880 where he joined the Public Service. In 1885, he was Curator of Intestate Estates, in 1887 Registrar of District Courts, and in 1890 Under Secretary to the Justice Department. He joined the Queensland Rifle Regiment and became a Major in that Unit. Appointed Commissioner of Police 1 April 1905, he was awarded the Volunteer Decoration and appointed a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George. He retired from the Commissionership 31 December 1916 and died 25 April 1931. 75

Cahill showed concern for public service principles of efficiency and accountability and became embroiled in a power struggle with the Government, firstly over the introduction of a much needed manual and then over the control of expenditure. He was a spirited advocate of police autonomy but won the praise of Government and conservative business and pastoral interests for his rigorous handling of the Brisbane General Strike of 1912. Despite threats from Labour

75. Personnel file, W.G. Cahill, A/47927, QSA.
that the first job when they assumed power would be to sack Cahill, this was not done\textsuperscript{76} although this was partly because his position by then had been enhanced by statute (Police Act Amendment Act - 1912) in that he held office for a specific term of five years.

The effects of Cahill's administration were seen in an increase in recruits - see Appendix 1. He did this despite the difficulty in attracting recruits during the prosperous times after the drought when jobs were plentiful. This was also at a time when extraneous duties were increasing dramatically with no increase in salary. But he faced opposition in his quest to increase the numbers. In 1906, for instance, he asked for an increase of fifty but only obtained permission to recruit an additional fifteen men.\textsuperscript{77} Indeed, he outlined the extent to which the Force was below strength.

\begin{table} [h]
\centering
\caption{Extent of Force below strength 1905-1908}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
Date & Number \\
\hline
1 April 1905 & 37 \\
31 Dec 1905 & 27 \\
31 Dec 1906 & 27 \\
31 Dec 1907 & 55 \\
31 Dec 1908 & 18 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Source: 'AR 1907', \textit{QFP}, 2 (1908), 929; 'AR 1908', \textit{QFP}, 2 (1909), 207.

\textsuperscript{76} R. Spencer Browne, 'A Journalist's Memories', \textit{Brisbane Courier}, 23 August 1924, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{77} 'AR 1906', \textit{QVP}, 2 (1907), 276.
As a further example of this understaffing, in 1909 Cahill complained that with the continual call for additional police protection, he had to transfer Constables from Brisbane before their places could be filled by recruits.\textsuperscript{78}

He was extremely punctilious and conservative and while being described as 'outwardly stern, reserved, and somewhat inclined to be a martinet',\textsuperscript{79} it can also be said that the Queensland Police Force was never more efficient than under Cahill. Cahill had a natural aptitude and application for the study of law. Thus his experience in the Royal Irish Constabulary, followed by his military training carried over to his work, resulting in attention to detail in the Justice Department and subsequently the Police Department. The confidence of the public in the Police Force was heightened as a result although the General Strike of 1912 dampened this opinion.\textsuperscript{80} He would not tolerate the 'go-as-you-please style of things. His men had to be smart, properly turned out, alert on duty, and very careful in their attitude towards the people.'\textsuperscript{81} He was very much in favour of promotion by merit and his advice to the CIB was 'wherever there is a man who

\textsuperscript{78} 'AR 1909', \textit{QPP}, 2 (1910), 999.

\textsuperscript{79} R. Spencer Browne, 'A Journalist's Memories', p. 18.


\textsuperscript{81} R. Spencer Browne, 'A Journalist's Memories', p. 18.
shows exceptional ability, get him and try him out.82 In this regard then, politicians were limited in their influence on promotions, transfers or the general administration. Michael O’Sullivan was head of the CIB when he made the observation that

merit alone counted, and members of the police force soon discovered that any attempt by Parliamentarians to influence the Commissioner’s actions was likely to do more harm than good.83

While all three Commissioners tried to curb such interference, it was perhaps Cahill more than any of the three who was the most successful.

His relationships with the Home Secretary Peter Airey, Under Secretary W.H. Ryder and Chief Clerk William Gall were particularly strained. This was compounded by the fact that while responsibility of the Force lay with the Commissioner, control of police expenditure was passed from the Commissioner to the Home Department in 1903 and in particular the Chief Clerk. Administrative control over the police then suffered with the door open to political interference. Indeed, Cahill’s comment proved to be correct that ‘in the Police Department executive and financial matters are so inextricably involved that it is utterly impossible without

83. ibid., p. 234.
giving rise to endless trouble and confusion to place them under separate control'. 84 For instance, all the books were at the Home Office and vouchers for cash credit sent by Inspectors went to this office. Thus the Commissioner could not ascertain where waste or extravagance had occurred. Indeed, he could not prevent the overspending of the estimates because he did not have control over how much was being spent. Urgent requests for forage were often held up in 'red tape' and the simplest repairs to police buildings had to be approved by the Works Department. 85 Cahill complained as early as July 1905 (he assumed the Commissionership in early April) that the Commissioner was responsible to the Colonial Secretary, not the Under Secretary or Chief Clerk of the Home Secretary's Department. 86 Not until 1 July 1912, however, did Cahill finally wrest control of police expenditure from the Home Department. 87 Other areas during Cahill's Commissionership which need to be highlighted include the fact that uniforms were supplied free, the control of traffic came under the police, the horse breeding station Rewan was established, wages were increased, the

84. Cahill to Chief Secretary, 12 December 1905, A/44798, QSA.

85. A/44799, QSA.

86. Cahill to Under Secretary, 10 August 1905, A/44799, QSA.

87. General Order 792, 26 July 1912, A/44799, QSA; The Brisbane Courier, 3 July 1912, p. 5.
Police Manual was printed and the Force was rearmed - with Short Magazine Lee Enfield rifles.

A prominent feature of the 1895-1910 era was that despite the isolation, harsh environmental conditions, low wages and poor benefits compared with other Forces, Queensland policemen of this period were proud, committed men of predominantly Irish background who respected their superior officers and had the respect of their communities. Indeed, they were welcomed for protection. In this respect then, Russell Wards's assertion that in nineteenth century Australia, 'the popular attitude towards policemen in general was one of hatred and contempt', can be questioned for Queensland 1895-1910.88 By this time, police were recruited from the general public and no longer did the military (with the use of convicts) provide the policing role that characterized early New South Wales. Furthermore, the benefits of police protection from Aborigines and horse and cattle thieves in the country, and larrikins in the towns had proved to be partially effective. In the strikes of 1891, 1894 and 1912, much of the public felt that the police were only doing their duty. What the police did have to contend with were 'specials' - civilians sworn in specifically for service during the emergencies. These special Constables were particularly despised by the

strikers and this hatred was often generalised to regular police personnel.

By 1910 although conditions in the Queensland Police Force had improved in material terms, nagging industrial troubles continued to make the policeman's role more complex. Police were both the servant and the master of the public, paid by the taxpayer and yet called on to control the behaviour of taxpayers. Thus police were

that thin blue line between evolution and revolution, the individuals of the service being like footballs, one side kicking them because they do their job, the other side kicking them because they don't.89

And yet the policeman's occupation provided excellent opportunities for helpful service to humanity. As Noakes further explains; 'A good policeman is the best friend the public has and every effort should be made to cultivate amongst the public a greater respect for the police'.80 The 1895-1910 period provided such an opportunity and the police of Queensland responded to this positively.

80. ibid., p. 84.
Chapter 2.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

Police work rarely attracted the genteel, wealthy, highly educated or faint-hearted. Had it so desired, the community could have developed a police force from such types, but it did not. Working-class men were cheaper and arguably suited to the physical, outdoors and often onerous nature of police duty.¹

Haldane's description of the men who joined the Victorian Police Force could just as easily have applied to those who joined in Queensland. The 1895-1910 period called for 'pounds of flesh'² although with the close involvement with the public, tact, emotional stability and balanced social attitudes were desirable qualities. Using oath books and statistics of discharge, a profile of the typical Queensland policeman who was recruited during this period can be established. He was 20-24 years old, single, Catholic, approximately 5 ft. 9 ins. tall, was Queensland-born and prior to joining the Force had been either a farmer, stockman or drover. This chapter will analyse such data and follow all aspects of the training of these recruits which took place at the Depot at Petrie Terrace. Highlighted throughout will be the influence of those of higher rank, the Commissioner who


interviewed the recruits and the Drill Instructor of Sergeant rank, who instructed not only in drill but also in theoretical aspects of policing.

The Police Act of 1863 states that:

No person shall be appointed constable unless he shall be of sound constitution able-bodied and under forty years, of good character for honest fidelity and activity and able to read and write and no person shall be appointed constable who shall have been convicted of any felony.

The Rules were expanded in 1864 to detail that:

All candidates for admission...are to attend, with an application in their own hand writing, and such testimonials as they may have, at the Commissioner's office, at 10 a.m. on any Wednesday.

The age limit was lowered to thirty although those with previous police experience were admitted up to thirty-five. These same rules were reinforced in the 1869 Rules and Regulations. The 1876 Manual gave more specific details concerning height. 'They must stand clear five feet eight inches without their boots'. It was not until 1896 that

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3. 'The Police Act of 1863', (27 Vic. No. 11, s.8).

4. QGG. 11 March, 1864, p. 185.

5. Rules for the General Government and Discipline of the members of the Police Force of Queensland, (Brisbane, Government Printer, 1869), pp. 2-3.

educational tests for recruits were introduced. From this time, a circular for recruitment to the Queensland Police Force read:

Candidates must be at least 5 feet 8 inches in height, 36 inches minimum chest measurement, of strong constitution, and free from any bodily complaint. To ascertain this they will be examined by the Government Medical Officer.

They will have to pass a short examination in reading, writing from dictation, and the first four rules in Elementary Arithmetic, viz.:- Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division.

All candidates must be accustomed to horses, and able to ride well, to test which they will be examined in horsemanship at the Depot.

They must produce satisfactory testimonials of character, and those Candidates who have served in any other Force must produce their discharges therefrom.

Candidates are not appointed to the Force when over the age of thirty, unless they have served in some other Police Force, in which case the limit is thirty-five.

Married men are not eligible.

On the recruitment form, as well as giving the physical details of height, weight and chest measurement, there were ratings from 'fair' to 'very good' concerning horsemanship, cycling, foot and mounted drill, rifle and revolver shooting, and swimming - also after 1893, whether the recruit had been through the police museum. Queensland's entry requirements remained the same for the fifteen years under consideration although Cahill applied a strict moral code as shown in his additional item in a Circular Memo of 1905; the candidate

7. 'AR 1896', QVP, 2 (1897), 13.

8. Recruitment circular, A/44759, QSA.
should have 'no illegitimate children or illicit entanglements'. Queensland's entry requirements were not as rigid as some for other states. Weight restrictions in proportion to height applied to all other states except Victoria. Western Australia demanded mounted men to be not less than 5 feet 10 inches and foot men not less than 5 feet 11 inches while Victoria and Tasmania's height limit was 5 feet 9 inches. Victoria was the most restricting in its age range - between twenty and twenty-five years and it also had the unusual request of demanding that the men take out insurance on their lives because of the abolition of police pensions. Similar weight and age restrictions applied to the English Metropolitan Police where well built men of good health, character and education, 20-27 years and 5 ft 9 ins were required.

The 1899 Royal Commission recommended that Inspectors in charge of districts be responsible for processing applications including the medical and educational tests. Inspector Alexander Douglas-Douglas gave some persuasive arguments at the 1899 Royal Commission for this to be done.

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10. Commissioners of other states to Queensland Commissioner, December 1903, A/44759, QSA.
11. Glasgow Herald, 2 April 1910, A/44812, QSA.
A man who is enlisted in the North will not be continually bothering to transfer to Brisbane; but if a new man is sent from Brisbane it takes him a year to get used to the North, and if he gets fever he wants to be sent South. Perhaps his mother and father are selectors on the Downs, and they naturally want their son near them. The men enlisted in the North will stop there.  

This would have saved transport costs to Brisbane, but Parry-Okeden did not entirely approve. Even though he admitted at the 1899 Royal Commission that he had allowed some northern men to join on the Inspector’s and doctor’s advice, the recruiting process was centralised in Brisbane with all potential recruits being interviewed only by the Commissioner at his office in George Street - moved after 1901 to the 'church', corner of Elizabeth and George Streets. This situation did not occur in Victoria for there the interviewing panel consisted not only of the Commissioner but also the Inspector-General of Penal Establishments and one Defence Force Officer. Parry-Okeden denied being influenced by others in accepting suitable recruits although it is noticeable that of the two references usually submitted, one was generally from a politician. Those men who had fought in the South African War as well as those who belonged to voluntary militia organizations were given some priority.

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Parry-Okeden instituted the educational tests of reading, writing from dictation and the first four rules of arithmetic. This standard was at least equal to that of the average in the community. In 1891 and 1901, only 69.42% and 73.14% respectively of males in the Queensland population could read and write,\(^\text{18}\) which lowered the supply of eligible candidates. The standard required was higher than the Defence Force demanded. Home Secretary Foxton explained this on the basis that men joined the Defence Force for only three years while the Police Force was usually a lifetime commitment.\(^\text{17}\) Parry-Okeden was keen to see the educational tests strictly enforced, one reason being to help lessen the difficulties in picking men for higher office at some later time.\(^\text{18}\) Indeed, he happily reported in 1896 that, despite the educational tests, the men enrolled compared favourably with those taken in former years.\(^\text{19}\)

During the 1890s, with the financial depression giving rise to uncertainty in the commercial sphere, followed by the drought with men going off the land and seeking alternative employment, there was no shortage of candidates for the

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\(^{18}\) Census of Queensland, 1901, \textit{QPP}, 2 (1902), 1072.

\(^{17}\) J.F.G. Foxton, \textit{QPD}, LXXXVI (1900), 2095.

\(^{18}\) \textit{AR 1897}, \textit{QVP}, 1 (1898), 630.

\(^{19}\) \textit{AR 1896}, \textit{QVP}, 2 (1897), 13.
Police Force. The physical requirements could usually be met although it will be shown that some below the height and age standard were accepted. There was an increasing problem, however, in finding men who, as the Chief Inspector reported in 1902, 'have anything like a fair State School education and intelligence for police work'.\(^{20}\) Cahill was aware that as extraneous duties of clerical assistance for other Departments increased, a higher degree of education was necessary to carry them out thus requiring recruits of a certain standard. But with the breaking of the drought after 1902, men tended to go back onto the land or seek alternative employment thus lowering the number seeking employment as policemen. Cahill was so concerned about the dearth of candidates that in 1910 he allowed the cost of passage back home to be paid by the Department for men from north and central Queensland who had come to Brisbane to be tested and had failed.\(^{21}\) At the same time, he had to try to resolve the problem of a Force below strength as the table illustrates.

### TABLE 13: Strength, 1905-1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Authorised</th>
<th>Real</th>
<th>Number under Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 'AR 1906', OPP, 2 (1907), 276; 'AR 1907', OPP, 2 (1908), 929.

\(^{20}\) Chief Inspector, 'AR 1902', OPP, 2 (1903), 380.

\(^{21}\) Cahill, 10 October 1910, A/44759, QSA.
To add to the problem, those leaving the Force sometimes exceeded recruitment numbers. Consider the statistics:

**TABLE 14:**
Appointments and Total leaving the Force, 1895-1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Appointments</th>
<th>Total leaving the Force (through resignations, dismissals, discharges, superannuation, death)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>58 (includes 5 in S. Afr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60 (includes 5 in S. Afr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>72 (includes 1 in S. Afr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1895-1907. Figures for 1908-1910 not available.

In 1895, 1901, 1903, and 1904 the number that left the Force actually exceeded the number of appointments while the years 1896 and 1898 allowed for very little growth. Some of this loss was because of dismissals. These rose dramatically when Cahill became Commissioner - 2 in 1904 and 20 in 1905 - but resignations were the major contributing factor as Table 15 shows. They peaked in the late 1900s, the unusual high of 42 in 1901 obviously because of those leaving for the South African War. Only a small number were actually granted leave to go. The lowest number of resignations (10) occurred in 1895 when pay conditions were good. Some resignations were actually dismissals. Detective W. A. Clarke in 1895 for
instance resigned after being told he would be dismissed for continual drunkenness.22

TABLE 15: Police leaving the Force, 1895-1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Resignations</th>
<th>Dismissals</th>
<th>Discharges</th>
<th>S'annuation</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>72@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes 5 on leave in South Africa
@ Includes 1 on leave in South Africa
Source: Annual Reports 1895-1907. Figures for 1908-1910 not available.

As will be discussed later, lower pay and pension benefits were the major reasons for men leaving - mainly interstate to the NSW Force, or locally to the Railways and Tramways or other employment, even labouring. There were also complaints that while the public servants received extra cost of living allowances, the police received nothing 23 with seven days of work per week as against five and a half in other jobs. Not until 1908 was an allowance paid for the severe northern

22. Personnel file, W.A. Clarke, A/38749, QSA.
climate and the extra cost of living there. The imposition of discipline with no freedom of thought and speech was also an inhibiting factor.

It is impossible to determine the average length of service of the men without an extensive study of their personnel files. In the absence of such statistics, Tables 14 and 15 suggest that men stayed longer until the mid-1900s when low wages caused them to leave. Discharges also offer some explanation. Between 29 May 1912 and 28 February 1913 while 24% of those discharged had served more than six years, 56.7% had served only two to four years. Certainly, there was some movement back with men rejoining but Cahill tended to discourage this after 1906 by disallowing previous service once a member resigned. In 1912 he deliberately spelled this out by giving preference to men joining for the first time.

As already mentioned a profile of recruits using personnel files and departmental statistics suggests that on average, recruits of 1895-1910 were 20-24 years old, single, Catholic, approximately 5 feet 9 inches tall and were Queensland-born.

25. Discharges 1912-3, A/36355, QSA.
26. General Order 759, 3 April 1906, A/36338, QSA.
27. Circular Memo 713, 18 January 1912, A/36278, QSA.
Previous to joining the Force they had been either farmers, stockmen or drovers. The only remaining recruitment statistics are contained in three Oath Books - 14 March 1866 to 8 April 1867; July 1872 to August 1873 and 18 January 1893 to 21 November 1894 - and Statistics of Discharges from 29 May 1912 to 28 February 1913 which give some indication of the origins of the men. Although not as accurate as recruitment figures for origins of the Force at a specific time, the Discharge Statistics can be used because at this time, 56.7% of men had been in the Force only two to four years.28 Whilst two of the Oath Books might be considered somewhat early for the period under discussion, many men in the Force at this time would have joined during these early years. Also, in the absence of any other primary material on recruitment figures, it is considered important that they be used.

From primary sources a table can be established which compares the country of origin of each recruit.

28. Discharges 1912-3, A/36355, QSA.
### TABLE 16: Recruits, Country of Origin, 1866-1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A 1866-67</th>
<th>B 1872-73</th>
<th>C 1893-94</th>
<th>D 1912-13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Recruits in Sample</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native of:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>83.52%</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>6.59%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>6.59%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark/Norway</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No country given</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A  Recruits, 14 March 1866 to 8 April 1867, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

B  Attestation Book, July 1872 to August 1873, A/36354, QSA.

C  Recruits, 18 January 1893 to 21 November 1894, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

D  Discharges, 29 May 1912 to 28 February 1913, A/36355, QSA.

Recruitment statistics need to be compared in the context of Census Statistics at the time.
TABLE 17: Census, Queensland, Country of origin, 1861-1911

Census Statistics: Queensland Persons: both male and female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native of:</th>
<th>A Census 1861</th>
<th>B Census 1901</th>
<th>C Census 1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>40.39%</td>
<td>56.21%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>13.25%</td>
<td>7.48%</td>
<td>5.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>17.51%</td>
<td>13.63%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>4.72%</td>
<td>4.92%</td>
<td>6.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1.47%</td>
<td>2.04%</td>
<td>2.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>4.65%</td>
<td>3.96%</td>
<td>3.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>.15%</td>
<td>.31%</td>
<td>.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>.27%</td>
<td>.26%</td>
<td>.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark/Norway</td>
<td>1.04%</td>
<td>1.06%</td>
<td>.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales with England</td>
<td>.46%</td>
<td>.46%</td>
<td>.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>.15%</td>
<td>.09%</td>
<td>.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>.22%</td>
<td>.08%</td>
<td>.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>.23%</td>
<td>.47%</td>
<td>.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Australia</td>
<td>.03%</td>
<td>.04%</td>
<td>.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15.92%</td>
<td>9.43%</td>
<td>.64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Census of Queensland, OPP, 2 (1902), 1064.

B ibid.


Comparing both tables the most significant conclusion is the importance of the Irish influence. So strong in 1866-67 (83.52%), it diminished markedly to 23.4% in 1893-4 although in comparison with the Census, the Police Force still was disproportionately very Irish even in 1912. The Queensland-born on the other hand increased dramatically although the figure of 39.3% for discharges in 1912-3 does not seem to align with the 60.4% for 1893-4 Recruits. This might suggest,
however, that the Queensland-born were more successful as policemen.

All Australian Police Forces experienced this Irish influence although to varying degrees. The highest proportion was in Queensland with 83.52% in 1866-67, followed closely by Victoria where in 1874 82% of the Force was Irish, whereas in New South Wales and Western Australia the proportions in 1874 were approximately 60% and 30% respectively. Thus the Force was not a representative sample of the Queensland population and the members of Parliament, for instance J. Hoolan, who complained of the monopoly of the Irish, had some foundation for their allegations. Although there was mobility from the other states in the Census Statistics, recruitment for Queensland was confined to the eastern states, with no recruits from South Australia or West Australia. A fairly static recruitment from Scotland can be seen in proportion to the population.

As to previous occupations, recruitment from the Royal Irish Constabulary was significant within the Irish component as shown in Table 18. It decreased dramatically, however, and a somewhat different social structure emerged as the proportion 29. R. Haldane, The People’s Force, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1986), p. 82.

30. J. Hoolan, QPD, LXXVII, (1897), 839,
of Queensland-born increased. The latter came predominantly from a rural farm and labouring background. It is unfortunate that no statistics remain for the late 1890s - early 1900s to cover the period of the drought when many men tried to join. Their previous occupations would have been an indicator of the quality of the recruits. Generally police have been categorised in the working class lower socio-economic group but for that period more recruits may have come from the middle class.

TABLE 18: Previous occupations, recruits, 1866-1894

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Recruits who gave details</th>
<th>A 1866-7</th>
<th>B 1872-3</th>
<th>C 1893-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Irish Constabulary</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockman/Drover</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Police</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Police Forces</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shearer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barman</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse/Coach Driver</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Recruits, 14 March 1866 to 8 April 1867, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

B Attestation Book, July 1872 to August 1873, A/36354, QSA.

C Recruits, 18 January 1893 to 21 November 1894, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

The reasons for the attraction of the Irish, especially Irish police to Australia, needs consideration. Haldane suggests
that pay and conditions were the primary reasons but there was also the attraction of the opportunity to marry. Irish police regulations forbade marriage until the men had served at least seven years and could produce evidence of solvency considered appropriate to a married state.\(^{31}\) Whilst Queensland had a five year prohibitive period on marriage between 1906 and 1909, it was reduced to one year by 1915 and certainly the harsh rule that only one-quarter of the men in the Force were allowed to be married at any one time did not apply as it did in the Royal Irish Constabulary. Haldane also offers other theories - the Irish police historian Seamus Breathnach's theory of 'policemanship' which suggests that Irishmen are natural policemen.\(^{32}\) Also there is Hobsbawm's theory which postulates that policemen are often recruited from the same material as social bandits. McQuilton in his study of the Kelly Gang 1878 - 1880 suggests, however, that the capitalist rural background of north-east Victoria in the 1870s was different to Hobsbawm's prerequisites for social banditry in Europe of famine, war or a traditionalist peasant society.\(^{33}\) Haldane also mentions the work of MacDonagh, Coughlan and Fitzpatrick in which they see the majority of Irishmen as only fitted for unskilled manual work while also


craving the security which police work offered. With minimum literacy skills required and on the job training, the Police Force also paid moderately well and carried with it the promise of improved social status and fringe benefits of uniform and housing.

With the high proportion of men of Irish decent came the corresponding high proportion of Catholics. Indeed religion was seen by some as a 'path to promotion' as the breakdown of the Force as at 1 April 1905 shows. Compared with the Queensland population at the time, it is seen that the proportion of Catholics in the Force is much higher.

### TABLE 19: Religion, Queensland Force, Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q’ld Police 1.4.1905</th>
<th>Census 1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
<td>23.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>36.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>11.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>5.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>5.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>14.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A A/45436, QSA.
B Census of Queensland 1901, QPP, 2 (1902), 1133.

Whilst commissioned officers in Cahill's time were predominantly Catholic - Sub Inspectors D. Toohey, P. Short

---

34. R. Haldane, *The People’s Force*, p. 86.
(later Commissioner), J. Quilter and P. Ryan (later Commissioner) - there were high ranking exceptions - Inspector F. Urquhart (later Commissioner) and Inspector C.B. Marrett, both Anglican. The previous Commissioner Parry-Okeden had been Anglican and Commissioner Seymour had been a Catholic. Indeed, the very early intake of recruits was not as Catholic as later. For instance, the intake from July 1872 to August 1873 was 36% Catholic compared with 34% Anglican (although 22% gave no details of religion).\textsuperscript{35} But by 1908 the Force was 54.2% Catholic and 30.7% Anglican providing the Catholic weighting of commissioned officers. Thus promotions were similarly proportioned. Of promotions in 1908 for example, 64.4% were Catholic and 26.2% Anglican, enhanced by the fact that so many Catholics had come from the highly rated Royal Irish Constabulary which provided the core of men likely for promotion.\textsuperscript{36}

Punishments in the Force in relation to religion were similarly proportioned. Of those punished between 1 April 1905 and 9 August 1909, 52.9% were Catholic. Whilst this figure is lower than the overall number of Catholics in the Force - 54.6% in 1905 - it is explained by the weighting of commissioned officers who were Catholic. They handed out the

\textsuperscript{35} A/36354, QSA.

\textsuperscript{36} A/45436, QSA.
punishments rather than receive them. 37 Notwithstanding Cahill's Catholic influence, from 1905 the Catholic saturation of the Force gradually diluted, with proportions of Catholics recruited to the Force decreasing from 44.2% in 1908 to 44% in 1910.38 The religion factor tended to be raised each time a Commissioner was appointed, perhaps the strongest religious influence coming with Cahill, newspapers of the day calling it the 'Catholic tendency that appears to be in vogue' and questioning why Cahill should be promoted over the head of the protestant Chief Inspector Michael O'Sullivan.39 Certainly Cahill gave strong support to requests from Ireland for men of the Royal Irish Constabulary to join the Queensland Force at this time although it is not known how many actually joined.40

Other statistics - of age and height - also serve to establish accurate profiles of the recruits. The age at recruitment decreased as Table 20 shows. Whereas recruits in 1866 were chiefly 25 to 35 years of age, later they became younger to the extent that in 1894 most were 20 to 24 years of age. The 1864 Rules concerning an age limit of 35 were

37. A/45436, QSA.
38. ibid.
39. Truth, 2 April 1906, A/45436, QSA.
40. Cahill to Police Editor, Belfast Weekly Telegraph, 15 January 1911, A/44759, QSA.
ignored to some extent in the two earlier oath books with 3.26% and 7.9% in 1866-7 and 1893-4 respectively over 35.

TABLE 20: Age of Recruits, 1866-1894

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A 1866-7</th>
<th>B 1872-3</th>
<th>C 1893-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of Recruits</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 - 19 years</td>
<td>3.26%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24 years</td>
<td>31.53%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29 years</td>
<td>45.65%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34 years</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 40 years</td>
<td>3.26%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 years and over</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Recruits, 14 March 1866 to 8 April 1867, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

B Attestation Book, July 1872 to August 1873, A/36354, QSA.

C Recruits, 18 January 1893 to 21 November 1894, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

Height can also be compared for the same time periods.

TABLE 21: Height of Recruits, 1866-1894

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A 1866-7</th>
<th>B 1872-3</th>
<th>C 1893-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Recruits</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 5 ft. 7 ins.</td>
<td>2.24%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ft. 7 ins.</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ft. 8 ins.</td>
<td>20.22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ft. 9 ins.</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ft. 10 ins.</td>
<td>20.22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ft. 11 ins.</td>
<td>16.85%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ft. and over</td>
<td>12.35%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Recruits, 14 March 1866 to 8 April 1867, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.

B Attestation Book, July 1872 to August 1873, A/36354, QSA.

C Recruits, 18 January 1893 to 21 November 1894, Oath Book, Queensland Police Museum.
The absence of a height restriction in the 1864 Rules is evident in the table and although by 1893 there was a height limit of 5 feet 8 inches, it seems that this was not strictly enforced, 2.7% of the Force in 1893-4 being actually under this limit. As with age then, there was some relaxation of the rules which suggests some difficulty in recruiting not only those with a basic education but also those who could fulfill the physical requirements. The 1899 Royal Commission also alluded to this problem recommending a decrease in the requirements for height and chest measurements for mounted men.\(^{41}\) Although not instituted as a rule, it seems there was some passive compliance with this recommendation. Urquhart was also critical of the same standards of height and chest applying to detectives arguing that 'by insisting on that standard we may miss a great deal of intelligence'.\(^{42}\) The average height of the majority of the Force increased gradually if the heights between 5 feet 8 inches and 5 feet 10 inches are averaged and compared - 1866-7 59.64%; 1872-3 64%; 1893-4 70.3%. This is explained by a partial enforcement of a height limit plus the gradual increase in average height of the general population.

Recruitment and training took place in Brisbane at the police

\(^{41}\) '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 160.

\(^{42}\) F. Urquhart, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 210.
Depot at Petrie Terrace. This was despite complaints from country hopefuls of their inability to travel to Brisbane.\textsuperscript{43} The men were accommodated in barracks, dormitory style. A policeman who trained in 1902 describes the life there:

The barracks are kept in order by the recruits, beds made up, floors swept, yards cleaned up and everything ready for inspection by a certain time after breakfast each day. It is in the performance of these menial jobs that the real character of the man is shown. The neat, clean, tidy conscientious man; the dirty, slovenly shirker, they are both there, mingled with the practical joker, the humorist and the dullard.\textsuperscript{44}

The 1899 Royal Commission was critical of such accommodation stating that the beds are 'execrable. There is no provision for mosquito nets nor any locker or other convenience for keeping clothing in. The lavatory and sanitary arrangements are disgraceful'.\textsuperscript{45} The beds were of iron of very solid construction:

In the day-time the bedding is rolled up in a particular form and the bed is folded back. There is a hinge in the middle of the bed, and the lower end folds up to the top end.\textsuperscript{46}

The idea was to make more room in the dormitories. Not more than thirty could be properly accommodated at any one time which caused a problem for Cahill when he dramatically increased the number of recruits from twenty-four in 1904 to

\textsuperscript{43} Inspector Lamond to Comm, 14 September 1896, A/44759, QSA.

\textsuperscript{44} A.W. Noakes, \textit{The Life of a Policeman}, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{45} '1899 Royal Commission', \textit{QVP}, 4 (1899), 162.

\textsuperscript{46} Inspector Urquhart, \textit{Police Union Journal}, 4 December 1920.
eighty-six in 1905, at the same time stressing that at least three months training was necessary.\textsuperscript{47} By 1908 he could accommodate fifty recruits but he was only allowed to have twenty in training and he found this quite inadequate for keeping a Force of nearly 1,000 men up to strength.\textsuperscript{48}

The Commissioners paid particular attention to the training of recruits, with no man being sworn in until he had completed the three months of drill and instruction. In fact 'backward men' were kept longer.\textsuperscript{49} The drop out rate during training was fairly high. In 1901 of the seventy-eight recruits taken on during the year, thirty-seven were sworn in, fourteen resigned, five were discharged and one died, leaving twenty-one in training.\textsuperscript{50} The squads of usually six to fourteen men were taken in at intervals of three months. This enabled them to 'be properly worked together'.\textsuperscript{51} The fact that they were accepted in 'drips and drabs' was criticised by the Drill Instructor at the 1899 Royal Commission. 'It is impossible to drill them as I would like to do. Those who have been here for two months are advanced, and then when you get new men in you have to be continually

\textsuperscript{47} 'AR 1906', \textit{QPP}, 2 (1907), 276.
\textsuperscript{48} 'AR 1909', \textit{QPP}, 2 (1910), 1004.
\textsuperscript{49} 'AR 1899', \textit{QVP}, 5 (1900), 537.
\textsuperscript{50} 'AR 1901', \textit{QPP}, 1 (1902), 1020.
\textsuperscript{51} 'AR 1900', \textit{QVP}, 4 (1901), 1038.
going back'. It similarly affected training at the rifle range. But with men coming in from the country at varying times, defining dates for intakes was impossible.

Whilst the recruits remained at the Depot throughout their training, they were often assigned special tasks. For instance, they were at Coolangatta in 1906 clearing scrub for the station which was being moved from Tallebudgera at that time. A well equipped gymnasium was provided at the Depot and the Police Rifle Club provided useful recreation. Men were encouraged to join Athletics Clubs, Sergeant George Hawkes winning the Australasian Weight putting Championship in 1899. But it was drill, held in the open parade ground up to three times a day, which provided the most exercise—‘physical drill before breakfast, company drill from 9 to 10, instructions generally from 3 to 5, and fatigue duty’. The Inspector of the Metropolitan area summarised the training:

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53. A/41340, QSA.

54. H.C. Perry, A Son of Australia, p. 263.

The duties performed by recruits while at the depot consist of drill, including squad and company, musketry instruction, physical, and dumb-bell. Each afternoon, they read aloud, and various Acts are explained to them. Every Wednesday a squad attends the rifle butts, Toowong, for instruction in firing, all recruits being put through a complete course. Every Monday a squad under the sergeant drill instructor attends the Central Police Court in order that they may become familiar with court practices. One night in each week, when the Legislative Assembly is sitting, a squad attends at Parliament House for the purpose of hearing the debates and in order that they may know the public men of the colony. A special class of instruction is held every Wednesday night.56

The Wednesday night class was held by Sub-Inspector White who covered instruction in general knowledge and police duties. Attendance was compulsory by police stationed at the Depot as well as by recruits.57 Ambulance lectures by Dr F. Glyn Connolly were offered during Parry-Okeden’s time and Dr Roth, the Northern Protector of Aborigines, offered these lectures to the serving police at Cooktown.58 Training continued until nine o’clock some nights. As Drill Instructor Maguire explained:

A certain number of questions are given to them, and they have to select the answers from the different Acts of Parliament, such as the Licensed Victuallers Act and others and they work at that until 9 o’clock.59

The recruits each had a copy of the Justices Act. Maguire


57. ‘AR 1897’, QVP, 1 (1898), 630.


also worked from Sir Howard Vincent's Criminal Code and each week read out lectures by Sir Henry Hawkins. In the absence of written examinations, the recruits were examined orally on the parade ground by the Sub-Inspector; 'he judges by the way they answer the questions'. Training also included instruction in riding and care of horses for those selected for mounted duty. Parry-Okeden was the first Commissioner to differentiate between mounted and foot men, the mounted men always being in charge of bush stations. After bicycles were introduced in 1896, the men were taught to ride and care for them.

The Queensland Police Journal of 1921 referred to the armed parades at the Depot during Cahill's time as 'a barbarous system'. Yet Queensland was only following the para-military emphasis of other Police Forces at the time, both in Australia and overseas. To do otherwise would have been seen as being detrimental to discipline. There was some criticism at the 1899 Royal Commission, however, of Parry-Okeden treating the police as a military rather than a Police Force. Commissioner Noel explained:

A soldier has to render unreasoning obedience to his superior officer, and practically no responsibility, where as a policeman, although he acts under general instructions, has to use his own discretion in the carrying of them out. 62

For the 1895-1910 period such drilling and parading for the recruits was not considered to be done at the expense of instruction in police duties. The fact that each afternoon 'they read aloud and various Acts are explained to them' 63 was deemed sufficient. The 1869 Rules, however, had outlined that drill exercises were not to interfere with regular police duties, emphasising that

the principal object to be kept in view, in all exercises in drill and the use of arms, is to make the force effective, and not to make it approximate in its character to a military body, further than by introducing the promptness and uniformity of action attained in such bodies. 64

In reality drill was very much part of training as the scene at the Depot as late as 1910 suggests:

immediately one enters the Depot one sees a squad of perspiring recruits being driven to and fro along a gravel square. Each recruit is in shirt sleeves, carrying a big rifle on his shoulder, belt round his waist from which along murderous-looking bayonet dangles. The disappointed visitor sees nothing ...except rifles, bayonets, and revolvers; he hears nothing but military commands, and for the moment has good reason to believe that he has mistakenly wandered into a military barracks instead of a training depot for...the preservation of good order, prevention and detection of crime, and the enforcement of the laws of the land. 65

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63. Inspector of 'A' District, 'AR 1899', QVP, 5 (1900), 537.
64. 1869 Rules, p. 11.
65. Queensland Police Union Journal, 8 December 1919, p. 15.
Indeed, the stress of shouting commands at the recruits contributed to health problems of at least two of the instructors. Samuel Grimes, instructor until 1891, suffered from bronchial asthma and died soon after his retirement from this condition. William Maguire who followed him as instructor also had nose and throat problems and had sick leave between 1902 and 1904 because of this. To command respect the instructor needed to be a Sergeant as Maguire argued in his application for promotion to this rank in 1897. Both he and Grimes had been drill instructors in the British Army, Samuel Grimes stating that he drilled according to the War Office Regulations. He also argued that the Police Manual plus his own experience was sufficient to instruct the men even though he had limited experience in other police duties. Parry-Okeden attempted to improve this situation with the employment of a law instructor, Mr. Swanwick, but in 1902 he had to dispense with his services on economical grounds.

The interpretation of the word 'supernumerary' varied according to the Commissioner. Seymour instituted their use and saw them as newly trained Constables who remained at the Depot and Fortitude Valley Station, receiving on the job

66. Personnel file, W. Maguire, A/40532, QSA.
68. 'AR 1902', OPP, 2 (1903), 378.
training there until assigned to a station. There were also supernumerary detectives in Seymour's time who were trained policemen but were new to the role as a detective. As a reserve, supernumeraries were useful in emergencies, for example during the industrial strikes of 1891, 1894 and 1912 and for special tasks. Parry-Okeden and Cahill saw them as recruits under training before they were sworn in as Constables. They assisted the men on patrols but only when the Force was short-handed. Numbers varied according to the Commissioner's interpretation; for Cahill from forty-seven in 1907 to fifteen in 1909. Supernumeraries were also listed in the Blue Books during Parry-Okeden's time;

TABLE 22: Supernumeraries, 1896-1899

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>1902</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Their pay was lower than that of a Constable thus putting them at the base of the police hierarchical order. For instance, in 1911, when Constables up to five years service were receiving seven shillings per day, supernumeraries were

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89. Personnel file, Detective J. Conry, A/38748, QSA.

90. 'AR 1907', QPP, 2 91908), 941; 'AR 1909', QPP, 2 (1910), 1006.
receiving six shillings per day. After being sworn in as Constables, the men were always kept in Brisbane for a few months before being sent out to a station. In a typical example, Constable Stephen O’Brien was sworn in on 4 April 1893 but stayed at the Depot for seven weeks before being sent to Townsville. Even in the earlier period the same system applied. Rody Byrne was sworn in February 1874 but was not posted to the Barcoo district until July of that year.

The men were fortunate if the station had books to help them in their duties. Usually it was a case of relying on their judgement, initiative and common sense with the occasional direction from a General Order or a Circular Memo. Indeed Parry-Okeden lamented in his 1896 Annual Report that 'the police have practically no books, and the want of a good up-to-date manual is much felt'. Two main texts were used,

Rules for the General Government and Discipline of the members of the Police Force of Queensland. (Brisbane, Government Printer, 1869), 49p.


Being such early publications they were in need of revision.

71. Circular Memo 847, 9 January 1911, A/36278, QSA.
73. Personnel file, Rody Byrne, A/40690 and A/40691, QSA.
74. ‘AR 1896’, QVP, 2 (1897), 13.
Whilst the latter was very comprehensive, covering topics alphabetically from 'accidents' to 'weights and measures' and covering such topics as 'bell-pulls and brass plates', 'sick', 'transfers' and 'lamps', it lacked the force of law, having never received the assent of the Governor in Council. The Royal Commission of 1889 strongly urged that it be revised as did the 1899 Royal Commission. Two texts were required; a manual of regulations for the overall guidance of the Force (to replace the 1876 Regulations) and a book of rules giving specific details (to replace the 1869 Rules).

The controversy which ensued in the early 1900s in the writing and production of the books was a classic example of the power struggle which existed between the Commissioners and the Home Secretary. While to some extent it was a clash of personalities especially when Cahill was Commissioner, it highlighted the delicate balance which existed in the control of the Force. The Commissioners loathed any interference by the Government or the public but the economic influence which the Government maintained was a powerful factor. Cahill especially wanted the Force to be independent but the Government wanted to keep as much control as possible. While

75. '1889 Royal Commission', QVP, 1 (1889), 624.
76. ibid., p. 629.
77. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 164.
strong authoritative control by the Commissioner could be seen as something to enhance the status of the police in the community, it could also be seen as dictatorial and undesirable. On the other hand, humanitarian policing whilst seemingly just had the potential for outside influence to take over. A measure of each of these was desirable, the question being in what proportion. Cahill's doggedness eventually resulted in the Police Department having the upper hand but it was a struggle especially when control of police expenditure was with the Home Secretary's Department between 1903 and 1912.

A new manual of regulations had been delayed in 1900 because of Federation and the Criminal Code which came into operation on 1 January 1901. Police Magistrate R.A. Ranking produced a pamphlet before 1900 which Parry-Okeden saw as very useful. At the same time Parry-Okeden expressed the opinion that he could bring out a good manual in six months, using Inspector Urquhart for the manual and doing the rules and regulations himself. Neither the Parry-Okeden nor Urquhart book eventuated. During 1901, Ranking and later Attorney General J.W. Blair began work in earnest in producing a Queensland Police Code based on the work of Sir Howard Vincent's British

78. 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1901), 1037.

79. Parry-Okeden quoted in Memorandum relating to the origination and adoption of 'The Queensland Police Code', COL/203, QSA.
Code. Vincent had given permission for his work to be used as long as he was able to draft the title page. Thus his name appears prominently on this page although not directly in the title, *The Queensland Police Code and Justices' Manual of the Criminal Law*, (Brisbane, Law Book Company, 1905). It was ready for use by 1905 but Cahill saw many errors in the published work and prohibited its official use by police.\(^{80}\) Furthermore, he informed the Under Secretary that he had almost ready a complete revision of the regulations under the Police Acts and a police manual for the guidance of the Force which would contain 'all that was necessary'.\(^{81}\) His work was based on Sir Andrew Reed's work of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

It is understandable that relations between Attorney General Blair and Cahill began to sour following Cahill’s actions of prohibiting the Ranking and Blair book. Whilst Blair observed that Cahill's proposed work was legally and administratively sound, he was concerned that:

> Regulations,... are made by the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, and when the Governor-in-Council sees fit to make fresh Regulations it will be time enough to consider whether the Code conflicts with them.\(^{82}\)

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\(^{80}\) Cahill, 21 December 1905, POL 11/A20, QSA; *Queensland Police Gazette*, 23 December 1905.

\(^{81}\) Cahill to Under Secretary, 21 December 1905, COL/203, QSA.

\(^{82}\) Blair, quoted in Memorandum relating to the origination and adoption of 'The Queensland Police Code', COL/203, QSA.
Thus Blair considered that essentially the Executive Council should decide the manual to be used, not the Commissioner. Furthermore, he was concerned at Cahill’s use of the Police Gazette to issue the instruction prohibiting the official use of Ranking and Blair’s book. As a result, Cabinet decided that

the notice in Police Gazette prohibiting use of Queensland Police Code in question be cancelled. Also that all future issues of the Police Gazette must be submitted to the Minister for approval before publication.83

Under protest, Cahill on 25 January 1906 cancelled the notice in the Police Gazette but reminded Cabinet of instructions he had previously received from Premier Arthur Morgan and Home Secretary Peter Airey that in the administration of the Police Force he should not allow any person to interfere with him and that ‘my administration should be carried out honestly according to my lights, and without respect to person or party’.84

Conflict between Cahill and Blair continued when Cahill submitted his manual for approval in July 1907. Blair said he ‘had no time to go through the Manual’. Subsequently Cabinet decided in favour of supplying free copies of a revised edition of Ranking and Blair’s manual to all

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83. Cabinet Memo, COL/203, QSA.
84. Cahill to Under Secretary, 26 January 1906, COL/203, QSA.
Magistrates and stations.\textsuperscript{85} Cahill was requested to submit
his new regulations for Ranking to make extracts for his
(Ranking's) manual. Cahill submitted these on 27 July 1908
but the Ranking and Blair manual was never distributed and it
is doubtful that it was ever printed. If it was, Cahill paid
no attention to it for he was to remark in 1913:

The only book of this nature now in existence is one that
was issued in the year 1876; this is of course quite out
of date, comparatively useless, to some extent dangerous,
and, I think, fortunately, out of print.\textsuperscript{86}

Furthermore, the only copy resembling Ranking's work which
remains in the possession of the Queensland Police Museum is
a 1924 edition, revised by B.J. Jeffries.\textsuperscript{87} Cahill's manual
was finally allowed to be printed in 1913 and distributed in
1914. 1500 copies were printed, and twenty of these were
bound in leather.\textsuperscript{88} Each manual was stamped with a number
and issued to every member of the Force. On leaving the
Force, the men handed in the manual to the Depot for reissue
— in the same manner as police badges were handed in after
1912.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{85} Home Secretary Hawthorne, 24 April 1908, COL/203, QSA.

\textsuperscript{86} Cahill to Home Secretary, 6 August 1913, COL/203, QSA.

\textsuperscript{87} Ranking, R.A. (revised by B.J. Jeffries), Queensland
Police Code and Justices' Manual of the Criminal Law,
(Brisbane, Law Book Company, 1924).

\textsuperscript{88} W.G. Cahill, The Policeman's Manual, (Brisbane,
Government Printer, no date).

\textsuperscript{89} Circular Memo 836, 7 May 1914, A/36279, p. 46, QSA; Circular Memo 871, 5 November 1914, A/44731, QSA.
The police Rules had not been revised since 1869 and Cahill was asked to revise these in 1908. He concluded, following Cabinet’s obvious liking for the British Code, that any regulations based on Royal Irish Constabulary books would naturally be rejected. Thus he chose the NSW Police Regulations as an alternative basis on which to compile regulations which were subsequently sent to Ranking to make extracts for his revised code of 1908. But it has already been established that Ranking’s work was never printed. Rules were finally forthcoming in 1924, fifty-five years after the 1869 Rules.

Other reference books were used such as the Queensland Police Guide (Brisbane, Watson and Ferguson, 1892), which contained 184 Acts of Parliament to 1891 and a supplement of 815 offences with penalties and punishments. The 1899 Royal Commission also suggested that Archbold’s Pleading and Evidence in Criminal Cases, Wilkinson’s Queensland Magistrate, and extracts from the Queensland Statutes relating to the principal duties of police be made available. Access to the Acts was desirable especially where police acted as Clerks of Petty Sessions. But where there were no books police were expected to act with common

80. Cabinet Memo, 30 April 1908, COL/203, QSA.
81. Cahill to Under Secretary, 27 July 1908, A/44788, QSA.
82. ‘1899 Royal Commission’, QVP, 4 (1899), 164.
sense,...and their previous experience in attending police courts in large towns'. \(^93\) It was the Police Gazettes which directly helped the men in the apprehension of criminals although there were complaints of incomplete indexing. They contained information received in cases of felony and misdemeanour, against receivers of stolen property, reputed thieves and offenders escaped from custody, with the time, place and circumstances of the offences. Included also was a description of offenders or those suspected, with photographs after September 1897, giving the appearance, dress and other marks of identity, which might lead to their apprehension. A description, as accurate as possible, of property that had been stolen was also given. Circulated weekly to every station, under no circumstances were the Gazettes to be shown to the public. They were also regularly sent to New Zealand, Fiji, South Africa and other Australian states since they formed the principal medium by which such information could be exchanged.

For the 1895-1910 period it was a case of the Queensland community getting 'the police force they deserve or at least the police force they can afford'. \(^94\) It was shown that the quantity and quality of recruits varied with the economy.


\(^94\) Eric Richards in Clyne, Colonial Blue, p. xv.
environmental conditions, the level of remuneration and the physical standards imposed at the time. Theoretical training was adequate given the level of education which the men and the community at large had attained although drill was somewhat overdone. The military influence was excessive but was considered necessary to maintain discipline and self control. Indeed such qualities were needed as the men moved to the country often to one-man stations.
Chapter 3

CONDITIONS

To understand the life of a policeman it is necessary to appreciate the conditions of the Force concerning the administrative structure in respect of promotion and punishments as well as the physical environment of location within the state and police buildings in which the men lived and worked. The conditions of pay, allowances and superannuation will be discussed in Chapter 4. The influence which the lowly Constable had over his advancement was minimal. He was at the mercy of his superior officers especially the Inspector in charge of his District. If he wanted to complain to the Commissioner, he had to do so in writing through his Inspector. With no way of appealing any decisions made against him and the Police Union not being established until 1915 he was defenceless. Little notice was taken of public petitions to the Commissioner although in the Royal Commissions of 1889 and 1899 grievances could be heard.

Respect for authority was an essential part of the discipline of the Force. The 1869 Rules stated that

his first duty is perfect obedience to his superiors; he should receive the orders of those above him with deference and respect, and execute them to the very best of his power.\(^1\)

The formality of saluting was part of this in which all ranks

\(^1\) 1869 Rules, p. 30.
were required to salute their superior officers. Sergeants and Constables also had to salute Commissioned Officers of the Army and Navy and Police Magistrates.\(^2\) For obvious reasons, plain clothes police and detectives did not salute.

Whilst respect for authority was vital, the police were hamstrung in expressing their political opinions because they did not have the franchise. They were not allowed to vote until 1905 although police in England and New South Wales - but not Ireland - could vote by 1899.\(^3\) In this respect, they were in the same category as women, the military, habitual drunkards, rogues and vagabonds.\(^4\) Indeed they had to refrain from involvement in any political activity.\(^5\) With such a high profile in the community, they had to be especially vigilant not to express opinion, and if the Commissioner heard of any indiscretions in this regard, the officer involved was transferred. There was discussion on this topic during the 1899 Royal Commission. With the exception of Inspector Urquhart, the commissioned officers were not in favour of the men having the vote. Inspector A. Douglas-Douglas explained:

\(^2\) 1876 Regulations, p. 191.

\(^3\) ‘1899 Royal Commission’, QVP, 4 (1899), 787.


\(^5\) General Order 770, 25 February 1908, A/36277, p. 402, QSA.
In small townships where the officer in charge of the police is looked up to as the man who has to lay down the law - he is the acting clerk of petty sessions, and so forth - it is only human nature to take sides in this world, and he would be more inclined to show a partisan spirit.6

Men of the lower ranks were all in favour of having the vote. Sergeant E. Walsh for instance argued that all the other civil servants had the franchise and police were 'quite as intelligent'.7 Acting Sergeant Charles Crawford added that 'they would have more support if they had votes. Policemen have very little support and are entirely at the mercy of their superiors'.8 The Commissioners hinted that political influence was being sought but Crawford denied this. Yet the men anticipated that with the vote, their conditions would improve. Drill Instructor William Maguire in complaining that he was working nine hours per day commented in 1905 - 'never mind we have a vote, it cannot last for ever'.9 But not until the formation of the Police Union did the police have an effective lobby.

The criteria for promotion was seniority and efficiency, with emphasis placed on the former. Parry-Okeden qualified this in


9. William Maguire, 17 May 1905, A/40532, QSA.
the 1899 Royal Commission by stating: "seniority counts for a
good deal, but it is not everything. I pass over certain men
till I come to the most eligible man on the list, and he gets
it". 10 Certainly the men were not allowed to apply for
promotion, as Constable Kingston of Birdsville found in 1909
when he made such an application, and no notice was taken of
his request.11 In another example, Sergeant Michael
O'Sullivan complained that by transferring him from Roma to
the CIB, he would lose allowances of £30 pounds per year.12
He therefore requested a promotion but Parry-Okeden was not
sympathetic when he commented:

I do not like the complaining spirit in which the Sgt.
couches his report....His harping on promotion ...is not
even sensible....The Sergt. to report at once.13

The men seemed to have more influence in Seymour's time in
this regard. In 1890 at Charters Towers Detective James
McQuaker applied for a promotion from third class to second
class detective to keep up with the high wages of miners.
Instead of a flat refusal Seymour merely stated that there
was no vacancy for a second class detective at that

10. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 244.

11. Constable F. Kingston to Sub-Inspector, (Cloncurry),
16 November 1909, A/40223, QSA.

12. Sergeant M. O'Sullivan to Sub-Inspector, (Roma), 5
July 1904, A/47938, QSA.

13. Parry-Okeden, 9 July 1904, A/47938, QSA.
After swearing in the men always went 'outside' to country areas where conditions were more trying. They were then promoted through the ranks, at the same time being moved around the state. Parry-Okeden saw this as the proper procedure for maintaining an effective Force but was concerned that an officers' system should be implemented. He advocated a cadet system whereby selected men could be taken on as cadets and trained specifically as officers but this was never implemented.  

There was a kind of egalitarianism in that each man knew that he was almost certainly going to be promoted to senior rank at some future date if he stayed. For the men to undertake this process, a 'level' was established to which the less capable men strove but which the more capable easily attained, albeit lower than their true capabilities. Not only did this mediocrity lower the achievement standards for the Force, but young men, full of vitality and receptive of new ideas, did not attain these positions of responsibility. They became disillusioned when they realised how long it would take to reach top positions - and left to better themselves.

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14. Seymour to Inspector Isley, 19 November 1890, A/40095, QSA.

15. Parry-Okeden to Under Secretary, 12 October 1898, Document Collection, Queensland Police Museum.
There was a major problem within such a promotional structure because of outside influence from politicians, influential businessmen, senior public servants and to a lesser degree, the public. The Police Department was not alone in this. It persisted in all areas of the Public Service but as early as 1872 Acting Commissioner T.H. Barron (who was the Commissioner's Chief Clerk just as Finucane was later) issued a General Order cautioning members that if found guilty of using outside influence, they would be severely dealt with.¹⁸ No Commissioner in the period under discussion could control such interference although Cahill was perhaps the most successful. Promotion by merit and seniority with a system of competitive examinations was suggested by Seymour as early as 1874 to try to overcome the situation but such a scenario did not eventuate.¹⁷ He admitted in the 1889 Royal Commission that this could not be carried out.¹⁸ He saw as the problem the increasing tendency of men to obtain outside influence (especially political) rather than looking for their reward by 'a straight forward and impartial discharge of their duty'.¹⁹ He reinforced such criticism with General Orders in 1892 ²⁰ and 1894 ²¹ condemning the practice. But the problem

¹⁶. 'AR 1872', QVP, 1 (1873), 918.
¹⁷. 'AR 1874', QVP, 1 (1875), 617.
¹⁸. '1889 Royal Commission', QVP, 1 (1889) 676.
¹⁹. 'AR 1875', QVP, 1 (1876), 903.
²⁰. General Order 647, 16 September 1892, A/36274, QSA.
persisted under Parry-Okeden, even 'to be found among all ranks'.\textsuperscript{22} Again in 1905 a similar General Order was issued by Cahill in an attempt to prevent promotion 'using contacts'.\textsuperscript{23} Even the men agreed it was far from the ideal, with Senior Sergeant J. Dalton stating in 1889:

\begin{quote}
I think if the Commissioner were left to himself there would be very little to complain of his system. It is outside influence being brought to bear that leads to the dissatisfaction as regards promotion. \textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

A policeman who worked during the Parry-Okeden - Cahill era also noted:

\begin{quote}
There is no more heartbreaking job in the world than to place an intelligent young constable under the domination of an incompetent officer or non-commissioned officer who has received his promotion through outside influence. Never having done anything themselves to dodge responsibility they are devoid of any understanding of the difficulties constables are placed in. \textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

The Royal Commission of 1889 had recommended that promotions up to Senior Constable be made by seniority, and that in all other cases seniority be an essential qualification for promotion, combined with ability and good conduct. As was explained, 'At present there is no system; and those who bring most influence to bear, or who are the most forward and

\textsuperscript{21} General order 545, 23 February 1894, A/36276, QSA.

\textsuperscript{22} 'AR 1897', \textit{QVP}, 1 (1898), 631.

\textsuperscript{23} General order 670A, 14 July 1905, A/36277, QSA.

\textsuperscript{24} '1889 Royal Commission', \textit{QVP}, 1 (1889), 702.

\textsuperscript{25} A.W. Noakes, \textit{The Life of a Policeman}, p. 36.
pushing, carry off the best positions'.

The public tried to influence transfers and promotions by sending petitions and letters to the Commissioner but their influence was not as great as the influence from politicians. In 1908 for example some citizens of Hopetown and Kilcoy petitioned the Commissioner to remove Acting Sergeant C. Wilson who had been there eight years. They complained he had 'made many friends and as many prejudices' and that people had 'lost confidence' in him. Whilst Wilson was probably not the most efficient policeman - in thirty-one years service he only reached Acting Sergeant - he was still sober and steady and obviously more honest than some of those who petitioned. As Inspector White commented in his investigations,

some of the persons signing...have been proceeded against by the Police...consequently are actuated by ill-feeling against the Acting Sergeant.

The public were not completely devoid of influence. Indeed adverse newspaper comments were always investigated such as the newspaper article in 1910 which described conditions at the Fortitude Valley Station as very poor. Home Secretary


27. Petition, Freeholders and selectors of Hopetown and Kilcoy, 14 July 1908, A/40345, QSA.


Appel and Under Secretary Ryder immediately inspected the station - but found the accusations groundless. 30

Police Magistrates also tried to influence the Commissioners. When Acting Sergeant James Nixon was reduced to Constable at Tambo in March 1897 for allowing a Constable to perjure himself when giving evidence, the Police Magistrates and a solicitor protested. Parry-Okeden was not swayed although Nixon was promoted again in January 1898.31 There was probably a subtle influence albeit indirect and delayed.

Parry-Okeden tried to control outside influence by formalising promotion with an examinations system in 1896.32 For instance, the examination for Constables to Acting Sergeants included Reading, Writing to dictation, Writing a report of circumstances of a supposed accident or occurrence, Numeration and Notation, the first four compound rules of Arithmetic, and Horsemanship.33 Parry-Okeden admitted at the 1899 Royal Commission, however, that where he knew the men were capable, he did not always insist on men sitting for the examinations, adding the sweeping statement that "I know


32. 'AR 1896', QVP, 2 (1897), 13.

33. General Order 896, 17 June 1898, A/44759, QSA.
pretty nearly the capabilities of every man in the force'. 34
This may have been possible to some extent with 828 men in
the Force at that time 35 although favouritism with those he
knew well was inevitable. In 1897 for instance, when he
learned that Senior Sergeant Peter Gallagher's health was
failing, he promoted him to 3/C Sub-Inspector in order that
he might retire on a higher pension. Parry-Okeden had known
him when he was a Police Magistrate. 36

The Commissioner had the power to appoint and dismiss
Sergeants and Constables but beyond Sergeant, the Executive
with the Colonial Secretary as the ministerial head, had to
give permission to the Commissioner's recommendation. This
was never denied, as Seymour stated at the 1889 Royal
Commission. 37 The Commissioner also had the power to suspend
Commissioned Officers but not dismiss them. Because the
powers to appoint and dismiss were vested in one person, the
powers of the Queensland Police Commissioner were greater
than in Victoria for instance, where all appointments and
dismissals were under the control of three people, the
Colonel commanding the Forces, the Inspector of Penal

34. Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4
(1899), 246.
35. 'AR 1898', QVP, 4 (1899), 901.
36. Personnel file, P. Gallagher, A/38817, QSA.
37. Seymour, '1889 Royal Commission', QVP, 1 (1889), 64.
Establishments and the Police Commissioner. Seymour rightly argued that 'if one man has to be responsible for the discipline and character of the men it is necessary that he should have that power'.

The influence of the Inspectors was significant. All correspondence from the men to the Commissioner had to be sent through the Inspector or Sub-Inspector's office depending on the location. Comments and recommendations were written on the letter or in an attached letter to the extent that it was mostly a formality for the Commissioner to approve their recommendations. As the Police Union commented in 1926 concerning 'the old days', transfers were usually brought about because some men would not submit themselves to be purchased slaves for the higher officers of the force... and to complain generally meant still greater punishment.

It would require an extensive study of personnel files to show more of this influence although the 1889 Royal Commission, as already stated, showed concern at the tyranny of the Inspectors. The 1899 Royal Commission again alluded to this problem and also the abuse of the defaulter's sheets by Inspectors. It concluded that part of the problem of low morale was from the secrecy of these sheets. Men were kept in

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38. Seymour, '1889 Royal Commission', QVP, 1 (1889), 664.
total ignorance of remarks on them. 40 The Royal Commissioners recommended that no superior officer make any condemnatory entry against a man without calling his attention to it.41

Any misconduct by police was entered on these sheets and a report sent to the Commissioner via an Inspector. The Commissioner and Inspector were the only two to view the sheets. Not even a Sub-Inspector could do so. The sheet was sent to the new District should the men be transferred and on discharge from the Force, a certificate of character could be made out on application in accordance with this sheet. Signed by the Commissioner, it was the only reference to be given to men leaving the Force. Those who were dismissed received no certificates of character.42 The Commissioner issued fines and punishments until 1901, when, for minor offences, the Inspector could issue a reprimand or a fine not exceeding one pound.43 For other offences, the Commissioner could either issue a fine up to five pounds, or disrate or dismiss the men.44 As with promotions, the influence and control of the Commissioner and Inspectors over the Force was strengthened

40. '1889 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 163.
41. ibid.
42. 1876 Regulations, pp. 78-9.
43. QGG, 2 March 1901, p. 909.
44. QGG, 14 December 1901.
because there was no statutory provision for any right of appeal by the men once the superior officers had made their decisions.\textsuperscript{45} Thus the finality of any punishment, especially dismissal, was cause for concern. The 1899 Royal Commission recommended the reinstatement of Constable Seymour who had been dismissed. In so doing, they commented that 'nothing demoralises a disciplined force more than an act of harshness from which the victim has no appeal'.\textsuperscript{46} Not until 1921 was an appeal board set up wherein an officer who had been dismissed or fined by the Commissioner could seek some redress.\textsuperscript{47}

The severity of the punishments depended on the superior officers. Sub-Inspector Clohesy was a tyrant at Ravenswood in the 1870s and 1880s. He dismissed and fined men for relatively minor offences. Some men resigned and one native trooper deserted.\textsuperscript{48} Later in 1885, when a Senior Sergeant was in charge there, nothing was done when two Constables were found drunk - not even a fine.\textsuperscript{49} Clohesy might well have dismissed his men for the same offence. Such inconsistencies

\textsuperscript{45} Home Secretary J.G. Appel, \textit{QPD}, CVI (1910), 2039.

\textsuperscript{46} '1899 Royal Commission', \textit{QYP}, 4 (1899), 160.

\textsuperscript{47} 'Police Acts Amendment Act of 1921', 12 Geo.v, no. 4, in \textit{QQG}, no. 132, 7 October 1921, p. 970; see also 'Police Acts Amendment Act of 1924, \textit{QPD}, 143 (1924), 346.

\textsuperscript{48} POL 11B/N1-3, QSA.

\textsuperscript{49} POL 11B/N2, QSA.
seem unfair in view of the emphasis placed on having a clean defaulter’s sheet although a clean sheet was not always a true indication of the situation. Sergeant P. Dunne of Toowong Station in 1896 had a clean sheet but eventually was considered ‘too feeble and unfit’ to perform duties and was pensioned out. On the other hand some talented policemen did not have a clean sheet, Rody Byrne being a classic example of this. He was excellent at catching horse thieves, hence his roving commission to do just that but comments on his defaulter’s sheet ranged from ‘writes badly...unreliable and untruthful, requires careful supervision’ to ‘first class rider and bushman’. Indeed, Parry-Okeden’s remark fitted Byrne’s situation, that ‘a negative man, who sits down and never does anything and has a clean sheet, has not as good a chance as an active man who is always doing good work’. Byrne was so talented that the Department overlooked his indiscretions.

An internal infrastructure of rules and regulations within the Police Department kept the working and private lives of the men well in check. Punishment resulted if these were not

50. Toowong Station, A/41507, QSA.

51. Personnel file, Rody Byrne, There was so much concerning Rody Byrne’s career that his records at QSA take up two bundles instead of the usual one, A/40690-1, QSA.

obeyed and depended on rank, the severity of the offence and the officer who meted out the punishment. Punishments varied from cautions, reprimands, fines, to reduction in rank, transfers, suspensions and finally dismissal. The only detailed statistics remaining on punishment for the 1895-1910 period are for 1906-7. Whilst such punishments usually only applied to Constables, there were a few high ranking exceptions. 1/C Sub-Inspector John Quilter of Hughenden was reduced to 2/C Sub-Inspector in 1907 for making false statements; also, Inspector Dillon for 'Longreach trouble' in 1905 was severely reprimanded and transferred. Statistics for all offences and punishments for 1906-7 may be summarised. Whilst drunkenness is by far the most common fence, a wide variety is shown.

TABLE 23: Offences, punishments, 1906-1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1907</th>
<th>Punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Reprimand; Caution; Fined £1-£5; Reduction in rank; 7 Dismissed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking in hotel during prohibited hours</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fined £1 to £5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering a hotel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Fined £1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking on duty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Fined £1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepting cup of tea from Licensee of Hotel while on Sunday trading duty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. A/45436, QSA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drinking in a hotel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reduction in rank and transferred; Fined £1 to £4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending function in a hotel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cautioned; severe reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conduct re drinker Exchange Hotel; Bne.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Cautioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing from publican</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Fined £5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In hotel on Sunday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Fined £1 to £5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking in Lock up</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Fined £1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total Drunkenness Offences                  | 34  | 38  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absent from beat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fined 10/- to £1; Reprimand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loitering and gossiping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fined £2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asleep under arms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fined 10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitting down in uniform on beat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reprimand; Fined £1 to £3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglecting duty</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Reprimand; Cautioned; Reduced in rank; Fined 10/- to £2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Total Beat duty offences                     | 24  | 28  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Severe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disobedience</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insubordination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overstaying leave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrying without permission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusing to go on transfer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showing Police Gaz. to outsiders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making false statements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trying to use political influence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowance of prisoner to escape</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral conduct</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaulting a Kanaka; and a boy (2)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhuman treatment to prisoner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect in arresting a man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving a testimonial to an ex policeman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total disobedience offences**: 18

**Total severe**: 31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
<th>Severe reprimand</th>
<th>Disciplinary Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insulting letter to senior officer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fined £1; dismissed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being convicted of crime</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father of an illeg.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion cancelled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reporting offer of a bribe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fined £1; Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking positions without authority</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending impertinent replies U/S Lands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Severe reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cautioned; Reduction in rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusive language</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reprimand; Transferred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losing warrant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Severe reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing Letters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclean Rifle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fined 6/-; Caution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting civilian to write an official memo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fined £1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting residents to write letters re necessity for more Police protection</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowing opium to be stolen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Severe reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losing handcuffs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fined 5/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total other offences: 16

22
Sub Totals | 1906 | 1907  
---|---|---
Drunkenness/Hotels | 34 (37%) | 38 (32%)  
Beat Duty | 24 (26%) | 28 (23.5%)  
Disobedience | 18 (19.6%) | 31 (26%)  
Other | 16 (17.4%) | 22 (18.5%)  
Grand Total | 92 | 119  

Source: Crimes and Punishments, 1906-7, A/45436, QSA.

The high incidence of drunkenness and crimes associated with it is highlighted in the statistics. Seymour had issued a General Order as early as 1879 stating that a reduction in rank would be enforced if Senior Sergeants, Sergeants, or Senior Constables were found drunk either on or off duty.54 The fact that uniform was to be worn both on and off duty ensured that the police were very visible and so the rule had to apply to 'off duty' as well. But the Department was fairly tolerant of drunkenness and only after fines and reprimands was dismissal considered. A typical case was Water Police Constable Gray at Thursday Island in 1894. He was found to be drinking while in charge of the watchhouse and repeatedly drunk on duty. He was initially fined 30/- but was finally dismissed after being almost continually drunk for two months.55 The Commissioners were also considerate of family situations. Constable Joseph Wassel was continually drunk on duty but Cahill gave him another chance because he was a...

54. General Order 610, 2 April 1879, A/5067, p. 48, QSA.  
55. Thursday Island Water Police, A/41708, QSA.
married man. But he was warned also that if found guilty of this offence within five years, he would most probably be dismissed - which he was just three months later because of drunkenness.56

Some other offences were actually a cover for drunkenness and so widespread did the alcoholism problem become that Cahill issued a General Order in 1906 that 'there is no such offence as 'being under the influence of drink'. A policeman must be regarded as either drunk or sober'. 57 Again in 1909 he issued instructions:

It is unfair and unreasonable to prefer charges such as insubordination, disobedience of orders, neglect of duty...against men who are contemporaneously charged with drunkenness and the practice is to be discontinued. The principal charge is drunkenness on or off duty, or when required for duty, and other delinquencies are subsidiary to it.58

With reference to the statistics in Table 23, the punishment of dismissal was extensive for a variety of breaches of the regulations. Offences where this occurred are tabulated in Table 24.

56. Personnel file, Joseph Wassel, A/40202, QSA.
57. General Order 754, 18 January 1906, A/36277, QSA.
58. Circular Memo 575, 4 November 1909, A/36349, QSA.
TABLE 24: Offences, dismissals, 1906-1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Number dismissed 1906-7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(incomplete)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disobedience</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insubordination</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepting cup of tea from Licensee of Hotel while on Sunday trading duty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent from beat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrying without permission</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusing to go on transfer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowing prisoner to escape</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing insulting letter to superior officer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being convicted of crime</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing letters</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these were seemingly trivial such as accepting a cup of tea from a Licensee of a hotel or being absent from a beat. Obviously though these were the final offences in a long line of other misdemeanours. The extent and seriousness of the alcoholism problem is shown by the high proportion dismissed because of drunkenness. At Normanton in 1906 for instance, out of twenty-three Constables, four were dismissed for drunkenness, two discharged on resignation and nine transferred to other Districts.\(^59\) Drunkenness was often associated with other factors of disobedience, as in the case of Constable John O’Connor. He was dismissed ten months after swearing in in 1888 for being found absent from his beat in Brisbane by Senior Constable Grant who had searched for him

\(^59\). File 436H, Queensland Police Museum.
for an hour without success. He was discovered on another beat under the influence of drink with his leg broken. On inquiry it was found he was in a brothel without excuse when he fell down stairs and injured his leg.\(^{60}\) Being transferred because of drunkenness was quite common. 1/C Constable Hugh Flynn, who had been in the Force since 1870, was transferred seventeen times in twenty years mainly because of this. He had also been disrated, at one time being as high as a Sergeant.\(^{61}\) The Commissioners at the 1899 Royal Commission were not sympathetic towards him. In fact, they complained that the Department had gone to the expense of transferring him instead of fining him.\(^{62}\)

When the men were transferred to remote areas of the State they were confronted by the harshest of environmental influences. Infectious diseases that caused death such as diphtheria, tuberculosis, bubonic plague and scarlet fever had no boundaries and in towns people were employed in 'rat gangs' to kill rats which carried the plague. An effort was generally made to clean up yards in town stations because of this danger.\(^{63}\) Indeed the towns were not generally clean, few

\(^{60}\) Personnel file, J. O'Connor, A/40109, QSA.

\(^{61}\) 1/C Constable Hugh Flynn, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 521.

\(^{62}\) Dickson, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 524.

\(^{63}\) Inspector White, Roma Street Station, 16 March 1900, A/41454, QSA.
having reticulated water systems. Cesspits were still used for sanitation, with a water carriage system of sewerage many years away. The Chief Health Inspector remarked about Townsville in 1903 that

no system of rubbish removal has been established in the city, consequently a large amount of filth of every conceivable description had accumulated,\textsuperscript{64}

and he commented about Rockhampton during the 1902 drought with its

wretched state of water supplied from the lagoons. Numerous cases of dysentery and diarrhoea. Cases of typhoid fever, influenza, ophthalmia. Dust and filth washed from roofs into rain-water tanks.\textsuperscript{65}

The police were likewise affected by disease compounded by the harsh conditions under which they lived and worked. Patrols still had to be made no matter the weather, the season or the terrain. In 1897 dengue fever and influenza were in epidemic proportions. There were 152 cases reported which accounted for 18\% of the whole Force.\textsuperscript{66} Dengue fever was especially widespread in the north, the total police staff (of three) at Ravenswood in 1895, being sick with it for two months.\textsuperscript{67} Infantile paralysis appeared in 1904 and the eye disorders of sandy blight and ophthalmia were prevalent in the west and were often the cause of men

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{64} Commissioner of Health, \textquote{AR 1903}, 20 July 1903, p. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{65} \textit{ibid}.
  \item \textsuperscript{66} \textquote{AR 1897}, \textit{QVP}, 1 (1898), 632.
  \item \textsuperscript{67} POL 11B/N5, QSA.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
applying for transfers. At Birdsville in 1896, the Constable applied for a transfer because he had sandy blight and his wife was ill. He had been at Birdsville six years and the nearest medical attention was 400 kilometres away. Fortunately the average stay for police in such isolated areas at this time was three to five years. It was the Constables and Sergeants who mainly had to endure these harsh conditions, however, the Inspectors being based in the largest town in the District.

Fresh food and water were simply not available in many areas. Indeed, in the 1880s in the Barcoo district three Constables had died from thirst in the course of their duties. And in 1904 at Ravenswood when the police well caved in and the Department claimed there were insufficient funds to repair it, it was only through the generosity of the General Manager of the Ravenswood Gold Mine Company that the police were able to use the Mine's water supply. Consider also the supply at Birdsville which was at all times muddy and had to be purified with epsom salts. In fact water was such a

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68. Constable M. Keau, 30 January 1896, POL 9A/G2, QSA.

88. Sub-Inspector R. Byrne to Comm, 22 May 1922, A/40690-1, QSA.

70. Acting Sergeant M. O'Donohue to Inspector Lamond, 13 October 1904 and 21 October 1904, A/41475.

71. Sergeant A. McDonald, 27 September 1887, POL 9A/G1, QSA.
precious commodity in the west that the Daily Occurrence Books always detailed the days on which rain fell and the exact amount each time. Where the towns had a water supply, it was not always reliable. The Sergeant at Fortitude Valley station complained in 1890 when the supply of tanks was refused: ‘the Enogara [sic] water is unfit for drinking purposes. Sometimes the water is cut off from the main without notice’.72

It is difficult to comprehend the heat, flies, dust, isolation, boredom and loneliness which police encountered in country stations. Constable Noakes describes a dust storm at Hughenden in 1902.

I had returned off patrol the night before and had a number of reports to make. It was impossible to write. I laid on the floor of the barracks all day with my head in a corner covered with a sheet as some protection against the dust. We had no meals that day.73

Rains often failed which compounded the already oppressive heat conditions. Desertions by the Trackers and resignations and applications for transfers from the white police were not uncommon. When the rains did come, other problems arose - that of flooding, with no mail or stores through for months. Statistical returns could not be collected - and sandflies and grasshoppers drove the people to distraction. The only

72. Sergeant Slattery to Sub-Inspector, 28 February 1890, A/41287, QSA.

73. A.W. Noakes, Life of a Policeman, p. 88.
advantage was the plentiful supply of bush hay which was cut
and stored as forage for the horses.

Whilst the towns were more popular, conditions in them could
also be difficult. In 1909 Drill Instructor Acting Sergeant
R. Ferguson applied to have the back verandah of his cottage
at the Depot enclosed with canvas because of the dust problem
from wheel traffic in Petrie Terrace.\textsuperscript{74} This obviously wasn’t
sufficient because after three years he applied to have it
enclosed by means of a ‘French Light and two windows’ because
‘the dust is blown through the house in volumes’.\textsuperscript{75}

The Water Police in Brisbane often carried out their work
under adverse conditions. Senior Sergeant Ross complained in
1895 that he had been

kept at constant night duty for the last five years and
nine months (six nights in the week) all the year
round,... from 9 pm to 5 am and then in an open boat,
exposed to the moist foggy atmosphere of the river and
which ... has somewhat impaired my health. \textsuperscript{76}

There was also the hazard of the police boat capsizing as it
did in Moreton Bay in 1901, the men having to cling onto it

\textsuperscript{74}. Acting Sergeant R. Ferguson to Inspector, 5 July
1909, A/41636, QSA.

\textsuperscript{75}. Sergeant R. Ferguson to Inspector, Depot, 9 November
1912, A/41636, QSA.

\textsuperscript{76}. Senior Sergeant H. Ross to Colonial Secretary, 5
August 1895, A/40342, QSA.
for hours until rescued.77

The Birdsville district provides one of the most extreme cases of isolation where closer contact was kept with Diamantina in South Australia than with other Queensland towns and where mail for the station was sent via Adelaide for expedience. Loneliness was often more difficult to face than the environmental conditions, especially if a man was single. Constable J. McMillan of Eyers Creek asked to be transferred back to Birdsville because 'this station is very lonely and is better adapted for an elderly man or one who is fond of reading'.78 As if Birdsville was a hive of activity!

The threat of physical violence against police by offenders was ever present but even if they escaped this, there was still the rigours of outdoor life and associated accidents with horses. Sub Inspector Martin when requesting his retirement in 1907 recalled the injuries he had received in the course of his duties. In 1873, when travelling with the Gold Escort between Ravenswood and Townsville, the police horse he was riding fell and rolled on him, breaking his left thigh. In 1875-6 through hard living and exposure while serving on the Palmer, he contracted rheumatic fever from

77. Personnel file, J. Wassel, A/40344, QSA.

78. Constable J. McMillan to Inspector Britton, (Blackall), 10 November 1888, POL 9A/G1, QSA.
which I never really recovered'. Then in 1883, while travelling in charge of a detachment of native troopers in the Rockhampton district, he was kicked by a packhorse causing a compound fracture of the right arm.\(^7^9\)

Despite the rigours of police duty, the quality of life was gradually improving. The convenience of electric light was available in city stations from 1901\(^8^0\) although lighting in the country stations was still by kerosene lanterns. In 1910 telephones were installed at several stations within an eight kilometre radius of Brisbane which improved communication.\(^8^1\)

Whilst transport by horse was the norm, the railway system was developing, by 1888 there being approximately 3220 kilometres in operation.\(^8^2\) Health standards were improving and with closer settlement and increases in the population, medical help was within reach. With a policeman in practically every pocket of civilisation in Queensland, however, this was still difficult. For instance, there was no medical assistance within 580 kilometres of Birdsville.\(^8^3\)

\(^7^9\). Sub-Inspector E. Martin to Comm, 5 November 1907, Document Collection, Queensland Police Museum.

\(^8^0\). A/41454, QSA.

\(^8^1\). 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-2), 628.

\(^8^2\). H.C. Perry, A Son of Australia, p. 228.

\(^8^3\). Personnel file, F.W. Kingston, A/40223, QSA.
Queensland's vulnerability to the environment was shown clearly in the Great Drought of 1898-1903. It had a devastating effect. For eighteen months no rain fell in western Queensland and even artesian bores failed to prevent losses. Police horses were affected. Many died (100 in 1901)84 and others were sent to the Rockhampton, Toowoomba and Woodford police paddocks.85 Patrols in country areas only went out on urgent matters and forage had to be sent to far-out stations at great cost. Bicycles were utilised to some extent but the necessity for economy precluded the purchase of any large number.86 Constable Michael O'Sullivan described the conditions under which he and his family lived:

There was no milk obtainable, no fruit, no vegetables, just flour and mutton - not even a drop of clean water ... We had to cart water seven miles in from a dam ... This had, of course, to be boiled, and a greasy scum skimmed off it before using ... Cobb and Co. had to give up running the Longreach-Winton coach owing to the water having given out on the mail-route....sandy blight and other eye troubles were very prevalent. At one time my wife and two children were all practically blind at the same time 87

Constable Albert Noakes also described life at Hughenden during this period:

84. 'AR 1901, QPP, 1 (1902), 1020.
85. 'AR 1899', QVP, 5 (1900), 538.
86. 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1901), 1036.
The dust would rise up under the horse and envelope the rider. The heat would be intense; you would perspire and the depth of mud on your face as a result of the dust and perspiration would depend on the length of your beard. You would meet another traveller and all you would see of his face would be his eyes blinking through the mud. 88

Such descriptive passages highlight the conditions under which the policeman’s family were expected to live. Indeed the role of the wives especially in country stations, has been overlooked and underestimated. They gave assistance in many ways—from preparing meals for prisoners, to caring for the sick, to assisting in arrests (as Constable Chatfield’s wife did at Kalbar in 1919 when during a struggle with a violent man the Constable reported she ‘threw me the handcuffs when I called for them’).89 The wives looked after the stations when their husbands were away, lending assistance where they could. This was all unpaid. It was also at a time when mounted patrols were frequent, distances between stations vast and the police worked seven days each week. Indeed Sundays were often the busiest day of the week with Sunday trading to be policed. Such was the plan of the buildings in one-man stations that the whole family often had to put up with drunks yelling abuse in the lock up in the same building at all hours of the night. Yet it was simply not allowed for the wife to undertake paid employment. At Birdsville in 1916 Constable J. Gurn’s wife was offered the

89. Personnel file, Constable G. Chatfield, A/40684, QSA.
job as Postmistress but Commissioner Cahill refused such a request. But by 1969 it was the Constable there who also had the Postmaster’s job as an extraneous duty.

Police often applied for transfers because of ill health in the family and Commissioners were generally sympathetic to their requests. For instance when Michael Sullivan was transferred from Mt Morgan to Emerald his wife and children did not go. It was too hot, there was no doctor and they needed medical attention. They went to Brisbane instead, Sullivan then receiving a transfer to Brisbane so he could join them. But the Department could not afford to neglect the country areas and after just six months he was sent to Cunnamulla. Generally the Commissioners were sympathetic especially to married men with children who needed to attend schools. But since men much preferred the south the Commissioner had a difficult task in deciding on transfers.

When police were transferred at the Department’s request, removal expenses were paid but where an officer applied for a transfer, he paid for his removal. The 1876 Regulations

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90. A/41186, QSA.
91. Birdsville Police Station File, 24 S8, Queensland Police Department.
92. Personnel file, M. Sullivan, A/47938, QSA.
93. General Order 711, 13 March 1903, POL/3B/A2, QSA.
specified that the only baggage for unmarried Constables which would be transported at Government expense was a box 'exterior measurement, length, 30 inches [76.2 cm]; breadth, 18 inches [45.7cm]; depth, 14 1/2 inches [36.8cm]; flat top'. They were to be kept at the base of their beds at the barracks. Transfers were also ways of transporting police equipment. For instance, when Sergeant Kelly travelled by coach on transfer from Cloncurry to Mackay in 1894, he took with him two police horses, a Martini Henry Carbine and a revolver.

The 1899 Royal Commission hinted that the Commissioner was too liberal in paying for transfer expenses on steamers. 'We think his powers should, if necessary, be increased in this direction'. At the same time the Royal Commission said that transfers were too numerous, especially for married men. It only meant hardship to the men and unnecessary expense to the Department. They saw transfers as all too often being used as a form of punishment. The question of punitive transfers was discussed at the 1899 Royal Commission when Inspector Harvey Fitzgerald complained of his transfer to Roma, saying that he was passed over by an officer junior to

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94. 1876 Regulations, p. 27.
95. POL 14B/1, QSA.
96. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 161.
97. ibid.
him, Inspector Douglas. He also considered that Roma was lower in status than Townsville. The Commission recommended that he be restored to his seniority but no change was made to his transfer to Roma.\(^{96}\) Certainly the threat of transfer was always there if the men complained too much which again highlights the power of the superior officers. Senior Sergeant P. Bowen complained at Rockhampton in 1893 that the old Telegraph building which was converted for his accommodation was too small for the number of people it was to house - seven in his family plus one single Constable. Seymour said that funds were not available for anything else and that he would "be obliged to transfer him"\(^{99}\) if he found the building unsuitable. Bowen stayed.

It was difficult for the men ever to step completely out of their profession. A General Order in 1896 reminded them that they did not cease duty when they returned to their dwellings (for married men) or barracks (for single men). Even when off duty, they were compelled to wear uniform when in public; to wear plain clothes required the permission of the Officer in Charge. The wearing of a band of two white stripes around their lower arm signified that they were actually on duty. Barrack leave for single men was only four hours at a time,

\(^{96}\). '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 382-3.

\(^{99}\). Seymour to Inspector F. Murray, 6 June 1893, A/41467, QSA.
with a ten o'clock curfew, which was enforced to varying degrees depending on the Officer in Charge. General Order 886 in 1896 also reminded married men that this time also applied to them and that 'they have no right to be absent from home after 10 pm'.

Even when on leave they were required to have their uniform with them should they be called upon to perform duty. Certainly, it was expected that they call to see the Commissioner when in Brisbane, in uniform of course.

The men had a right to be attended by a government medical officer – but not their families. Thus in 1909 at Birdsville, when Constable Kingston's wife went to Adelaide for an operation, he faced considerable expense. There was an exception in the North when Parry-Okeken directed Dr Roth, Northern Protector of Aborigines that if he was in the vicinity where police families required medical help, he was to attend them. Some medicines were supplied to stations such as Chlorodyne, Diarrhoea Mix, Fryars Balsam and Quinine but medicines on prescription were not free and indeed if injuries were not sustained while on duty, medical fees were often not refunded. This happened to Sergeant Rody Byrne when he broke his wrist. Firstly he refused to pay all the fees.

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100. General Order 886, 23 October 1896, A/5067, p. 193, QSA.


demanded by the doctor arguing the treatment was not worthy of it. Then the Department refused to refund his payment, saying he sustained the injury on his own horse, not one belonging to the Department.\textsuperscript{103}

Sick leave was granted on presentation of a doctor’s certificate. This was difficult where there was no medical doctor as occurred to Constable Thomas Walsh at Eulo in 1912. Whilst he needed a holiday on account of his health, travelling expenses and the absence of a doctor to give him a certificate precluded this.\textsuperscript{104} Treatment by government medical officers did not cause the Department any expense but where there was no such doctor, private doctors were consulted and fees refunded. Parry-Okeden complained of this practice; ‘in some of these outlying places some medical men keep the police on the sick list for a very long while’.\textsuperscript{105} Having to use government medical officers many of whom were incompetent, was also an issue. The police had to consult them if there was one in the vicinity and to do otherwise meant no reimbursement of fees.

Married men were generally eager to be in charge of small

\textsuperscript{103}. Personnel file, Rody Byrne, A/40690-1, QSA.
\textsuperscript{104}. Constable T. Walsh to Comm, 5 October 1912, AF 4495, QSA.
\textsuperscript{105}. Parry-Okeden, ‘1899 Royal Commission’, QYP, 4 (1899), 265.
stations of their own where their families could be accommodated. As 1/C Constable Hugh Flynn stated; 'I wanted to get stationed so that my children could be looked after'.

The men at the small stations were generally popular and respected. Apart from dealing with the criminal element, they had much contact with the general public in the course of their duties. The police station became the social centre for the male population of the district, especially if the policeman was single. Situated on permanent water, it was often a night camping place for squatters, bushmen and drovers. The men at the stations, despite the rough habitation, had the capacity to make themselves comfortable and were usually generous in helping their fellowmen. At a time when government relief was extremely niggardly, they generally allowed no case of genuine hardship to pass their door.

Permission to marry had to be obtained formally. As Constable Short requested in 1880, 'the Constable hopes his Inspector will recommend the indulgence sought for'. Comments in margins of letters could be very revealing, such as the one by Inspector Morisset in the case of Patrick Short:


107. Constable P. Short to Inspector, 10 May 1880, A/47841, QSA.
With the increased responsibilities of matrimony I trust the Constable will prove more energetic and zealous than he has hither to done as a Bachelor. He has the ability.\textsuperscript{106}

Marriage seemed to be just the answer for his indolence since he went on to become the first Queensland born Commissioner of the Force.

Permission was given to marry only after the suitability and background of the prospective bride had been checked by a superior officer. Not until 1921 did Cabinet decide to discontinue this rule.\textsuperscript{109} A certain time had to elapse after joining before marriage was permitted. Seymour in 1866 instituted the first limit of three years;\textsuperscript{110} Parry-Okeden changed this in 1896 to four years.\textsuperscript{111} The rule applied to men joining after 1 January 1897. If they joined before this date, the three year limit applied, but for one year these men could not enjoy the rights and privileges of allowances given to married men. Parry-Okeden saw the need to increase the limit owing to the fact that a large percentage of police were married, mostly with families. Thus the men preferred to be in larger centres where schools were available. It was

\begin{footnotes}
\item[106] Inspector, May 1880, A/47941, QSA.
\item[109] Circular Memo 1212, 6 December 1921, A/36281, p. 54, QSA.
\item[110] General Order 212, 3 October 1866, QPG, p. 83; A/36274, p. 155, QSA.
\item[111] General Order 881, 25 August 1896, A/36274, QSA.
\end{footnotes}
expensive to transfer them and as a result the mobility of the Force was much hampered.\textsuperscript{112}

Men faced dismissal if they married without permission.\textsuperscript{113} Even when Constable Arthur Paton tendered his resignation from the Force in 1912 because he had married without serving the required time, it was still categorised as a dismissal.\textsuperscript{114} The country areas were no hiding place either as Constable Carmody of Mt Molloy found when he was dismissed in 1906 for marrying without permission.\textsuperscript{115} Inconsistencies occurred, however, the Constable at Atherton being reprimanded rather than dismissed for the same offence. A five year limit was imposed in 1906,\textsuperscript{116} obviously as an economic measure but it had a detrimental effect on the men. Take the case of Constable George Chatfield. Sworn in in December 1902, he had arranged to be married in February 1907 thus satisfying the four year limit. He and his intended, Florence King, had been engaged for three years because of this limit, but the General Order of October 1906 meant that their marriage had to be delayed yet another year until

\textsuperscript{112} 'AR 1896', \textit{QVP}, 2 (1897), 13.

\textsuperscript{113} General order 728, 3 June 1905, A/36294, QSA.

\textsuperscript{114} Cahill, 13 May 1912, Personnel file, A. Paton, A/40250, QSA.

\textsuperscript{115} A/45436, QSA.

\textsuperscript{116} General order 765, 4 October 1906, A/36294, QSA.
February 1908. This was despite pleas by the Constable that 'she has made all her arrangements, and if not carried out at the appointed time will be very disappointed'.\textsuperscript{117} They duly waited; such was the influence of the Department over matrimony.

Complaints were raised in parliament concerning the lengthy period required before marriage. M. Hunter (Maranoa) stated that 'it was very much better that the police should be married than single'.\textsuperscript{118} A reduction followed in December 1909, when Cahill lowered the limit to four years.\textsuperscript{119} A further decrease to three years occurred in May 1911,\textsuperscript{120} and another to one year in 1915.\textsuperscript{121}

The private lives of the men were watched closely by superior officers and the pressure to conform to exemplary behaviour was ever present. At Maryborough in 1905 Constable J.Daly was charged with seducing his fiance, the punishment being to

\textsuperscript{117} Constable G. Chatfield to 2/C Inspector Geraghty, Toowoomba, 17 December 1906, A/40684, QSA.

\textsuperscript{118} Hunter, \textit{QPD, CIV} (1909), 643.

\textsuperscript{119} General Order 778, 18 December 1909, A/36278, p. 115, QSA.

\textsuperscript{120} General Order 786, 5 May 1911, A/36278, p. 235, QSA.

\textsuperscript{121} General Order 806, 15 November 1915, A/36294, p. 159, QSA.
marry her, although in reality it was probably one avenue of overcoming the four year restriction. In another example, Detective Senior Sergeant Henders was demoted to Sergeant and transferred in 1910 after his misconduct with a woman while stationed at Townsville. While he was also charged with neglect of duty in a certain police case, the misconduct offence was still considered serious and certainly contributed to the punishment he received.

As well as social and environmental conditions of the Force, discussion needs to focus on the police buildings where the men worked and lived. The Queensland Police Force was stretched to the limit to meet the calls from residents for police protection; indeed a police presence was not always automatic. At Morningside for instance, requests were made as early as 1895 but not until 1915 was a station established, the argument being that sufficient protection was afforded by the police from Bulimba station. A signed petition from residents, however, generally led to a police presence albeit often in the form of a 'station under canvas'. These tents were erected by the police themselves and if the area took on some permanency, then buildings were established. With eighty-six stations being closed for the 1895-1910 period

122. Punishments statistics, 1905, A/45436, QSA.
123. Personnel file, J. Henders, A/40473, QSA.
124. Morningside station, A/41664, QSA.
(see Appendix 2), it was wise for the Department to wait.

Protection pre 1895 was frequently against the Aborigines, a typical petition from Tully in 1882 stating that the Aborigines were 'day by day becoming more bold having got possession of firearms'.125 Another request, from the local member of Parliament at Tallebugera (later Tallebudgera) in 1882, read; 'there are a good many rough characters engaged in the forests and the blacks are also frequently very troublesome'.126 By 1885 Aborigines were still a problem in a few northern and western areas, such as the Telegraph Station at Musgrave near Cooktown still needing protection from aborigines in 1899. 127 The residents in the west were asking for protection against cattle thieves while larrikins and ruffians were a problem in the suburbs of the towns. For example in 1889 as well as a petition from the residents, the Railway Station Master at Indooroopilly requested police protection in the area because larrikins and kanakas were assaulting people leaving the station and the nearest police station was at Toowong.128 The residents in the vicinity of Breakfast Creek had all grounds for complaint. As a clerk of

125. Request for police protection from Tully residents, 1882, A/45211, QSA.

126. E.J. Stevens (MLA) to Col Sec, 2 August 1882, A/41340, QSA.

127. Coen Native Mounted Police Camp, A/41229, QSA.

128. Station Master E. Truman to Comm, 1889, A/41340.
The aborigines congregate nightly in the vicinity. The Larrikins annoy passengers on the Bridge and men bathe in a state of complete nudity in full view and within a few feet of the Main Road.\(^{129}\)

In the country, whilst canvas tents were usually the first form of police buildings in a district, huts of timber slab walls with bark roofs and earthen floors were often built instead. The internal walls were often lined, as was the case at Percyville Station near Hughenden in 1906 when 168 metres of hessian and nearly two kilograms of tacks were ordered to line the barracks.\(^{130}\) Consider this type of building for the Cloncurry Police Station in 1884:

Originally there was three apartments one of which was used for saddlery and stores, one for the Police and one for prisoners. At present the building is in such a bad state that...the constables and prisoners camp together. The prisoners are handcuffed to a log in the centre of the building.\(^{131}\)

The police establishment at Tambo in 1886 was just as bad, being in places propped up with sticks to keep the slabs in. The cells are both unsafe and unfit for occupation; the flooring slabs being all out of render it impossible for a prisoner to lie down, and the ventilation is so bad, being merely small holes in the walls, that prisoners have been supplied from outside with spirits....The rain beats through on all sides, and there is no fence to prevent persons talking to prisoners in the cells when the police

\(^{129}\) James Carnichael, Clerk of Toombul Divisional Board to Commissioner of Police, 20 December 1886, A/41182, QSA.

\(^{130}\) Sub-Inspector to Comm, 8 March 1907, File 436M, Queensland Police Museum.

\(^{131}\) Sergeant Michael Green to Sub-Inspector Ahern, 11 August 1884, A/41240, QSA.
are absent.132

This highlights the variations in the lock-ups used. At Stonehenge in 1901 a post and chain was used for the purpose;133 at Capella it was a five centimetre chain cable around a bottle tree,134 while in the Mitchell electorate a prisoner was chained to a log 'and he got very dry, so he carried the log away and went to the 'pub' to get a drink, and then carried the log back again'.135

Because of the heavy wet season in the northern coastal strip, bark roofs and canvas tents were totally unsuitable. Shingles were used in preference for the roof and local materials for the frames and walls. Local cedar was used at Herberton because hardwood was unavailable136 and cane grass at Birdsville for walls because it was cool, long lasting and grew in lakes and clay pans around the town.137

Some police buildings in the city were also poor. The Water Police Station at Kangaroo Point which had been erected pre

132. Police magistrate F.H. Hyde (Tambo) to Col Sec, 17 August 1886, QVP, 1 (1886) 629.
133. G.Kerr, QPB, LXXXVII (1910), 1264.
134. V.B.J. Lesina, QPD, LXXXVII, (1901), 1264.
135. J. May, QPD, CVI, (1910), 2045.
136. Inspector B. Isley, 23 April 1881, POL 12M/G2, QSA.
137. Birdsville, 20 February 1888, POL 9A/G1, QSA.
1900 by the Sergeant there at the time, consisted of two rooms and a galvanised lumbar room. It was used as a police residence after the station was relocated at the Gardens but by 1906 it required replacing because it admitted ‘the rain freely everywhere, and is certainly not fit for a dwelling’.\textsuperscript{138}

The Sub-Inspector’s offices at Roma Street Station were not much better, the Sub-Inspector complaining that wet weather conditions may be better imagined than described. The clerk has to rig up an oil cloth fly over the table and furniture and shift quarters into the already crowded Sub-Inspector’s office.\textsuperscript{139}

But police buildings especially in the city were no worse than dwellings in which the majority of the public lived at the time. Indeed by 1895 buildings were generally of solid timber construction. Plans for new stations both in the city and the country were the same, the difference being that in the towns, the first station in an area was at least a rented house. In the country tents and huts erected by the police themselves was the norm for the first station. It was always a task to keep buildings in good repair and as late as 1942 Constable Carolan was requesting that the tracker’s hut at Birdsville be rebuilt since ‘the sides of same are only scrap

\textsuperscript{138} E.W. Stanley, District Architect, 10 March 1906, A/41586, QSA.

\textsuperscript{139} Sub-Inspector H. Malone to Inspector White, 19 July 1901, A/41454, QSA.
pieces of tin, and pieces of bags cut into strips. By 1945, there were still no repairs and Corporal Tommy, the Tracker, asked for a tent to live in saying he would be better off in a tent than in the hut.

Portable stations were used as temporary buildings, being particularly useful in mining and railway construction areas when populations fluctuated. Generally referred to by the police as 'portable huts', Parry Okeden reported in 1899 that four had been sent to the Charleville District - to Eromanga, Nocundra, Toompine and Warrego although the latter was stacked under the Charleville Police Barracks until the drought broke. Whilst portable huts were not erected at Ravenswood, with hindsight maybe they should have been. The population peaked at 15000 and the police staff numbered fifteen in 1872 with a large permanent station. But with the decline of gold, there were only two police there in 1892. Prefabricated in Brisbane, the portable stations were transported to the site and erected by a police carpenter with the help of the local police staff. There were various designs, one example having a cell as part of the kitchen area with another room for sleeping and general police

140. Constable Carolan to Inspector (Longreach), July 1942, File 24 S1, Queensland Police Department.

141. Constable Carolan to Inspector, 30 June 1945, File 24 S1, Queensland Police Department.

142. POL 11B / N2-N3, QSA.
business. The water tank referred to as a ship’s tank was square shaped but was very strong and durable. The portable station at Toompine, for instance, built at a cost of £150, was used from 1896 until 1906 and then removed from the site.\textsuperscript{143}

The Department was always on the look out for unoccupied government buildings which could be used for police purposes. Alternately, rather than build their own, private houses were rented to be used both for accommodation and as the station. In a typical example, New Farm station began in a rented five roomed cottage in Heal Street in December 1891 at a rent of £5/8/4 per month. In 1912 a house was purchased and alterations carried out to fit it for a police station and residence, including accommodation for unmarried Constables.\textsuperscript{144} An extreme case where the building had lost all signs of being used as a Station was at Toowong in 1896. Sub-Inspector Urquhart’s report read:

The station consists of a rental building occupied by Sergeant Dunne his wife and a family of eight. It is furnished throughout as a private residence and there is no room devoted to Police purposes. There is one cell which is used as a receptacle for wash tubs and soiled clothing. I did not see a vestige of anything properly pertaining to a Police Station.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{143} A/41586, QSA.

\textsuperscript{144} New Farm Station file, A/41422, QSA.

\textsuperscript{145} Sub-Inspector F. Urquhart to Inspector Stuart, 15 February 1896, A/41507, QSA.
Houses were only purchased when the price was considered reasonable. For instance in 1903, T. Atkinson offered to sell his house at Indooroopilly to the Police Department but the Department did not agree on the price and preferred to rent it at 13/- per week.146 Detectives often had their offices away from the station proper. Detective James McQuaker, for example, rented a cottage in Charters Towers in 1891 which served as both accommodation and office. Rent allowance covered the cost. 147

Despite complaints from politicians of false economy and unfairness to local tradesmen, police often carried out repairs themselves.148 The Commissioner in his Annual Report of 1893 even boasted of having 'excellent tradesmen' amongst his men.149 The cell door at Birdsville was an interesting case. In December 1895 it was two sheets of galvanized iron, 'anything but secure', but then a drunk kicked it down. The Senior Constable requested it be repaired 150 but it was left for him to do it himself. There were further problems with the door over the next three years but finally in 1898

146. A/41340, QSA.
147. Personnel file, J. McQuaker, A/40095, QSA.
148. C. McDonald, QPR, 73 (1895), 817.
149. 'AR 1893', QVP, 1 (1894), 711.
150. Senior Constable D. Williamson, 7 December 1895, POL 9A/G1, QSA.
Inspector Brannelly was happy to report that 'there was no necessity to expend any sum for repairs...Acting Sergeant Walsh having made a thorough good job of it without any cost'.  

There were cost cutting measures in other areas of the Force. The Water Police built their new Water Police Station at the entrance to the Gardens in 1901 using material on hand. This effected an enormous saving of £364. They were again building in 1906, this time the police residence at what had been the Kangaroo Point Water Police station. They did this at a cost of £45 saving £35 against the cost by a contractor.

Many times the men had to use their own initiative. Senior Constable Quilter at Aramac in September 1896 requested that a new paling fence be built around the front and back verandah of the barracks. With no directive forthcoming, he reported in February 1897 that he had pulled down the paling fence erected in front of the old Post Office and had put the palings on the verandah of the barracks. He hoped the Department would refund the 10/- it cost him to effect the

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151. Inspector Brannelly to Comm, 11 August 1898, File 24 S8, Queensland Police Department.

152. Acting Commissioner Police to Under Secretary, 16 January 1901, A/41584, QSA.

153. Kangaroo Point Water Police, A/41586, QSA.
repairs. Painting of police buildings was regularly carried out as a duty, Circular Memo 193 in 1894 going into great detail as to how the painting should be done. Thus, in August 1895, in a typical consignment, eight kegs of white lead and three drums of paint oil arrived from Brisbane to be used to paint the Sub Officer' quarters at Ravenswood. Police were still being used to paint as late as 1916 when the Secretary of the Police Union complained that the Union of Operative Painters of Australia had little work because police were still being used to paint their own buildings.

Apart from the ravages of white ants, the physical threats of floods, fires and cyclones were ever present. In 1899 for instance, the Coen Native Mounted Police Camp was destroyed by cyclone, 'only a few posts left standing and the whole of the iron was more or less destroyed'. Animals also caused damage to property. As an example, the wire netting fence at Mundingburra station, Townsville, was always in a poor state from horse and cattle rubbing against it to try to rid

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154. Senior Constable J. Quilter, 1896-7, A/5121, Ref. 60/96 and 12/97, QSA.

155. Circular Memo 193, 5 November 1894, A/36274, p. 60, QSA.

156. Ravenswood, 1895, POL 11B/N6, QSA.

157. R. Champ, (General Secretary Police Union) to Home Secretary, 27 July 1916, A/36279, p. 298, QSA.

158. Inspector, March 1899, A/41229, QSA.
themselves of ticks.\textsuperscript{159}

For disciplinary reasons and also to save costs, barrack accommodation was provided at the stations for single men, boarding at hotels being strictly prohibited except when absolutely unavoidable. Strict rules applied. Except for those on night duty, all had to rise by six and have their bedding folded during the next half-hour and rooms swept. At night, all were required to attend a roll call at 9.30, all lights and fires to be ‘extinguished by ten o’clock’.\textsuperscript{180} Bedding was supplied and the 1876 Regulations even gave instructions that ‘blankets are to be washed in the month of January each year, bed ticks at least twice a year, sheets and pillow-cases at least once a month’.\textsuperscript{181}

Married officers in charge were provided with accommodation at the station as part of the station building. Conditions were particularly primitive in the remote areas where as late as 1889 the quarters for the married Constable at Eidsvold consisted of a slab humpy with a bark roof.\textsuperscript{182} Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Districts had separate houses on the

\textsuperscript{159}. Constable S. O’Brien, February 1907, Mundingburra, Queensland Police Museum.

\textsuperscript{180}. \textit{1876 Regulations}, p.18-19.

\textsuperscript{181}. \textit{ibid}, p. 24.

\textsuperscript{182}. Inspector S. Lloyd to Comm, 16 October 1889, A/40702, QSA.
station compound which were generally of superior quality as
to fitted their rank. For instance the residence for the
Inspector at Toowoomba in 1892 even had a servant’s
quarters. With the benefit of a rent allowance, houses
were rented by the other married men, usually as near to the
station as possible.

The single men while living in the barracks had their meals
at a boarding house or a hotel. As with accommodation, hotels
were avoided if at all possible, to avoid mixing too closely
with the public. There could even be problems with boarding
houses. The five single men at Woolloongabba in 1890 were
given permission to rent a house and form their own mess
because the boarding house where they were required to go ‘is
the only one in the neighbourhood amongst all classes,
including chinamen’. Also it was pointed out that the
rented home would be better for quarters, the one room 5.5
metres by 3.6 metres at the barracks at the Woolloongabba
station being too small. So concerned did the Department
become about the men eating away from their barracks that in
1906 instructions were issued that messes be formed in
barracks where there were sufficient numbers of single

163. Plan of Inspector’s Residence, Toowoomba, Police
Museum.

164. Constables, Woolloongabba Station, 1890, A/41535, QSA.
Although being subsidised by the Department, they were as successful as most other establishments of this kind with the usual problems of caterers and kitchen staff.

The furniture supplied at the Roma Street barracks, in particular the beds, were the subject of much discussion at the turn of the century. Bush hay was used to fill the mattresses because it was cheap but the men complained of the discomfort. Although they had the sympathy of Inspector Urquhart who suggested that kapok or fibre would be an improvement, no change was made until 1901. Then it was the iron beds which came in for criticism especially 'the pressure of the sharp edges of the iron stretchers underneath...ordinary comfort being out of the question'.

At least they had a bed. In the outlying areas, the men usually constructed their own beds, Parry-Okeden describing them as 'just the ordinary thing bushmen have - probably made of canvas, or sometimes of bags'.

Blankets, mosquito nets, bath tubs and some kitchen ware were supplied and whilst furniture in country stations could understandably be sparse, provision in the city could also be difficult. In 1910 Acting Sergeant H. Moore of Enoggera

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165. Cahill, 10 July 1906, A/44476, QSA.

166. Sergeant to Sub-Inspector, 28 August 1901, A/41454, QSA.

station complained:

The Office Table...is almost useless. Pigeon holes being much too [sic] small and almost useless. There are no office chairs cases being used as seats. The rifles are strapped to the wall, there being no rack.¹⁸⁸

Only as a result of a visit to the station by Inspector White were purchases allowed. With longer periods between visits by Inspectors to country stations, their wait was always invariably longer.

Due to strict economic measures during the period of the drought, stations were not being established and buildings were falling into disrepair. Appendix 2 illustrates this with only seven stations being opened in 1903 and fourteen closed in 1904. By 1906, however, with the drought over and more prosperous times returning, Cahill set about repairs and building new stations. Fourteen were built in 1907 and only one was closed in 1908. The overall growth of the Force is apparent, with 159 Stations being opened during the 1895-1910 period and only eighty-six closed.

Cahill was particularly concerned about the Roma Street Station, the principal station in Queensland where he found everything in a 'most disorderly condition' and where floors and walls were 'indescribably filthy', affording a 'purely negative' reaction. His military background would not allow

¹⁸⁸ Acting Sergeant H. Moore to Inspector, Depot, 19 April 1910, A/41276, QSA.
such a situation and he gave immediate instructions to cleanse the premises. He also acknowledged that a prime concern was for men with ‘considerable families to accommodate’.

The Department tried to see to the needs of the police and their families and considering the rapid growth of Queensland at the time with the urgency of a police presence, accommodation was as best as could be expected and generally on a par with much of the housing in which the public lived. What could have been improved was the system of promotion and transfers. It was most unfair because of outside influence, tyrannical Inspectors and a difficult balance of control between the Commissioner and the government. This adversely affected morale and standards within the Force as well as respect for the police.

---

169. Cahill to Under Secretary, 4 May 1905, A/41454, QSA.
### Chapter 4

**REMUNERATION**

**TABLE 25: Queensland Police Force Wages 1895-1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1910 from 1.7.10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comm S’mour</strong></td>
<td>£700</td>
<td>£800</td>
<td>£800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P-Okeden</strong></td>
<td>£800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chief Inspector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(from 1896)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1/C Insp</strong></td>
<td>£400-£450</td>
<td>£400</td>
<td>£400</td>
<td>£550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2/C Insp</strong></td>
<td>£330</td>
<td>£350</td>
<td>£350</td>
<td>£450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1/C Sub-Insp</strong></td>
<td>£260</td>
<td>£300</td>
<td>£300</td>
<td>£330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2/C Sub-Insp</strong></td>
<td>£200</td>
<td>£250</td>
<td>£250</td>
<td>£300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3/C Sub-Insp (from 1896)</strong></td>
<td>£200</td>
<td>£200</td>
<td>£200</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sen Sergt</strong></td>
<td>£170</td>
<td>£170</td>
<td>9/4 per day</td>
<td>11/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sergeant</strong></td>
<td>£154</td>
<td>£154</td>
<td>8/5-8/7</td>
<td>10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sen Const</strong></td>
<td>£142 (cancelled from 1896)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act Sergt (from 1896)</strong></td>
<td>£142</td>
<td>7/2-7/11</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Const</strong></td>
<td>£122-£132</td>
<td>£122-£132</td>
<td>5/11-7/4</td>
<td>7/-8/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Su’numeraries (from 1896)</strong></td>
<td>3/- per day</td>
<td>3/-</td>
<td>6/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recruits</strong></td>
<td>3/- per day</td>
<td>3/-</td>
<td>3/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native Trackers</strong></td>
<td>13/6 per month</td>
<td>13/6 per month</td>
<td>8-10d per day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CIB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1910 from 1.7.10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1/C Sub-Inspector</strong></td>
<td>£260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sen Sergt</strong></td>
<td>£210</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9/4 per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sergeant</strong></td>
<td>£185</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8/5-8/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Senior Constable</strong></td>
<td>£180 (cancelled from 1896)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acting Sergeant (from 1896)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7/2-7/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5/11-7/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Water Police**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1910 from 1.7.10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sen. Sergeant</strong></td>
<td>£170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boatmen</strong></td>
<td>£100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Plus an allowance of 1/- per day

Source: Blue Books 1895, 1900; OPP, First Session, (1908) 447; A/44808, QSA; QPD, CVI (1910), 2061.
Remuneration was a contentious issue especially in the 1900s. The men complained but they had little chance of effecting change. In the absence of a Police Union to lobby their case they had only one recourse - to leave. This they often did, to Police Forces interstate and to other occupations.

Notwithstanding the fact that the men generally worked twelve hours a day and at least six days a week, police pay in 1895 was not a cause for complaint and indeed Parry-Okeden expressed that opinion at the 1899 Royal Commission.¹ The 1899 Royal Commissioners similarly saw no reason to increase the pay. By 1905, however, it was the main grievance. Other monetary complaints were the poor provision of pensions under the 1891 Act and the lack of a living allowance.² Each factor requires discussion in comparison of economic conditions in other Australian Police Forces. It will be seen that Queensland was the loser.

Wages in the 1890’s were higher for the police than for rural workers. For instance, in 1892, where a stockman was paid £65 per year and a boss musterer £104 per year,³ a Constable


received £122 to £132 per year. This was more than a married assistant teacher received of £102 - £126 per annum. The situation was reversed in the 1900s to the extent that by 1905 blacksmiths were receiving 10/6 per day and a general labourer 7/- per day whereas Constables started on 5/11 per day, the highest they could hope for being 7/4 per day. By 1910, notwithstanding wage increases and complaints in parliament of the disgraceful way the government treated the Police Force, a Constable still only received 7/- to 8/- per day. A labourer in a gold mine in Queensland received up to 12/- per day and a carpenter up to 10/- per day.

The men found very little was left after food and clothing (including boots) were purchased and with the lure of higher salaries elsewhere they left. Table 15 in Chapter 2 gives a breakdown of men leaving the Force 1895-1907 but there are no statistics which indicate the exact number leaving because of the pay issue. Although the drought of 1902 caused men to

4. Salaries, 1897, QVP, 1 (1898), 334.
5. QPP, 2 (1902), 560.
join the Police Force rather than pursue pastoral interests, by 1905 with commercial progress and general activity in a prosperous pastoral and agricultural community, the situation had changed. As Inspector White commented in 1909;

the stamp of men required for Police can do better at other work - the pay and pension prospects are not sufficiently attractive to induce suitable men to join.\(^{10}\)

In comparing police pay in the different states, whilst it is somewhat difficult to draw strong parallels because of a variation in rank structure, a table for 1907 does show Queensland's disadvantageous position in relation to police wages in other states.

TABLE 26: Comparison of wages, all states. 1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Q</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inspector General</td>
<td>p.a.</td>
<td>£1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Commissioner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspecting Superintendent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£500</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent 1/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£375</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector 1/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£350</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£325</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£275</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Insp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Inspector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drill Instructor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drill Instructor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{10}\) Inspector White to Comm, 17 September 1909, A/44759, QSA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>1/C</th>
<th>2/C</th>
<th>3/C</th>
<th>5/11-7/4</th>
<th>7/2-7/11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>11/-</td>
<td>10/6</td>
<td>9/4</td>
<td>9/6</td>
<td>10/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 8/5-8/7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting Sergt</td>
<td>7/2-7/11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporals</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>9/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Constables</td>
<td>8/6</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>8/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables 1/C</td>
<td>7/6-8/-</td>
<td></td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>8/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables 2/C</td>
<td>7/6</td>
<td>7/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables 3/C</td>
<td>7/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables 5/11-7/4</td>
<td>7/-7/6</td>
<td>6/8-8/6</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probationary Cons</td>
<td>6/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Detectives          | p.a.  | p.a.  |       |          |          |
Superintendent      | £450  |       |       |          |          |
Inspector           | £325  |       |       |          |          |
Senior Det          |       |       | 13/6  |          |          |
Senior Sergt        | 9/4   |       |       |          |          |
Sergeants 8/5-8/7   |       |       |       | 14/-     | 13/-     |
Act Sergt           | 7/2-7/11 | 11/- | 12/6  | 12/-     |          |
Detecives 1/C       | 11/6-12/6 | 10/6 | 10/-  | 11/-     |          |
" 2/C               |       |       |       |          |          |
" 3/C               |       |       | 9/6   |          |          |
Constables 5/11-7/4 |       |       |       |          |          |
Trackers            | 8d-10d| 4/-   |       |          |          |

Source: A/44808, QSA.

Three features become apparent from the wage structure. Firstly, in the commissioned ranks (Sub-Inspector and above), New South Wales and Victoria had the highest salaries although Queensland was ahead of South Australia and West Australia. But these latter two states were ahead of Queensland at the Constable/Sergeant level and indeed it is quite obvious that at these levels Queensland was by far the worst off of any state. Constables in Queensland began on 5/11 per day rising to a maximum of 7/4 per day while Constables in West Australia, for example, began on 7/6 per day rising to a maximum of 8/6. The highest Queensland
Sergeants received was 9/4 per day, while the other states could rise to 10/6 - 11/- per day. With New South Wales offering the most lucrative salaries in the Constable/Sergeant range (7/- to 11/-), it is understandable that police leaving Queensland should favour this state. The third feature from the table concerns the detective pay scale. Even with the allowances of 1/- to 2/- per day, Queensland detectives were still at a disadvantage with Constables and Sergeants receiving between 6/11 to 11/4 per day (including allowances) while wages for those in New South Wales were from 9/6 to 12/6 and in South Australia 10/- to 14/-.

Queensland did not even fair very well when compared with Forces overseas. Take New Zealand as an example.

TABLE 27: Comparison of Wages with New Zealand, 1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Queensland (no free uniform)</th>
<th>N.S.W. (free uniform)</th>
<th>New Zealand (free uniform)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>£800</td>
<td>£1000</td>
<td>£800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>£200-£450</td>
<td>£250-£325</td>
<td>£260-£460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>7/2-9/4 p.d.</td>
<td>9/9-11/-</td>
<td>10/6-13/6 p.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>5/11-7/4 p.d.</td>
<td>7/-8/-</td>
<td>7/8-9/6 p.d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Pay, 10 October 1907, A/44812, QSA; Queensland and New South Wales Pay, QPP, First Session, (1908), 447.

Wage increments were also suspended by the Government across the ranks in time of financial depression - in particular,
the mid-1900s. For instance, when the police vote was reduced in the Estimates in 1904-5 by £2941, pay increments were withheld. Michael Dillon of Longreach who had been promoted to 2/C Inspector in May 1904, did not receive his increment of £50 per annum (to £350) for ten months. The lower ranks were also affected, with Constable G. Holdway for example, having to wait eight months in 1905-6 for his increment.

Furthermore, the cost of living was rising faster than the wage increases for police. For instance, what the housewife could purchase in groceries in 1909 for 12/7, she had to pay 15/7 by 1912. This was compounded by the increased cost of living in remote areas where no allowance was made until 1908 when 6d to 2/- per day was allowed. In 1904 2/C Inspector Michael Dillon of Longreach gave details of price variations:

**TABLE 28:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Toowoomba</th>
<th>Longreach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>1/2 per pound</td>
<td>2/3 per pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>4 pence per dozen</td>
<td>2/- per dozen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>13/- for 70 pounds</td>
<td>17/- for 70 pounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Insp Dillon to Comm, 8 July 1904, A/44798, QSA.

11. QPD, XCVI (1905), 1203.
12. A/44808, QSA.
13. A/44808, QSA.
14. QPD, CXI (1912), 634.
15. Brisbane Courier, 27 November 1909; A/44808, QSA.
The 1899 Royal Commission recommended that in order to secure the best class of recruits, their pay should be increased from 3/- per day to 6/- per day in line with New South Wales and Victoria. This did not occur and by 1905 the pay for recruits was still 3/- per day, quite insufficient to meet their commitments. The result was that there were frequent complaints of men leaving Brisbane on transfer without having settled with their creditors for necessities, principally clothing (including uniform). Recruits in West Australia were receiving 6/6 per day and those in New South Wales 6/- per day with uniforms supplied free. As a result of complaints, the pay was increased, but not until 1908 and then only to 5/- per day. Not until 1910 were the Queensland recruits paid the same (6/-) as their counterparts in New South Wales.

Thus they joined other Police Forces, principally New South Wales. Even following the 1910 wage rise in Queensland, the increase required to bridge the Queensland - New South Wales pay gap was still high:

18. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 161.
17. Comm to Under Secretary, 31 May 1907, A/44808, QSA.
TABLE 29: Comparison of wages, 1912

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Queensland Rank</th>
<th>N.S.W. Rank</th>
<th>Increase Required per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>Inspector-General</td>
<td>£350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>£140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/c Inspector</td>
<td>1/c Superintendent</td>
<td>£140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/c Inspector</td>
<td>2/c Superintendent</td>
<td>£120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/c Sub Inspector</td>
<td>3/c Superintendent</td>
<td>£120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/c Sub Inspector</td>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>£ 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/c Sub Inspector</td>
<td>1/c Sub Inspector</td>
<td>£ 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. Sergeant</td>
<td>1/c Sergeant</td>
<td>6 pence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>2/c Sergeant</td>
<td>3 pence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting Sergeant</td>
<td>Senior Constable</td>
<td>4 pence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>6 pence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supernumerary</td>
<td>Probationary Constable</td>
<td>6 pence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Queensland and N.S.W. Pay, 1912, A/44808, QSA.

The number of resignations remained high and although appointments were being made, the incentive for good men to join the Force was not there. As Cahill summarised in 1910:

> Although the conditions regarding pay, allowances and supply of free uniform have been improved, I still find a great difficulty in getting suitable recruits who will remain in the Force. A large number soon after enrolment discover that they are temperamentally unfitted for a disciplined and strenuous life, and as the conditions of employment and remuneration outside the Force, in almost every occupation, offer tempting opportunities, their resignations follow. 18

It is a truism that even when factors such as excess paperwork and extraneous duties are taken into account, the police manpower problem cannot be solved without higher salaries. Intermittent salary increases may suffice temporarily to stimulate recruitment and prevent waste.

18. 'AR 1910', OPP, 2 (1911-2), 627.
through resignations, but unless relativity is maintained at a higher level, after two or three years the benefits will have dissipated through inflation and morale will again be low. Under these conditions, recruitment and retention of manpower was difficult for the Queensland Police Force particularly in periods of full employment and economic prosperity. The fact that extraneous duties were increasing at this time further compounded the manpower problem which Cahill faced.

Monetary rewards from the Government and private individuals for the apprehension of criminals and recovery of lost property began to appear in the 1880s. The Colonial Secretary's Office warned that such rewards could not be received without special authority. For instance, in 1888, £5 was paid to Detective John Henders for the arrest and conviction of five men, thus 'effectively breaking up a gang of ruffians infesting the city', and £10 was paid to Senior Constable Charles Lloyd in 1889 for the arrest of a gang of horse thieves at Burketown. After 1897 police could claim the rewards for themselves for the capture of deserters from

18. Colonial Secretary to Commissioner, 21 July, 1881, A/36294, p. 5, QSA.
20. QPG, 6 October 1888, POL/4, p. 236, QSA.
21. QPG, 9 February 1889, POL/4, QSA.
ships,\textsuperscript{22} after first handing rewards to their superior officer. General official permission to keep rewards for apprehending offenders and recovering stolen property did not occur, however, until 1906.\textsuperscript{23} Even then all monies first had to be paid into the police reward fund as outlined in Circular Memo 390. Reward monies could not be kept in the case of bribes – as occurred when Chinese gamblers sent in money as intended bribes 'with a view to secure immunity from police interference with nefarious practices'.\textsuperscript{24}

Arguments for and against reward money were presented at the 1899 Royal Commission. Whilst it could be seen as an opportunity to get up a case improperly, Parry-Okeden defended its use saying that the money was not received directly but rather through the police reward fund.\textsuperscript{25} With no pay increases forthcoming, the practice of offering reward money increased towards 1910. It also ensured more thorough policing in certain areas. While Parry-Okeden claimed at the 1899 Royal Commission that possibly £10 was paid to the whole Force in the previous twelve months,\textsuperscript{26} this seems incorrect.

\textsuperscript{22} General Order 623 (amended), 6 August 1897, A/36294, QSA.

\textsuperscript{23} Circular Memo 390, 1 August 1906, A/36277, QSA.

\textsuperscript{24} General Order 717, 20 October 1904, A/36294, QSA.

\textsuperscript{25} Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', \textit{QVP}, 4 (1899), 294.

\textsuperscript{26} ibid., p. 295.
in view of the 1888 examples given and the fact that personnel files indicate that each man seems to have received at least one reward in his career. There was certainly a dramatic increase after this time, especially in relation to opium cases. In a typical case, Constable George Chatfield received £5 for the arrest and conviction of two Chinese in 1909 for this offence.\textsuperscript{27} Rewards were often increased to induce arrests. This occurred in the arrest of naval deserters where reward monies were increased from £3 to £5.\textsuperscript{28}

With the low pay conditions in the 1900s, reward money was very handy but with the pay increases of 1910 the Under Secretary advised that rewards would only be given in cases which displayed ‘intelligence, promptitude, and resource, in a degree clearly exceeding what may reasonably be expected from an efficient member of the Force’.\textsuperscript{29} Notwithstanding this directive, general rewards of £2/2/- to £5/5/- depending on rank plus a further £1 to those who performed specially meritorious service were given to men who performed more than eight days duty in the Sugar Strike of 1911.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{27} Personnel file, G. Chatfield, A/40884, QSA.
\textsuperscript{28} Circular Memo 702, 24 November 1911 and Circular Memo 743, 15 October 1912, A/36350, QSA.
\textsuperscript{29} Circular Memo 612, 26 July 1910, A/36278, p. 160, QSA.
\textsuperscript{30} Circular Memo 688, 6 November 1911, A/36278, QSA.
Members were not to receive 'any gift, address or other token of respect or approval on his promotion or change of jurisdiction from the men serving under him or from the public except with the sanction of the Commissioner of Police'. 31 Permission was almost always granted to receive such gifts although Commissioner Cahill had to remind the Force again in 1911 of the need to first obtain permission. 32 Many letters on personnel files bear testimony to the gifts which were presented to the men and also decorative testimonials signed by the townsfolk. In a typical example Acting Sergeant P. Walsh in 1892 requested permission to accept a diamond scarf pin from the people of Stonehenge on his transfer to Birdsville.33 It is significant that such approval had to come from the Commissioner himself. He wanted to keep control of as many aspects of the Force as possible.

One of these areas of control was in the allowances paid for extra duties, an important avenue where police could increase their wage. For example:

31. General Order 647, 16 September 1892, A/36274, QSA.
32. General Order 787, 20 May 1911, A/36278, p. 238, QSA.
33. Acting Sergeant P. Walsh to Comm, 5 October 1892, POL/G3, p. 183, QSA.
TABLE 30:

ALLOWANCES PAID FOR EXTRANEOUS DUTIES 1895

per annum

Acting Clerk of Petty Sessions £15
Mining Registrar £10
Inspector of Slaughter Houses £5 - £25
Gaoler (very few) £20
Border Customs Officer £10

Source: Blue Book, 1895, p. 192.

Acting Sergeants in charge of stations received the same allowance as Sergeants. Thus financially it was desirable to be in charge of small stations where accommodation was provided and where allowances were paid for extra duties. It was a consideration when going on transfer whether the overall pay was going to change. Acting Sergeant W.H. Ryan (later Commissioner) was transferred from Mareeba to Cairns in 1908 and although being promoted to Sergeant in the process his increase in pay (approximately £18 per year) did not cover the loss of allowances (£25). He had been receiving allowances for Clerk of Petty Sessions (£15) and Mining Registrar (£10) as well as having his quarters provided. Fortunately the rent allowance covered his rent in Cairns which was 15/- per week. This allowance was vital although it often did not cover rents. Police needed to be close to their work and yet the cheaper rents were further from the

34. Circular Memo 892, 7 October 1911, A/36278, p. 254, QSA.
35. Personnel file, W.H. Ryan, A/47959, QSA.
By 1908, there was an allowance for living in expensive districts of 6d to 2/- per day. But there was no sustenance allowance for places on a railway line and Inspector Quilter complained in 1908 that the recently introduced Customs Tariff had increased the cost of living by 25%. He suggested that in view of the allowances received by public servants in such areas that at least one shilling per day should be granted to the police. No increase was forthcoming.

The night allowance was claimed by men away from their station for at least twenty-four hours. Sub-Inspectors, Inspectors and the Commissioner received 12/6 to 15/- per day, Constables and Sergeants 3/6 per day, and the CIB staff 5/- per day. Detectives received an additional 1/- per day because 'they have to shout for people and that sort of thing'. The men could be doing any number of things—patrolling on horseback, searching for criminals and lost people, and even strike duty such as for the sugar strike of

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36. Personnel file, D. Shanahan, A/40148, QSA.
37. A/44808, QSA.
39. QPP, First session, (1908), 447.
1911 and the Tramway strike of 1912 although in the latter instance a special allowance of 10/- per day was allowed.\footnote{A/44484, QSA.} Other special allowances included 2/6 extra per day for detectives and the general police involved in the Gatton murder investigations of 1898.\footnote{Urquhart, ‘1899 Royal Commission’, QVP, 4 (1899), 206.} Whilst married men were able to draw the night allowance continuously, single men were expected to be accommodated at police stations if possible to avoid paying the allowance. Obviously for patrols, escorts and other bush duty, when not near a police station, the night allowance had to be paid.\footnote{General Order 700, 14 December 1900, A/44484, QSA.}

The night allowance needed to be kept under check for abuses but in most instances it was a legitimate and necessary claim. For instance, in 1904 Constable Kelly from Brisbane painted the Sub-Inspector’s residence in Toowoomba and claimed forty-nine nights night allowance. In addition, of course, he was receiving his salary plus rent allowance.\footnote{ibid.} This claim was quite legitimate although it highlighted an avenue where the Department could cut costs — that of using contract labour.

Parry-Okeden showed concern that night allowances were

\footnote{A/44484, QSA.}
\footnote{Urquhart, ‘1899 Royal Commission’, QVP, 4 (1899), 206.}
\footnote{General Order 700, 14 December 1900, A/44484, QSA.}
\footnote{ibid.}
getting out of hand after considering the claim of Senior Sergeant Rody Byrne. He was in receipt of a special allowance of 7/6 per day - as against the usual 3/6 per day - because of his roving commission to catch horse thieves. For the year ending December 1902, Byrne received:

TABLE 31: Allowances, R. Byrne, 1902

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allowance</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay (Senior Sergeant)</td>
<td>£170/-/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and Light</td>
<td>10/-/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent Allowance</td>
<td>52/-/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night Allowance at 7/6 per night</td>
<td>101/12/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>£333/12/6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personnel file, R. Byrne, A/40690-1, QSA.

This arose from his claim for 271 days on patrol while searching for the Kenniffs and as a result his total wage nearly reached that of 2/C Inspector level (£350). As a result, Parry-Okeden made changes so that the allowances after April 1903 were:

TABLE 32: Night Allowance, 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>per night</th>
<th>Yearly maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant (married)</td>
<td>5/-</td>
<td>£65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergt., Act. Sergt. and Const. (married)</td>
<td>4/-</td>
<td>£55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single men all ranks</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>£45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Parry-Okeden, 7 April 1903, A/444484, QSA.

Byrne returned to ordinary duty because he protested that 5/- was insufficient. But since his expertise lay in arresting

45. Senior Sergeant R. Byrne, 27 March 1903, A/44484, QSA.
cattle thieves, by August 1903 he was back at this task - on an allowance of 5/- per day. Cahill also implemented other cost cutting measures concerning the night allowance. In 1911 he directed that when police receive allowances from the Railway Department, banks and other institutions for the escort of money and pays, night allowance was not to be paid by the Police Department.48

Allowances were also paid for cleaning if the court house was part of the police building complex. In a typical example, Constable Michael O'Sullivan received £5 per annum for this duty at Taroom.47 Whilst it seemed that the administration had a tight rein on allowances, some obviously escaped the net. In 1905 Inspector Toohey of Rockhampton reported that J. Johnston had been receiving 15/- per month for attending to the incandescent lamps at the station, but now with mantles very cheap, he had dispensed with his services. Cahill questioned whether in fact there was an authority for such an allowance and was annoyed that such monies were being paid. As already mentioned with the Home Department handling the vouchers, it was difficult for Cahill to detect such waste.48

46. General Order 790, 18 November 1911, A/44484, QSA.
47. A/47938, QSA.
48. Toohey to Comm, 28 August 1905, A/44798, QSA; Cahill, 14 September 1905, A/44798, QSA.
With the use of a fuel and light allowance of £10 - £20 per year depending on rank, fuel was supplied to all stations where there was a single men's mess and married accommodation. Kerosene was supplied to barracks, lock-ups, and stations at which officers-in-charge acted as Clerks of Petty Sessions. There was no fuel or light allowance if the men lived out of barracks, except for Senior Sergeants and those higher in rank. The 1899 Royal Commission had recommended that such an allowance be abolished for all ranks but this was not done. With pay and allowances already low, to cancel an allowance such as this would have caused discontent.

There was a rent allowance for married members not in police accommodation which could not be paid until men had been in the service for five years. It varied with rank, as this 1895 table shows.

**TABLE 33: Rent Allowance, 1895**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Allowance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant</td>
<td>£1 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>2/- per diem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Constable</td>
<td>1/- per diem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Blue Book, 1895, p. 185.

In 1903-4 married men could get a good house for 6/- to 7/- per week so this allowance generally covered the rent.

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49. '1899 Royal Commission', *QVP*, 4 (1899), 161.
Annual leave did not exist but when it was granted, it never exceeded fourteen days a year. Reasons had to be given for wanting the leave and it was only allowed if the men could be spared. With undermanning especially in Cahill’s time, this was difficult and it seems they took leave only when necessary. For instance, Constable Stephen O’Brien had leave at Townsville in 1898 to be married, the next time in 1902 to visit his sick father at Esk, and again in 1906 to visit his sister who was sick in Brisbane. Holidays were never really considered and apart from the reasons just given the only other one was usually to attend to ‘business affairs’. Parry-Okeden commented at the 1899 Royal Commission that he knew men who had been in the Force for nineteen years without taking a day’s leave. By 1912 leave had been formalised to some extent with periods up to three weeks allowed in one year – four weeks in northern and extreme western districts. Leave of absence through illness could be granted on the recommendation of the government medical officer.

Travel to Brisbane from the north was usually by steamer, the journey taking three days from Cairns. By the 1920s with the expansion of the railway system, the police were directed to

52. Return showing Pay and Emoluments of Queensland Police Force, 1 July 1912, A/44808, QSA.
use this method especially since it was government owned.\textsuperscript{53} All non-commissioned officers and Constables were compelled to travel steerage by boat, and second-class by train until 1910, when first class railway fares were allowed for all ranks above and including sergeant.\textsuperscript{54} January 1912 saw the same first class travel allowed also on steamers,\textsuperscript{55} and three weeks later the permission was extended to Acting Sergeants in charge of stations.\textsuperscript{56} It was very pleasant to travel this class but there were complaints from the public that the second class area was where the police could be most useful - through surveillance and for the detection of known criminals.\textsuperscript{57} It was a common practice for police when going on leave to escort prisoners at the same time. Constable Stephen O'Brien, on leave from Townsville to visit his sick father in Esk in the early 1900s, escorted prisoners on the steamer to Brisbane, thus beginning his leave from the landing date.\textsuperscript{58} In 1913 Cahill tried to monitor this practice by directing that prisoners were not to be escorted

\textsuperscript{53} Circular Memo 1130A, 7 July 1920, A/36280, p. 362, QSA.
\textsuperscript{54} Circular Memo 616, 17 August 1910, A/36278, QSA.
\textsuperscript{55} Circular Memo 710, 9 January 1912, A/36278, QSA.
\textsuperscript{56} Circular Memo 715, 27 January 1912, A/36278, QSA.
\textsuperscript{57} ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} A/40876, QSA.
Prior to 1 July 1893, £10 long service pay was paid annually in addition to the yearly wage. After 1 July 1893 a new regulation granted £4 after four years; £8 after eight years and £12 after twelve years. Queensland police then retired at sixty, after giving three months notice. They received a pension according to their years of service. In the case of the harsh Cook and Palmer districts, every period of three years counted as four years’ service. After retiring they were required to live in Queensland, presumably to be ‘on call’ if needed in an emergency as was the case in World War 2. In 1899 there were only four men to the Commissioner’s knowledge who had been given permission to live overseas; to live interstate was also generally refused. In any case, retired police had to appear personally to collect their pensions. There were regulations even after they retired!

For Queensland police who joined prior to 1889, the pension scheme was better than for those who joined later. The 1863 Act allowed for 2% deductions, providing the following

59. General Order 797, 24 May 1913, A/36278, QSA.
60. A/44808, QSA.
62. General Order 771, 26 March 1908, A/36277, QSA.
benefits:

TABLE 34: Superannuation Benefits, 1863 Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Service</th>
<th>Benefit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 20</td>
<td>Half of salary of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 25</td>
<td>Two-thirds of salary of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>Three-fourths of salary of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 and over</td>
<td>Whole of salary of office</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: QPP, first session, (1908), 447. (1908), 447.

Thus there was an incentive for men to seek promotion and to remain in the Force for thirty years to be assured of a comfortable retirement on full pay. The 1891 Act provided for 4% deductions, affecting men joining after 1 August 1889. This provided to men with fifteen years of service, one-fourth of average annual pay, with an addition of one-sixtieth part of pay for each additional year of service, but the allowance was not to exceed two-thirds of average annual pay.

The 1899 Act in New South Wales provided for 2% deductions and exactly the same benefits as Queensland's 1863 Act but their 1906 Act with 4% deductions was better. As to benefits, it affected men on active service on 31 January 1907, benefits in the New South Wales system ranging from 15-30 years service - half of salary less 3% per annum, to 30 years
and over - whole salary.64 Those joining after 1 January 1907 had their benefits altered but they were still better off than in Queensland:

Twenty years service and upwards - one-fortieth of salary at retirement for each complete year of service, less 3% per annum provided that such allowance does not exceed three-fourths of such salary less 3%.65

Thus a comparison can be drawn concerning pension benefits from both states, and the New South Wales advantage can be clearly seen.

TABLE 35: Comparison, Superannuation benefits, 1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Queensland</th>
<th>New South Wales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acting Sergeant</td>
<td>£43/8/7</td>
<td>£75/3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>£56/8/0</td>
<td>£107/16/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant</td>
<td>£70/12/0</td>
<td>£146/7/0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cahill to Under Secretary, 23 July 1909, A/44808, QSA.

Cahill was most concerned that conditions be made as least the same as New South Wales. He stressed another salient feature of the disparity namely that in New South Wales a member disabled in the execution of his duty continued to receive full pay while in Queensland the maximum he could receive was two-thirds of his average annual salary.66 Whilst New South Wales had the best superannuation benefits,

64. NSW Superannuation benefits, QVP, first session, (1908), 447.
65. Ibid.
66. Cahill to Under Secretary, 23 July 1909, A/44808, QSA.
Queensland was ahead of the other states in at least having an established scheme. Victoria abolished a superannuation scheme for those joining after 1902, demanding instead that men take out life insurance.\(^67\) For those in Victoria joining prior to 25 October 1902 who had served at least ten years, they had the option of either a gratuity of one month's pay for each year's service or a yearly pension according to the scale - after ten years service, one-fifth of the pay received by him during the year preceding his retirement, and an increase of one-fiftieth for each succeeding year up to thirty years' service.\(^68\)

Whilst South Australia provided pension benefits prior to January 1903, after that date police were required to join the South Australian Public Service Superannuation Fund, contributing 4% of their annual salary.\(^69\) All other states had their own Police Superannuation Fund although West Australian police, despite contributing 3% of their salary, could only receive a lump sum equal to one month's pay for each year's service on retirement after 12 years service. Similarly, sickness benefits could only be collected if

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\(^{67}\) Victorian Commissioner to Queensland Commissioner, December 1903, A/44759, QSA.

\(^{68}\) Return showing pay and allowances, Victoria, 1907, A/44808, QSA.

\(^{69}\) Return showing pay and allowances, South Australia, 1907, A/44808, QSA.
discharged after 7 years service.\textsuperscript{70}

Queensland's lower wage structure meant that the actual benefits received were lower than for the other states. In practice, the retiring allowance under the 1891 legislation was not in many cases as good as the old age or invalid pension. In a typical case, Detective Senior Sergeant John Barry was retired medically unfit after twenty-seven years service because of rheumatism contracted through 'long service in the North doing continuous foot and mounted duty, coupled with exposure'.\textsuperscript{71} Barry argued that the police pension was insufficient and he had to work manually to support his wife and six children. He offered to conduct training for men wishing to become detectives but Parry-Okeden declined his offer.

The plight of police widows and their children was even worse. They were destined to lives of poverty, with eviction from the married accommodation which the Police Department had provided. The loss of their husband's wage was devastating. In many cases, they were forced to work - at a time when the average wage for women working in factories was

\textsuperscript{70}. Return showing pay and allowances, West Australia, 1907, A/44808, QSA.

\textsuperscript{71}. Detective Senior Sergeant John Barry to Commissioner, 6 January 1896, A/40257, QSA.
£46/2/11 per year\(^{72}\) compared with the approximate salary for a Constable of £140 per year. In cases of death on duty, special gratuities were paid at the government's discretion and by 1912 there was some formalisation of this with gratuities being paid to widows of one month's salary for each year of the husband's service up to twelve years.\(^{73}\) But not until 1921 was there any pension for police widows and their dependents.

Discussion has shown that financially, Queensland's overall position deteriorated from relatively good in 1895 to the worst of all the states in 1910. Furthermore the Constables and Sergeants were disadvantaged. They received the lowest pay comparatively with other states and there were few allowances paid for extraneous duties. Whilst external influences of the drought and economic collapse of the 1890s affected the wage rises, these were insufficient reasons why there should be such a disparity between the ranks. The lower ranks were at the mercy of the Commissioner and the Government in this regard. The Commissioners blamed the Government for a decrease in the estimates but they must take most of the blame for maintaining such an imbalance within the ranks. A Police Force was only as efficient as the

\(^{72}\) Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-17, (Melbourne, McCarron Bird and Co., 1918), 500.

\(^{73}\) Return showing pay and emoluments of the Queensland Police Force, 1 July 1912, A/44808, QSA.
quality of its members. When this was affected through loss to other areas, then the Queensland people suffered.
Chapter 5

DUTIES

Notwithstanding the difficulties which faced Constables and Sergeants in the promotional structure, steady solid work had its rewards both in reward monies for the policing of certain laws and in job satisfaction and appreciation by the public. The duties performed varied with rank, whether foot or mounted, the District in which the men were stationed and whether they were in the General Force, the Water Police or the CIB. Each factor will be considered in this chapter although discussion will be confined to the primary police duties of general duty — investigations and enquiry work — and foot, mounted and fatigue duty. Extraneous duties for other Departments were so extensive and were such a significant area of police responsibility that they will be covered in the next chapter.

Since this history is from the 'bottom up', the duties of the Constable will be considered first. The opinion of Sir Robert Peel in 1833 concerning the fundamental qualities of a Constable has been applicable ever since:
He (the constable) will be civil and obliging to all people of every rank and class. He must be particularly cautious not to interfere idly or unnecessarily in order to make a display of his authority: when required to act, he will do so with decision and boldness: on all occasions he may expect to receive the fullest support in the proper exercise of his authority. He must remember that there is no qualification so indispensable to a police officer as a perfect command of temper, never suffering himself to be moved in the slightest degree by any language or threats that may be used. If he does his duty in a quiet and determined manner, such conduct will probably excite the well disposed of the bystanders to assist him, if he requires them.\(^1\)

The 1876 Queensland Regulations state that 'the first duty of a constable is to prevent the commission of crime'.\(^2\) Thus he was concerned not only with bringing criminals to justice but also keeping a concerned presence in the community in order to prevent crime. His role in the community was considered most important, the idea of the trusty 'village cop' being very much to the fore. He made it his business to get to know people in his community, although it was also the policy of the Department to transfer Constables every few years in order to avoid too much familiarity. They had to discharge their duties independently without fear or favour in a manner which displayed 'energy, promptness, and determination'.\(^3\)

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3. *1876 Regulations*, p. 46.
As the following table shows, Constable numbers showed an overall increase although most of the increase occurred in Cahill’s time when he lobbied strongly for more recruits—84.1% increase until 1910 compared with a 35.9% rise during Parry-Okeden’s term.

TABLE 36:

Constables, Supernumeraries, 1895-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Senior Constables</th>
<th>Constables</th>
<th>Supernumeraries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>(to Act Serg)</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Following training, Constables were appointed for a year during which time they could not voluntarily leave the Force. After a year if they wanted to leave, three months notice was required.4 Whilst all police did some country service, there was a distinct difference in the type of officer the country policeman became. The town officer was required to refer to his superior officers for advice and instructions and was

4. 1876 Regulations, p. 33.
under constant surveillance especially on beat duty. The
country fellow was generally more robust, could ride a horse
and being left alone often for long periods on patrol he had
to use his own initiative. With that came self reliance and
confidence. One-man stations were numerous in country areas.
In the Cairns district in 1908 of the thirty-three stations,
twenty were one-man stations with one Constable in charge. 5

Duties for the mounted men included general, fatigue, night,
mounted and stable duties while the foot men omitted mounted
duty but attended to beat duty. Duties concerning the
apprehension of criminals were the most important to the
policeman even if clerical duties intruded. Dangerous
situations often arose when making arrests. The following
account by Police Magistrate Hill gives a vivid account of an
arrest by Acting Sergeant Archie McBride in the early 1900s
in the Mackay district:

It happened near the "Pinnacle" Station ... when he
spotted the man he was after, a gigantic half-breed Maori,
and jumping off his horse, Mac. arrested the man, who drew
a butcher's knife, and drove it into the Sergeant's cheek,
and again into his back. Mac's hands, too, were severely
cut, but he stuck to his man, and though rather slight,
Mac was very active, and eventually overcame the ruffian
... When McBride got back with the prisoner to Mirani his
boots were full of blood, and he was in a fainting

condition. 6

5. 'AR 1908', OPP, 2 (1909), 209.

6. W.R.O. Hill, 45 Years experiences in North Queensland
Sometimes police lost their lives in the line of duty although no records remain of the exact number. The deaths in the Force for 1895-1907 are the only records.

**TABLE 37: Deaths of Queensland Policemen, 1895-1907**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1895-1907.

In one example in 1895 Senior Constable Conroy was murdered at Thursday Island while defending the wife of a man who was trying to attack her. The telegram from Sub-Inspector Urquhart explains:

> Senr. Const Conroy though bleeding and disabled from seven wounds stuck to his prisoner. Brought him through a house, into street & handed him over to Constable Clines who was coming to his assistance.... His conduct was heroic a most excellent man deeply regretted by all the police and public.7

This thesis is not concerned with the analysis of crime statistics although it is appropriate to list the crimes most

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7. Sub-Inspector F. Urquhart to Commissioner, 3 July 1895, A monument was unveiled at Thursday Island 18 July 1896 with money raised by the police, Personnel file, Senior Constable Conroy, A/36748, QSA. A police boat the W.Conroy was named in his honour in 1981.
often committed during the 1895-1910 period.

TABLE 38:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL CONVICTIONS</th>
<th>OF CRIMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>3464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscene language</td>
<td>1542</td>
<td>2245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly characters</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>1202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple larceny</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunacy</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstructing Constable on duty</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilful damage to property</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserters of wife, chn</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplying liquor to aborigines</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of opium</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Prot Act and sale of opium</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagrancy</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False pretences</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1895, 1899, 1905, 1910.

The table confirms that drunkenness was not confined to the Police Force. Its increase no doubt contributed to other associated crimes of obscene language, disorderly characters, assault, obstructing Constables on duty, vagrancy, false pretences and damage to property. Crimes were investigated by the General Police, the CIB and plain clothes men. The latter two used similar methods of crime detection although the CIB preferred to deal with major crime and not petty larcenies. Detectives worked 9 am to 5 pm and then again from 7 pm to 9 pm six days each week. Often the hours were longer where
Table 39 gives the cases handled in 1897 and 1898 by Detective Senior Sergeant H. Grimshaw when he was based in Townsville. He performed work in Townsville, Ayr, Charters Towers, Ravenswood and Halifax.

### Table 39

**Cases - Detective Senior Sergeant H. Grimshaw**  
1 July 1897 - 30 June 1898

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child desertion</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscene language</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling offences</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False pretences</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserting from service</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sugar plantation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking into a store</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated assault</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forging and uttering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embezzlement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Missing persons</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 enquiries</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personnel file, H. Grimshaw, A/38813, QSA.

Larceny was obviously the most common offence which was investigated by Grimshaw. In this regard the police had to take into account the standards of the community. Grimshaw highlighted some problems from a police perspective. He claimed that business people 'display their goods on the

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8. Inspector M. O'Sullivan to Comm, 9 July 1915, A/41679, QSA.
footpath' and others 'leave tools overnight close to the street' with the result that larcenies occurred. He found convictions of well known people difficult and the population somewhat tolerant of crime, withholding information because 'it would ruin their business'. Townsville also had the problem of Stewart's Creek Gaol. Released prisoners would be discharged penniless, remain about town for a few days committing larcenies and then 'clear out'.

Particular crimes depended on the area. For example, at Ravenswood in 1900s, whilst the lack of timber licences was common, other crimes included:

- Theft - of money, possessions and tin from the Tin Company
- Wife desertion
- Disobeying the Gaming Laws especially by the Chinese
- Assault
- Supplying opium to Aborigines
- Vagrant Act
- Damage to insulators and brackets of the Telegraph Line
- Illegally employing an aboriginal

The CIB men did not receive any particular training but were usually experienced men from other Forces outside Queensland. This did not necessarily mean, however, that they were better policemen. There were still the dismissals through drunkenness or in the case of Senior Sergeant Henry Grimshaw,

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9. Senior Sergeant H. Grimshaw to Senior Inspector Douglas, Townsville, 8 July 1898, A/38813, QSA.
10. POL 11B/NS, QSA.
through acceptance of bribes from Chinese gamblers. The temptation was always there. The problem was compounded by competent detectives leaving the Force to better themselves. Detective Senior Sergeant D. Shanahan resigned in 1901 after fourteen years service, but it was the Police Department's loss, Urquhart remarking he was a 'first class sub officer of high character and conspicuous ability'.

In order to hear cases, it was often very difficult to obtain the services of a Police Magistrate in isolated areas, offenders then being discharged because there was no Magistrate to hear their case. For this reason the Acting Sergeant at Birdsville in 1906 appealed to his Sub-Inspector to swear in the local school teacher as a Justice of the Peace - 'an educated respectable gentleman' who indicated he would help as long as the cases were not heard during school hours! Relations between the police and Police Magistrates came under consideration during the late 1890s-early 1900s. Police were reminded that while they could appeal any adverse decisions that they considered erroneous, such appeals had to go through the proper channels. Also although the Magistrates

11. Parry-Okeden to Under Secretary, 9 June 1902, A/38813, QSA.


had no executive control over the police, the latter were instructed that the positions called for 'respect and deference', there being occasions (such as riots) when orders from magistrates had to be obeyed.\textsuperscript{14}

The Police Jurisdiction Extension Act of 1881 (45 Vic. No.12.) gave the police the right of access to buildings and lands where entertainments were being held. Such places were then considered public places where the Towns Police Acts, Gambling Acts, Vagrant Acts and Liquor Acts could be enforced. Townsfolk were anxious to have this Act enforced. In a typical example, the Maleny School of Arts was included under the Act in 1910 after a case of disorderly conduct had been dismissed because the building was not considered a public place and therefore not under the Act.\textsuperscript{15} It did not cover, however, privately owned buildings. The Towns Police Act (2.Vic. No. 2) extended the same protection to towns. In a typical example, Gatton was included after complaints of crackers and fireworks being allowed to be fired off in the main street and 'furious riding on the part of some irresponsible youths'.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} Circular Memo 199, 29 July 1895, POL 3B/A2, QSA; General Order 725, 10 May 1905, POL 3B/A3, QSA; General Order 736, 18 August 1905, A/36294, QSA; Circular Memo, 7 March 1907, POL 3B/A2, QSA.

\textsuperscript{15} Constable J. Reville, 25 May 1910, A/44513, QSA.

\textsuperscript{18} Gatton Mail, 13 December 1913.
Queensland, being so rurally based, it was not surprising that the protection of rural property, in particular, cattle and horses, was so important. But the small number of convictions for cattle and horse stealing in Table 40 does not give an indication of the enormity of the problem throughout the state.

TABLE 40: Convictions, Stock Crimes, 1895-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle stealing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse stealing</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1895, 1899, 1905, 1910.

The laws regarding the protection of stock and the powers of the police were inadequate. The country police were not armed with any provision such as in the Towns Police Act which would have enabled them to treat livestock as goods. Furthermore, punishments were so inadequate 'as to positively encourage evildoers, and proportionately dishearten the Police'. Convictions from some juries in stock stealing areas were almost impossible. Stock were often reported stolen when in fact they had been lost because of the absence of fences.

18. 'AR 1902', QPP, 2 (1903), 376.
19. ibid.
Because horses were the main mode of transport in country districts it is understandable that horse stealing was a very common offence. In 1878-1880 at Port Douglas horse stealing accounted for 50% of the crime followed by 30% for larceny. It was still the most common offence in the 1890s as the 1897 criminal offences register at Birdsville shows. Horses were also often stolen and used for transportation, to be replaced by fresh horses (also stolen) as the journey continued. Referred to as 'soldiering', this offence led to stolen horses being recovered but increased the work load for the police. Stock stealing was more prevalent after the great drought owing to the scarcity and enhanced value of the stock. Indeed there were complaints that police were spending too much time endeavouring to catch cattle thieves and not enough time in towns.

Professional thieves were experts at cutting out 'mickies' (unbranded steers) from a herd and running them to some secluded spot where they lay hidden until ready for disposal. With few fences and numerous well wooded hiding places, they were usually driven by devious mountain tracks to some

20. Port Douglas station, 1878-80, POL 12D/Q1, QSA.
22. W. Maxwell, QPD, LXXXVII, (1901), 1263.
distant market interstate. Selectors were not adverse to poddy dodging either, in order to maintain or increase their herds. As one summed up the situation 'the people on properties looked on cattle duffing as "balancing the budget" they got some of yours - and you got some of theirs'.

The thieves also showed remarkable ingenuity in the faking of brands - 055 became Q55, Q55 became 08B and so on. One popular form of faking was that of 'plucking a brand' by pulling out hairs to form a brand which lasted for a short time. Checking waybills was considered a most important duty and stiff fines were imposed if convicted. By telegraph they were able to notify the police in another district should there be any occasion to suspect malpractices. For example the father of the notorious stock thieves, Patrick and James Kenniff, was fined £20/15/4 at Mitchell in 1899 for travelling stock without a way bill. Stock stealing remained a problem for longer in the north mainly because of the absence of fences. The Inspector at Townsville elaborated:

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25. R. Good, Ketching the Kenniffs, p. 105.
Fully 50 per cent. of stock reported stolen have simply strayed, and turn up or are found some months afterwards, and on many occasions the owners fail to notify the Police of the recovery of their property.\textsuperscript{26}

General duty covered a multitude of tasks. The most time consuming were investigating complaints and mediating in disputes. Other areas of duty included;

- inspecting mobs of cattle, horses and sheep for their correct way bill,
- investigating sudden deaths,
- looking for lost people,
- locating husbands for wife desertion,
- shoeing horses and repairing saddles,
- gold escorts,
- looking for unlicensed timber getters,
- attending courts - District, Supreme - travel involved,
- rescue of people - from wells, mine shafts, lagoons,
- escorting prisoners and lunatics,
- attending the annual races, sometimes with help from men from surrounding police stations: For instance, the police from Ravenswood in 1895, attended the races at Townsville, Ravenswood and Charters Towers.\textsuperscript{27}
- noting prisoners who report themselves under the First Offenders Probation Act of 1886,
- blanket distribution to aborigines
- truant officer for school children
- checking for unlicensed hawkers - shopkeepers complain
- Sunday trading
- issuing Victualler's Licences
- family disturbances - arranging for neglected children to be sent to orphanages
- escorting pay trains for the Commissioner of Railways

By way of giving examples of these duties, prisoner escorts and looking for lost people will be expanded. Escorting prisoners formed a very onerous and even harassing part of their duties, especially where stations were remote. In an example in the 1890s, Constable Rody Byrne often undertook

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{ibid.}, p. 216.

\textsuperscript{27} POL 11B/N6, QSA.
the escort of prisoners between Tambo and Springsure - a distance of 257 kilometres. Keeping awake and alert for days in the bush was demanding although it was a very common duty. Handcuffed to one another, under no circumstances were handcuffs to be removed although very often there were inducements from the prisoners. Police also had to escort lunatics. Townsville was the reception depot for all lunatic patients from the North. The majority of these were sent by boat to Brisbane then on to Goodna, often necessitating the absence of four men from Townsville on separate escorts. Escorts on the inland routes were often by coach such as Cobb and Co. and in order to attract custom, a discount of up to twenty percent was allowed to the Police Department.

Looking for lost people in the isolated parts of Queensland was not an uncommon task. The Daily Occurrence Book at Birdsville, for example, gives numerous examples of this. People could survive for days if they were experienced in the bush. This was not the case, however, near Winton in the 1890s when Constable O'Sullivan found a man after he had been lost for only eighteen hours.

28. Personnel file, R.Byrne, A/40690-1, QSA.
29. Inspector Malone, Townsville, 'AR 1910', OPP, 2 (1911-2), 630,
30. Cobb and Co. to Comm, 14 January 1899, A/44721, QSA.
When we reached him he was in the last stage, and had nothing on but his boots. We gave him spoonfuls of brandy and water ... but it was no use. He died inside thirty minutes. 31

Yet in 1895 a lost boy at Birdsville was found alive after a day and a night in the desert. 32 The following January six people perished in the district from sunstroke and heat related disorders. 33

Duties varied as Queensland progressed from the feverish mining days to the rise of the pastoral industry. Thus gold escorts were replaced by inspections of mobs of livestock as way bills were checked. The types of duties also varied with the location. At Cairns in the 1900s, because of the high proportion of alien groups, mounted patrols through the suburbs were frequent to check on these people. 34 In the northern sugar towns, police prosecuted persons supplying firearms to Melanesians under The Pacific Islanders Amendment Act of 1884 (47 Vic. No.12) and supervised the deportation of Melanesians under the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901. 35 Circumstances in the south-west imposed different


32. Daily Occurrence Book, Birdsville, 31 June 1895, POL 9A/N3, QSA.

33. ibid.

34. Inspector H. Durham to Comm, 27 January 1906, A/44804, QSA.

35. Cahill, 18 October 1906, A/36349, QSA.
priorities. At Birdsville collecting firewood was a major task because of the sparse vegetation; so was looking for troop horses because of the absence of a fence around the police paddock. Looking for lost people and checking the rabbit fence was time consuming. Cutting bush hay when available after rains was also important at Birdsville because of the high transport costs of forage. Water had to be drawn from the river and carted.

The 1899 Royal Commission was critical of the 'improper employment of police in fatigue duties', a system which they saw as being abused. Such duty was supposedly for 'cleaning up the barracks or cutting wood' and was used in order to distinguish it from ordinary police duty. Its interpretations varied from painting and maintenance of police buildings to checking them for white ants. A typical example of fatigue duty at Ravenswood in 1895 involved removing water from one tank to another so a new bottom could be fitted to the tank.

Foot and mounted duty needs particular emphasis because of its importance in the working life of the men. In a typical

38. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 161.
38. POL 11B/N5, QSA.
week at a country station, the duty for a Constable might be

Monday to Saturday

Town Duty 10 am - 12 noon
Mounted duty 3 pm - 5 pm
Town Duty 7 pm - 11 pm

Sunday
Sunday Trading Duty

Thus the mounted men could perform both beat and mounted duty while the foot police were confined to beat duty. Beat duty was achieved with the use of a whistle, handcuffs, a baton and a lantern at night, patrolling so as to have their 'right hand next to the houses'. There were twenty-two beats in Brisbane of varying lengths, the longest being the New Farm beat of eight kilometres patrolled by one man. The regulation pace was four kilometres an hour stopping only when necessary. For instance they were required to examine the apertures of pillar letter boxes for any sticky substances or devices which could be used to intercept letters. The men would walk continually on their own around the boundaries of the beat, the only contact with other men on beats being via a whistle. Inspector Stuart admitted at the 1899 Royal Commission that by this method the centre of

38. 1876 Regulations, p. 20. On transfer, handcuffs were taken with the officer but handed in at the district office if transferred out of the district. (General order 757, no date but would be ca. 1911, A/36331, QSA.)


41. 1876 Regulations, p. 166.
the beat was not protected at all. Sub-Inspectors and Sergeants in charge inspected the men on the beat, working the beat in the opposite direction. Until 1908 they met the men at prearranged times and places, but after that time they were instructed that visits had to be at uncertain times in different places. In 1899 there were two men to do these inspections in Brisbane - Sub-Inspectors Nethercote and Savage. They both walked to the beats as did the men; 'Sub-Inspector Savage is not a very good [bicycle] rider at present'. Thus a typical night for these Sub-Inspectors might involve a walk to the Woolloongabba Hotel, a total of over six kilometres there and back, then to Gregory Terrace (nearly five kilometres) and then to the Valley.

There were two reliefs for duty during the day, arranged thus:

The first relief goes on at 5 a.m., and remains on beat until 9 a.m. The second goes on at 9 a.m. and remains until 1 p.m. The first goes on at 1 p.m., and remains till 5 p.m. The second goes on at 5 p.m., and remains till 9 p.m.

During the intervening four hours, the men were allowed to return to their barracks or homes. Thus it was best for

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42. Inspector Stuart, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 122.
43. Circular Memo 495, 2 April 1908, A/36278, QSA.
44. Sub-Inspector Nethercote, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 438.
45. 1876 Regulations, p. 18-19.
married men to live as close as possible to the station. The night duty commenced at 9 p.m., the men remaining on the beats until 5 a.m. The night and day duties changed every fourteen days. After 1905 beat duty was modified so that the men did six hours of duty each day in two three hourly sessions. Night duty was six hours compared with the eight hours previously.\textsuperscript{46}

The importance of beat duty was highlighted in the concern expressed by Parry-Okeden in 1900 that:

There are on average eight beats unprovided for in North Brisbane, and very often, owing to the many calls on the Police, other beats have to be neglected, or a constable has two beats to look after.\textsuperscript{47}

Indeed men were punished usually by fines or a reprimand for inattention to duty while on beat duty. As well as beat duty, Chief Inspector Stuart outlined at the 1899 Royal Commission the tasks of the other Constables and Sergeants from the Roma Street station. There was one clerk (the Sub-Inspector’s clerk) and one bicycle orderly (to make enquiries and take despatches around the town); at the watchhouse, an Acting Sergeant and two Constables; an Acting Sergeant and one Constable in charge of the Contagious Diseases Act; two Constables on wharf duty and two on garden duty at the Botanic Gardens. There was also one Constable on duty at the

\textsuperscript{46} Home Secretary J.G. Appel, 17 August 1911, QPD, CVIII (1911-2), 581.

\textsuperscript{47} ‘AR 1900’, QVP, 4 (1901), 1039.
Roma street markets; one on train duty every day at the Central station; and three court orderlies for the Police Court and the District Court. 48

Parades were an important part of instilling discipline into the Force. The men when going on beat and traffic duty would parade at the district headquarter stations and large stations, march to the city or town area and then separate as they took up their respective posts. Inspection parades were held regularly. The Chief Inspector of 'A' District (Metropolitan, East and West Moreton, and Darling Downs) explained:

The first Monday in each month is set apart for inspection parades, as many men as possible from suburban stations attending, the band playing during the inspection and from and to Roma-street Barracks and the depot. 49

Inspection parades were also considered important at country stations, although the formality varied with the officer in charge and the size of the station, the smaller stations being more relaxed. For instance, Ravenswood's informality was criticised when Inspector E. Sweetman inspected the station in 1914. He commented - 'held parade at 10 am ... Act. Sergt. and men very deficient in knowledge of drill and


49. Chief Inspector 'A' district, 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1901), 1038.
I expect to see an improvement on my next inspection'.\textsuperscript{50} Inspector Alexander Douglas-Douglas as head of the northern district gave every attention to detail in his parades:

I have a full-dress parade of all the men in Townsville and suburbs once a month, and ask if there are any complaints, and if there are any I make a note of them in red ink in my diary. In addition to this the sub-inspectors parade the men in their sub-districts every week, and put the same questions to the men.\textsuperscript{51}

Mounted patrols were the most important duty for the mounted men. They occurred mainly in the country but Brisbane also had some. For instance, mounted men in the khaki tunic with breeches and boots could be seen patrolling to Breakfast Creek and Pinkenba in the late 1890s.\textsuperscript{52} On Sundays especially they patrolled unprotected areas; and for special missions, they went in plain clothes and often carried revolvers.\textsuperscript{53}

Take a typical week of a mounted man, Constable A.A. Bock (later a Military Cross winner in World War 1), when he was stationed at Croydon in 1907.

\textsuperscript{50} Inspector Sweetman, 1 July 1914, POL 11B/N13, QSA.


\textsuperscript{52} Inspector John Stuart, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 325.

\textsuperscript{53} A/44808, QSA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday, 3 March</td>
<td>Mounted patrol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday, 4 March</td>
<td>Mounted Patrol to Golden Gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, 5 March</td>
<td>Stable duty and fatigue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday, 6 March</td>
<td>Mounted patrol to 12 Mile and locally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday, 7 March</td>
<td>Patrol to Sheep Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday, 8 March</td>
<td>Patrol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday, 9 March</td>
<td>Returned 3 pm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Daily Occurrence Book, Croydon, 1907, A/36302, QSA.

Not only did he work every day of the week, but each day except Tuesday was taken up with mounted patrols. The benefits of having mounted men who were good horsemen and bushmen cannot be overestimated. With the incidence of cattle and horse stealing so widespread, there were requests from officers-in-charge of districts to send men who could deal effectively with the problem.\(^{54}\)

The average distance for daily patrols on horseback was sixteen to fifty-six kilometres although it was possible to cover up to eighty kilometres. Inspector A. Douglas-Douglas reported in 1899, for instance, that he covered up to this distance in a day for a total distance of 580 kilometres.\(^{55}\) Sub-Inspector Byrne of Cloncurry reported in 1910 that patrols in that district were often up to 805 kilometres.\(^{56}\) Whilst good horses were expected to be capable of at least a

\(^{54}\) Sub-Inspector E. Sweetman to Comm Cahill, 2 March 1908, File 436M, Queensland Police Museum.


\(^{56}\) Sub-Inspector R. Byrne to Comm, 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-12), 634.
trip of 160 kilometres, Commissioner Parry-Okeden admitted that some horses in the country were of inferior quality and that the best horses were in the Brisbane area.\textsuperscript{57} He gave one instance where a criminal escaped from Normanton gaol and escaped to West Australia; the man had stolen a horse at Croydon, and although the police knew the direction he had taken they could not overtake him.

Parry-Okeden also admitted that in searching for one of the Kenniff brothers, the police horses broke down. In times of emergency, when no police horse was available or where a sequence of fresh horses was required on a long ride, the police used horses belonging to property owners. Evidence at the 1899 Royal Commission suggests that this was more widespread than realised even to the extent of the police being completely reliant on these borrowed horses. Inspector Alexander Douglas-Douglas reported concerning the south-east corner:

> When I took charge I found the police were using a lot of horses from Ardoch station; they had not horses of their own, and the thing came to such a pass that a letter was sent to me by a squatter on the other side of the Nocundra, refusing to supply the police with any more horses, as he found by doing so they never bought horses themselves.\textsuperscript{56}

The Department soon rectified the situation although some

\textsuperscript{57} Parry-Okeden, ‘1899 Royal Commission’, \textit{QVP}, 4 (1899), 291, 162.

care had to be taken in sending suitable remounts which could be acclimatized. In a consignment of twelve horses sent to Roma in 1896 at least three were found quite unsuitable for the western country.\textsuperscript{59}

Mounted duties also included the escort of gold, although by 1899 there was only one Gold Escort left between Georgetown and Croydon; it travelled only every three to four months. With gold averaging between 8,000 and 10,000 ounces each trip, an Inspector, Sergeant and four Constables travelled on horseback with the gold in a hired coach. Sometimes an additional two Constables were used if the amount was excessive.\textsuperscript{60} There were strict rules for the trip - one Constable to form the advance guard, one on either side, and one at the rear, all 100 yards from the conveyance.\textsuperscript{61}

The horses were also used on ceremonial occasions. Over 100 were supplied for the Imperial troops on their visit. The Department also horsed all but one of the carriages for the Royal visit of 1901 and provided mounted escorts.\textsuperscript{62} After 1909 police horses were not allowed to be entered in

\textsuperscript{59} ibid., p. 489.

\textsuperscript{60} Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 285.

\textsuperscript{61} 1876 Regulations, p. 95.

\textsuperscript{62} 'AR 1910', OPP, 1 (1902), 1024.
agricultural shows or exhibitions and police were not allowed to keep horses or cows of their own without permission. Sergeant Rody Byrne was the centre of such allegations in 1898. It was proved that he had race horses and cattle of his own at Tambo in the police paddock. His indiscretion resulted in a transfer.

Mounted patrols often involved the Native Police and Trackers. Their most valuable duty was in tracking lost people, cattle thieves and criminals. They also assisted with the horses at the station, often a very time consuming task because of the absence of fences. They assisted in criminal cases involving Aborigines and often had the responsibility of being in charge of the station in his absence of the officer. Their wives provided valuable unpaid domestic help and generally both were well received at the station by the policeman's family.

TABLE 41: Native Police and Tracker Numbers 1895-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1897</th>
<th>1898</th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1902</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1898-1910

63. Circular Memo 538, 1 May 1909, A/36278, QSA; General Order 785, 16 August 1910, A/36278, p. 164, QSA.

64. Personnel file, Rody Byrne, A/40690-1, QSA.
As can be seen in Table 41 Native Police and Tracker numbers peaked in 1899 with 135 but decreased dramatically in 1902 after the Native Police were gradually disbanded. With no superannuation scheme the Native Police were simply told to leave although some became Trackers. A low of 43 in 1904 was the result of a reduction in the vote for Trackers\textsuperscript{65} although the Home Secretary admitted this was done 'with considerable reluctance'. \textsuperscript{66}

Parry-Okeden was responsible for phasing out the Native Police and undertook an extensive tour through Cape York Peninsular. His recommendations became the basis for the Aborigines Protection and the Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts of 1897 and 1901 (61 Vic. No.17, and 2 Edw. VII, No.1.) These were comprehensive acts which covered the proclamation of Aboriginal reserves, conditions of employment, education and medical treatment. It was the most comprehensive legislative measure taken in Queensland for the preservation of the Aboriginal race. Dr W.E. Roth was appointed Northern Protector, A. Meston Southern Protector, with Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors to act as Protectors for their districts. In 1907 there were twenty-six police carrying out this task. \textsuperscript{67} Police were at pains to enforce

\textsuperscript{65} A/44871, QSA.
\textsuperscript{66} Home Secretary, QPD, XCIII (1904), 1080.
\textsuperscript{67} 'AR 1907', QPP, 2 (1908), 927.
that part of the Act which sought to prohibit the selling of opium. This section was passed essentially for the protection of Aborigines but to do this the main suppliers the Chinese had to be prosecuted. Periodic raids were made on gambling dens and Chinese merchants. In one raid in Brisbane in 1898, fifty-one shops were visited, 'The most profitable field was Albert St, next came Wickham St. In South Brisbane only a small quantity was found'. The problem continued in the north with Chinese banana growers at Innisfail employing Aborigines and paying them with rum and opium. Inspector Galbraith reported that patrols minimised this but it was difficult when the opium was brought in aboard small steamers in goods assigned to the Chinese. Cahill granted police small rewards out of the fines imposed on the traders which gave incentive for the Act to be strictly enforced. The supply was gradually stopped as Customs Officers and police effectively precluded its general supply to Aborigines although the problem remained for longer in the north.

In overseeing Aboriginal employment, clerical work and

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69. The Telegraph, 21 January 1898.

70. Inspector Galbraith to Comm, 12 September 1910, POL/J17, QSA.

71. 'AR 1907', QPP, 2 (1908), 927.
financial responsibility was involved which was very time consuming. The Inspector from Charleville reported in 1907 that 201 work permits were issued to Aborigines and £130/4/- was held on their behalf in trust accounts.72 In 1910 Sub-Inspector McGrath of Longreach controlled 180 bank accounts with credits of £2,081/13/1.73 While Cahill was pleased to support this duty some people were very critical of these police powers and control over Aborigines. In the absence of public servants to carry out these duties there was no option but for the police to act as they did. Cahill did suggest that 'a commensurate allowance should be made'74 but none was forthcoming.

Whilst men in the higher ranks were the Protectors, it was the Constables and Sergeants at the small country stations who had the contact with the Trackers. Until 1909 Trackers were also required to work under permits75 although it was difficult to enforce periods of employment. Their stay was usually up to five years after which time they left because of homesickness or low wages. The records seldom show it was because of ill treatment.

74. ‘AR 1906’, OPP, 2 (1907), 274.
75. Circular Memo 552, 5 July 1909, A/36349, QSA.
Trackers were paid 13/6 per month and 'Corporals' £1 per month because of their length of service and expertise. After 1908 they received £1 and £1/3/- respectively. Food, clothing and rations were provided by the Department. The dry rations consisting of flour, salt, tea, soap, tobacco, carbonate of soda and cream of tartar were purchased by contract and forwarded to the camps. Meat rations were purchased locally from the nearest station by the officer in charge, one bullock being purchased at a time and salted down. Two pounds of meat per day was allowed per trooper, with half rations allowed for their wives and quarter rations for their children. Until 1903 rations for wives and children came out of the Aboriginal vote but after that time the Police Department paid. At stations with only one or two Trackers, the officer in charge was allowed 1/6 to 2/6 per day to purchase rations for the Trackers, with half that allowance for their wives. Trackers were happiest when they had wives with them and occasionally police were called upon to act as marriage brokers.

The Tracker was guide, philosopher and friend to any

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76. Circular Memo 487, A/36277, p. 393, QSA.

77. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 288; In correspondence at that time the terminology 'gins' and 'picaninnies' was used.

78. A/44871, QSA.
policeman who made an attempt to understand him and treat him fairly. On more than one occasion Trackers were responsible for saving a policeman's life. Constable Michael O'Sullivan was saved twice by Tracker Captain in incidents with horses at Roma in the early 1900s. The best men came from the camps where they had not been wholly demoralised by contact with low class whites. It was also wise not to recruit them from the same district where they were to serve because of their temptation to leave and also because they might withhold information resulting from their sympathies with the local blacks.

As bushmen and trackers they had no equal. Tracker Captain tracked a trail of ants for fifty-five metres until up a tree he discovered food and goods which had been stolen. Senior Sergeant Rody Byrne gave another example in which Trackers Bostock and Nimble in 1911 tracked a man even though eight weeks had passed and rain had fallen in the meantime. Much of the success in bringing horse thieves to justice and finding lost people was due to their skill. Haydon describes their work:

---

The tracker rides along at an easy pace, following the signs with a rapidity which would baffle any but an expert bushman. He only dismounts when a knotty problem presents itself and it is desirous to take a look at the tracks from another position....While thus engaged he rarely speaks. Every sense is alert and trained to the full.\textsuperscript{82}

The longest serving Tracker - in excess of twenty years service - and the most celebrated in Queensland's history has been Sam Johnson. His evidence at the trial of Patrick and James Kenniff was instrumental in convicting them for the murder in March 1902 of Constable George Doyle of the Upper Warrego Police Station and Albert Dahlke, manager of Carnarvon station. Johnson was rounding up the police pack horse in an isolated area when he heard the shots which killed Doyle and Dahlke. He escaped when pursued by the Kenniffs and notified the authorities, helping in the subsequent search for the men. Threatened for years with retaliation by Kenniff supporters, he was the only Tracker allowed to go on patrol armed with a revolver.\textsuperscript{83}

The fact that he was an Aborigine was used by the defense counsel to influence the jury into thinking his evidence was unreliable. He was asked:

\begin{quote}
What time of day was it when the bullets were flying about- sun go up, go down, or him on the other side?"
\end{quote}

Softly the tracker replied, "About 8 o'clock."
The people in the court broke into laughter as the aborigine scored a point from his somewhat embarrassed

\textsuperscript{82} Haydon, The Trooper Police of Australia, p. 393.

\textsuperscript{83} R. Good, Ketching the Kenniffs.
The expertise of Queensland trackers was known both internationally and interstate. At least one Tracker was sent to South Africa during the Boer War and Trackers were sent to Victoria in the search for the Kelly gang. Sub-Inspector Galbraith and six Trackers were detailed for service in New South Wales to search for brothers Jim and Joe Governor in 1900.

Discussion thus far in this chapter has been confined mainly to Constables. The role of Sergeant signified extra responsibility. He was responsible for the conduct and appearance of the Constables and for the state of the barracks, arms, ammunition and appointments. He kept a roster of duties performed by himself and the Constables and reported to his Sub-Inspector regularly. Especially at larger stations, he was responsible for parading the men before they went on beat duty. He assembled the Constables for inspection by the Sub-Inspector, and in the absence of the Sub-Inspector, read out any orders and information which the men were required to know. He then marched with the men to their beats, making sure that each man knew 'his ground'.

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84. Brisbane Courier, 5 November 1902, p. 8, quoted in Good, Ketching the Kenniffs, p. 252.

85. 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1901), 1036.

86. 1876 Regulations, p. 196.
His duties were especially onerous in stations which were not large enough to have Sub-Inspectors. As well as supervising his Constables, he was required to keep the books, make periodical returns and be responsible for the efficient policing of his geographical area. The ideal really was to be an Acting Sergeant in a place with perhaps one or two Constables where accommodation was provided and all the extraneous duty allowances applied. The rank of Sergeant probably signified that at least eight men were at the station.

There was a gradual increase in the numbers of Sergeants and, again, Cahill’s influence is seen after 1905.

**TABLE 42: Sergeants, 1895-1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Senior Sergeant</th>
<th>Sergeant</th>
<th>Acting Sergeant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1895-1910
The rank of Senior Sergeant signified a man with experience and one capable of taking extra responsibilities. Commissioner Seymour saw the rank not as a means of promoting men from that rank to that of officers 'but more as a sort of lay-by for good sergeants, who were not fit to be made officers. Latterly, however, it came to be looked upon as a stepping-stone to the rank of officer'.

Constables and Sergeants were of course subject to the orders of the Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors. The 1878 Regulations stated that

the duties of the Inspector are those of direction, of constant and active supervision and inspection, requiring his movements to be rapid and uncertain, and his vigilance unrelaxing.

As head of a District, he was answerable only to the Commissioner, having approximately fifty men in his charge. Table 43 shows that the total number of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors actually decreased in the 1895-1910 period. With Constable and Sergeant numbers increasing, this could only be interpreted as a greater work load for the higher ranks or, alternatively, that the Force had been previously 'top heavy'. The truth possibly lies somewhere between both factors.

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88. 1878 Regulations, p. 131.
TABLE 43:
Inspector Ranks for 1895-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chief Insp</th>
<th>Senior Insp</th>
<th>1/C Insp</th>
<th>2/C Insp</th>
<th>1/C Sub In</th>
<th>2/C Sub In</th>
<th>3/C Sub In</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>1904</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports 1895-1910

Whilst he had the help of Sub-Inspectors, it was the Inspector's overall responsibility to see that the men discharged their duties with zeal, fidelity and efficiency. Inspectors could inflict punishments of fines and make recommendations to the Commissioner concerning transfers, promotions and dismissals. With the Commissioner's decision often only a rubber stamp to the recommendation of the Inspector, the latter's control and influence was very significant.

The rank of Travelling Inspector was abolished in 1896 but in name only, the new terminology being Chief Inspector. It signified widespread control not confined to any District.
Thus the Inspector followed instructions without referring to the Commissioner when Travelling Inspector John Ahern commented in 1892 on the Rockhampton Station:

The practice hitherto carried on here of galloping Police horses through the main streets both day and night and of hanging them up in front of Public houses must be discontinued.\(^8\)

Inspectors needed to have a thorough knowledge of horses since it was their responsibility to purchase remounts for their Districts.\(^9\) They visited the stations in their Districts as often as possible to see that they were clean and the men attending to their duties. Books were inspected, and their opinions of the station noted in the Daily Occurrence Book. In a typical example at Croydon, Inspector Lamond wrote on 30 November 1906 – 'Visited this station today. Present Sergt Sullivan, Act Sergt Hennessy, Const Reynolds, Bock, Goodrich. No complaints. Everything clean and satisfactory'.\(^1\) His previous inspection had been eighteen months earlier when he commented – 'Inspected this station today. All present under arms. Arms and saddlery must be kept clean and in good order. Horses in fine order'.\(^2\) It was difficult to make more frequent visits to the country areas

\(^8\) Travelling Inspector J. Ahern to Inspector F. Murray, Rockhampton, 12 April 1892, A/41467, QSA.

\(^9\) Parry-Okeden, 1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 289.

\(^1\) A/36302, QSA.

\(^2\) A/36301, QSA.
but Marburg, for instance, being relatively close to Brisbane, was inspected every three to six months during 1901-2.\textsuperscript{93}

On his return to district headquarters the Inspector wrote comments on the defaulter sheets. Whilst it was the officers in charge of stations, whether they be Sergeants or Sub-Inspectors, who actually made up the roster of duties and patrols, it was the Inspector who made sure they were arranged impartially. Grievances directed to the Commissioner always went through him which made him aware of the complaints of the lowest Constable. Again this highlights the power of the Inspectors in that grievances which the Inspector considered too trivial did not even reach the Commissioner. Parry-Okeden was criticised at the 1899 Royal Commission for leaving too much to his Inspectors and while he obviously needed help to administer the Force, the hierarchical structure of the Police Force meant that his methods were open to criticism.

Sub-Inspectors were attached to sub-districts and whilst having the responsibility of the stations in the sub-district, they were really the eyes and ears for the Inspector. Their position was, to some extent, a confidential one in which notice was given to the Inspector of any

\textsuperscript{93} A/15642, QSA.
irregularities. In the absence of an Inspector, of course, he took charge.

The usual police duties of maintaining law and order by apprehending criminals and conducting patrols were often overtaken by clerical duties, both for the Department as well as extraneous duties for other Departments. The books which needed to be kept up to date for the Police Department included the General Order Book, District Order Book, Diary and Occurrence Book; Charge Book, Contingency Account book, Criminal Offence book; Forage book, Pay Book, Postage Stamp Book, Register of Warrants Book, Requisition Book, Government Property Book, Telegraph Message Book and Warrant Book. The importance of these books was shown in an urgent telegram from Beetoota in January 1914. 'Constable Balfour wires police buildings Beetoota completely wrecked by terrific storm seventh instant all books saved'.

There were strict procedures for the writing of correspondence. A margin of a third of sheet had to be left and whilst the police became quite familiar with using the various books, it was the General Orders, District Orders and Circular Memoranda which proved the most unwieldy. In replacing them with new regulations, indexing became a

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94. Beetoota station file, A/41185, QSA.

95. Seymour, Circular Memo 116, no date, A/45342, QSA.
problem. There was no method to this although at Roma in the early 1890s Inspector Alexander Douglas-Douglas indexed his station’s orders and memos, taking a copy with him on his transfer to Townsville. With the police very dependent on them a problem arose at newly formed stations which did not have back copies of these orders and memos.

A copying press and press letter books were supplied to stations so that copies could be made of hand written letters. They were originally supplied only to officers, not Sergeants and Constables in charge of stations who had to write their letters in duplicate. The original was made in copying ink and a press copy taken of it. The original could then be posted. The use of the typewriter was beginning to emerge in the 1890s but men mostly used their own. Their use in country stations, however, was not widespread.

Clerical duties included

1. Processing pay and allowances - travelling allowance, night allowance, farriery and saddle repairs, forage expenses, allowance for quarters, rations to native trackers, burial of paupers expenses, examining lunatics (expenses to the Government Medical Officer), rent of premises for Police Stations, medical attendance and medicines, fencing police

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paddocks, stores, repairs and general contingencies, payments to witnesses of Police Courts and administration of Licensing Acts.

2. Forwarding returns - Biennial property return
   Quarterly horse return
   Monthly cases of crime
   Monthly warrant return
   Weekly duty return
   Weekly forage return

3. Daily entries in Diaries of Duties and Occurrences.


Because of the increasing clerical work load for police, it was essential that men be able to perform these duties. Acting Sergeant Coles of Hungerford was reprimanded in 1910, 'you do not show in the horse column in red ink whether rations have been issued or not. This careless way of doing your work must be discontinued'. 97 The sheets were returned to Coles for correction. Yet country police had also to be good mounted men and good bushmen. It was often difficult to combine the two, but a study of police correspondence for the period, shows that their command of English and grammar was good considering the education they had received. There was the occasional spelling error and grammar was not always perfect with 'there' for 'their' and 'done' for 'did', but the formal introduction of 'I beg to report...' and conclusion of 'I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most

97. Sub-Inspector F. O'Conner to Acting Sergeant Coles, 13 July 1910, A/36307, QSA.
obedient servant...'), were always followed by Commissioned officers. The following would be one of the worst examples by the lower ranks, 'Ah Chong and Ah Bun who reported that there was Larrakins at there huts on Sunday afternoon and wants their money'.

Whilst police had numerous clerical duties, there were some civil servants and police who worked specifically at clerical duties at either the Commissioner's, Inspector's or Sub-Inspector's Offices. Chief clerk W. Finucane had a very close relationship with Seymour, with resulting influence and control of the Force, but Parry-Okeden replaced him with Mr. Feenaghty (temporarily) and then R.H. Lawson (permanently). In 1899, there were twenty-one police employed as clerks. Of these, five were at the Depot, one was at Roma Street, three at the Criminal Investigation Branch and the remaining eighteen in country areas. The 1899 Royal Commission saw this number as excessive and it seems this was one recommendation which was followed. By 1907 there were only fourteen police receiving the clerk's allowance, the number increasing to nineteen in 1917 and forty-three in 1921.

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38. Acting Sergeant M. O'Donohue, Ravenswood, 8 January 1900, POL/N8, QSA.
100. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 682.
101. A/44819, QSA.
For the civil servants, wages were commensurate with civil service rates, the Secretary in 1909 receiving £400 per year and civil service clerks £50 to £230 per year. Constables who worked as clerks were paid an allowance of 6d. a day, no allowance being paid if they were Assistant Clerks. Such an allowance ceased if they were promoted to Acting Sergeant or resumed ordinary duties. Following complaints of pecuniary disadvantage at such a low allowance, the argument being that competent men left in charge of stations where allowances such as for the Clerk of Petty Sessions were more, the allowance was increased to 1/- per day in 1912, but only for men who had completed ten years service.

Since there was a danger of men spending too long as clerks, Cahill suggested that police spend no longer than five years in such positions. While there was, however, an increasing need for clerical staff, Cahill opposed the use of civil servants for various reasons — the confidential nature of police matters, the 'dual' control which would result from both Public Service and Police Regulations, and the

102. ibid.

103. General Order 892, 22 May 1897, A/5067, p. 197, QSA.

104. Circular Memo 723, 7 June 1912, A/44819, QSA.

105. Re transfer of Acting Sergeant Lonergan from Maryborough to Brisbane, 11 November 1906, A/44819, QSA.
unavailability of such staff for special or urgent police duties.\textsuperscript{108} Inspector Short also pointed out that hours would have to be regulated from the situation where police clerks worked 8.30 am to 11 pm in two shifts, Sundays and holidays included.\textsuperscript{107} These were times when civilian clerks could not work. With public holidays and Sundays often the busiest days for clerical work, Cahill envisaged confusion and disorganisation which would be quite destructive of all esprit de corps.\textsuperscript{108} Because Cahill was loath to employ civil servants, the work load for the police increased dramatically and in the absence of any Union the men had to endure these hours. For instance, Constable John Anderson at the Senior Inspector's Office at the Depot worked:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday to Friday</td>
<td>7 am to 5.30 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7 am to 1 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>8 am to 1 pm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

besides which I frequently come back for an hour in the evening on Saturday or Sunday.\textsuperscript{109}

Constable M. Garrahy's duties give some indication of the time consuming nature of the work - issuing and checking requisitions and vouchers for uniforms required by police members, despatching and posting of letters and telegrams, copying of all type written letters and telegrams, forage

\textsuperscript{106}. Cahill Memo, 31 March 1909, A/36349, QSA.
\textsuperscript{107}. Inspector Short to Comm, 4 April 1909, A/44714, QSA.
\textsuperscript{108}. Cahill to Under Secretary, 27 April 1909, A/36349, QSA.
\textsuperscript{109}. Constable to Senior Inspector, 6 March 1913, A/41629, QSA.
requirements and criminal statistics.  

Whilst the duties of the CIB have been discussed, the duties of the other branch of the Force - the Water Police - need to be examined. There were actually two sections within the Brisbane Water Police, the Water Police at Lytton and the Brisbane River Police. In the absence of any written guidelines of duties from the Police Department after it assumed control in 1893, they had only a memo of 1889 from the Port Master to follow.

1. Inspect berthing of vessels at wharves.
2. See that vessels receiving or discharging coals or ballast have tarpaulins properly fixed.
3. See that boats abide by Port Authority regulations.
4. See that steamers especially on excursions are not overloaded.
5. Patrol to prevent smuggling and thieving.

In 1894 the three Water Police, Senior Sergeant Ross and Constables J. Gregg and A. Taylor, dealt with twenty-nine cases. These were mainly thefts by seamen, petty smuggling, infringements of Navigation Laws and also two attempted suicides. Water Police were involved in flood relief during the 1893 flood and attended the steam ferry during the long period a temporary bridge was being built.  

In a typical week - ending 11 January 1896, the Daily Occurrence Sheet for

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110. Constable to Senior Inspector, 7 March 1913, A/41629, QSA.
111. Port Master Memo, 16 November 1889, A/41584, QSA.
112. A/41584, QSA.
Senior Sergeant Ross read,

Sunday - Rowing guard from Bridge to Peter's Slip 9pm to 4 am.
Monday - off duty
Tuesday to Saturday - same as Sunday

From the end of January 1896 he was directed to also patrol from the Victoria Bridge to Toowong on Sunday mornings and afternoons 'to prevent bathing'. They always investigated drownings. In 1897 the bodies of eight persons drowned were recovered from the river. In 1898 there were fourteen drownings. They detained ships until passed by the Health Officer, examined fumigation certificates and after 1907 they acted as rangers to help control the removal of brushwood from the lower reaches of the Brisbane River.

Water Police were also at Thursday Island to monitor the pearling industry there. Three Torres Strait Islanders and one Aborigine were employed as boatmen at Thursday Island from July 1902. It was done on purely economic grounds to save the wage costs of more white police but the experiment was not very successful. The men were unhappy with the wages.

113. Daily Occurrence Sheet, Water Police, Brisbane, January 1896, A/41584, QSA.
114. Sub-Inspector to Senior Sergeant Ross, 29 January 1896, A/41584, QSA.
115. 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 630.
117. A/44725, QSA.
and the rations, and despite improvements in both, the Aborigine stole the police cutter 'Violet' and deserted; and the Islander boatmen were continually being replaced as a result of desertions. Their duties were performed satisfactorily according to the Sub-Inspector\textsuperscript{118} but the rigidity of times, regulations and duties was too much for them.

Police duties did not cease on Sundays. Under the Licensing Act of 1885 (49 Vic. No. 18) the policing of the trading of liquor on Sundays was one of the most frustrating and time consuming tasks for the whole Force. The problems were clearly revealed by the Royal Commission of 1900 set up to inquire into the administration of the liquor laws in Queensland. The Act placed the police in an invidious position. On the one hand they were forced to prosecute publicans but having done so, they lost reliable informants. But police did not seem overtly worried about Sunday drinking so long as it was conducted quietly and outside of church hours.\textsuperscript{119} They were given an extra allowance of 1/- per day for the duty but the zeal with which they performed this varied. With half the public complaining that police did not

\textsuperscript{118} Sub-Inspector G. Brett to Inspector Malone (Cairns), 9 July 1909, A/41708, QSA.

\textsuperscript{119} D. Salecich, The Queensland Police Force 1859-1890 (B.A. Hons Thesis, University of Queensland, 1979), pp. 16-17; Parry-Okeden to Sergeant M. Burke, Taroom, November 1895, A/36344, QSA.
do their duty and the other half complaining they did it too strictly, a 'blind eye' was often turned depending on the district. Under the law it was impossible for the police to be thoroughly effective. Parry-Okeden complained that publicans had become experts at foiling the police:

Paid pickets are employed, signal cords, bells and other signs are used to give warning of the approach of the police.\(^\text{120}\)

The laxity of enforcing these laws was seen at the Queensland border on the coast in 1906. Drinkers did not bother with the two hotels on the New South Wales side but went over to the Queensland side where they could obtain liquor 'at little or no risk'.\(^\text{121}\) As a result, Cahill closed the police station at Tallebudgera and shifted it to Coolangatta in order to police Sunday Trading at the border. But then political interference surfaced. Thomas Plunkett, the local member, wanted it to remain at Tallebudgera only because 'there are between 80 or more male electors and about twice that number of female electors in these districts and not more than 12 at Coolangatta'.\(^\text{122}\) Cahill was unswayed and the station remained at Coolangatta. Indeed Cahill was more successful than Parry-Okeden in resisting political interference and controlling Sunday Trading although Parry-Okeden had to

\(^{120}\) 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 833.

\(^{121}\) NSW 1/C Constable Cradock to Sub-Inspector, Lismore, 8 July 1906, A/41340, QSA.

\(^{122}\) Thomas Plunkett to Cahill, 6 May 1906, A/41340, QSA.
contend with the ruling by Tozer (until 1903)\textsuperscript{123} that police were to police Sunday Trading in uniform.\textsuperscript{124} In his annual report of 1896, Parry-Okeden complained:

though by the use of the police in plain clothes it could soon be put a stop to, it is impossible to effectively cope with it by means of constables in uniform. The number of convictions for this offence during the year, in Brisbane was only fourteen, which, in the face of the statement made above as to the universality of the Sunday trade, illustrates the difficulty the police experience in dealing with it.\textsuperscript{125}

Whilst there seemed to be some improvement in controlling Sunday drinking by 1906, Cahill still expressed concern that work under this heading has been a tiring and laborious undertaking for the Police; and, instead of Sunday being, comparatively speaking, an easy day, it has become the hardest day of the week. \textsuperscript{126}

He also expressed concern that people were taking advantage of policemen away on Sunday trading duty by indulging in 'unseemly behaviour which close supervision would prevent and suppress'.\textsuperscript{127} Furthermore with a strict watch being kept on licensed premises, sly grog selling began in unlicensed houses and open allotments.\textsuperscript{128} Police and customs and excise

\textsuperscript{123} Circular Memo 290, 3 September 1903, POL/A2, QSA.
\textsuperscript{125} 'AR 1896', QYP, 2 (1897), 14.
\textsuperscript{126} 'AR 1906', OPP, 2 (1907), 273.
\textsuperscript{127} 'AR 1908', OPP, 2 (1909), 203.
\textsuperscript{128} Licensing Inspector Sub-Inspector Carroll, 'AR 1910', OPP, 2 (1911-2), 628.
officers from the Inland Revenue Department investigated sly grog sales until 1910 when police took over the task.\textsuperscript{129} The detection of this offence called for thorough investigations, often with the use of special agents.\textsuperscript{130} Police often worked undercover \textsuperscript{131} and because a witness was required to effect an arrest, two policemen was required. Reports were very detailed, serving as protection against any future charges being made against the police. But despite convictions, the profits to be made by those members of the public so inclined were tempting especially in mining areas.\textsuperscript{132}

The Licensing Act of 1885 was found wanting as the Inspector of Brisbane district explained:

owing to the many loopholes and 'exemptions' in the present Licensing Act it is in a degree impossible to prevent liquor traffic on Sundays, and until the Act is amended, material assistance in suppressing Sunday trading will be consistently wanting.\textsuperscript{133}

Furthermore, hotel licences were granted too easily. The Inspector from Cairns complained that the Licensing Benches were composed mostly of business men who granted licenses in spite of all opposition, sometimes over-ruling the chairman

\textsuperscript{129}. 'AR 1910', \textbf{QPP}, 2 (1911-2), 629.

\textsuperscript{130}. Circular Memo 617, 24 August 1910, A/36349, QSA.

\textsuperscript{131}. POL/03, QSA.

\textsuperscript{132}. POL/04, QSA.

\textsuperscript{133}. Inspector to Comm, 'AR 1909', \textbf{QPP}, 2 (1910), 1008.
who was the Police Magistrate.134

Mining areas were synonymous with numerous hotels. The situation at Charters Towers gives a typical scenario:

There are fifty hotels in Charters Towers and the licensees of all of them endeavour to trade on Sundays and during prohibited hours. Fifty prosecutions were initiated - 25 against Licensed Victuallers and 25 against others - 42 convictions were obtained, and fines amounting to £73/8/- inflicted.135

Under the Police Act of 1838 (2 Vic. No.2), hairdressers and tobacconists could not trade on Sundays although butchers, bakers, fishmongers and greengrocers could open certain hours and chemists, soft drink and fruit sellers all day.136 Towards 1910, shopkeepers were trying to circumvent these regulations with fruiterers obtaining a license also to sell tobacco.137 Such commercial activities on a Sunday brought complaints from the churches concerning breaches of the Sunday Observance Act - such as the case of newsboys on the steps of Wharf Street Congregational Church calling out the names of newspapers.138 Concerts on Sundays were permitted only if of a sacred nature. The one at the Theatre Royal on

135. Sub-Inspector Malone (Charters Towers) to Comm, 1906, A/41093, QSA.
136. Circular Memo 411, 6 November 1906, A/36349, QSA.
137. A/44837, QSA.
138. Comm to Sub-Inspector Carroll, 30 June 1914, POL/J38, QSA.
17 January 1904 was attended by Constable P. Moroney who reported that the performance commenced with the singing of 'Sweetest Words' by Miss Eva Wilson, followed by Claude Elliott with 'I Dreamt my Mother was a Queen' — a most appropriate programme.\textsuperscript{139}

The Commissioner expressed concern that shopkeepers were being discovered by police posing as purchasers.\textsuperscript{140} Prosecutions were achieved such as the hairdresser who was convicted at Richmond after being seen shaving a resident on a Sunday.\textsuperscript{141} But this aspect of policing could be fraught with danger. In a case at Mackay in 1906, some shopkeepers tried to provide illicit grog and opium under the guise of a legitimate business. Constable Price was murdered when he went to investigate.\textsuperscript{142}

The control of gambling was always part of the policeman's duties although the Suppression of Gambling Act of 1885 gave the police inadequate powers to deal with it. They were supposed to suppress betting on horses as well as gambling; Cahill was concerned at the increasing incidence of both.

\textsuperscript{139} Constable P. Moroney to Sub-Inspector (Roma Street), 19 January 1904, A/44836, QSA.

\textsuperscript{140} Cahill, 1907, A/44837, QSA.

\textsuperscript{141} Richmond, 22 January 1907, A/44837, QSA.

\textsuperscript{142} Truth, 7 January 1906.
especially 'two-up'. He asserted that more powers were required by the police to suppress or even keep in check this gambling. The Chinese were very fond of gambling, Parry-Okeden advising Inspector Fitzgerald of Townsville in 1897:

Chinese are not 'allowed' in the strict sense of the word to conduct Lotteries and Fan Tan tables but so long as they are confined entirely to Chinese gamblers...they need not be interfered with by the Police.

Political interference in police work was not new and indeed the policing of gambling was no exception. But there were also quite humorous incidents. Inspector Douglas-Douglas explained:

We made arrangements one Saturday night to make a raid, and we seized the chief butler of the Governor - a Chinaman - and locked him up. His Excellency missed his butler the next morning, and it was found that he was locked up for gambling. An order came out then that the police were not to interfere with Chinese gaming houses without first asking permission of the Commissioner of police, and that order had been in force ever since.

The Immigration Restriction Acts of 1901 ensured that a close watch was kept on the Chinese population although their numbers decreased after 1901 as a result of the Act. Along with the Chinese, larrikins in the towns were a group to be controlled. Although the Brisbane pushes were not as well

143. 'AR 1907', QPP, 2 (1908), 927.
144. Parry-Okeden to Inspector Fitzgerald, 1 April 1897, A/36277, QSA.
developed as those in Sydney and Melbourne, they still harassed the public. Congregating on streets such as the corner of Albert and Queen Street and in closer suburbs such as Woolloongabba, it was suggested in parliament that the police could do more to move these 'pushes' on. There were complaints of them obstructing pavements, harassing passers-by, using obscene language, fighting in public, throwing stones and stealing produce. Police patrols increased and complaints investigated often were found to be exaggerated. The larrikins were also a nuisance in some country towns. At Boonah in 1911, for instance, shops were being frequented by 'a mob of larrikins' every Sunday. The Juvenile Smoking Suppression Act of 1905 was an attempt to control such behaviour although it was described as 'grandmotherly legislation' and the provisions of the act were not generally observed.

A new function for police towards the end of the nineteenth century was the control of vehicular traffic. Initially

146. Chairman of Woolloongabba Divisional Board to Colonial Secretary, 14 November 1887, A/41535, QSA.

147. W. Maxwell, QPD, LXXXVII, (1901), 1263.

148. POL/J4-5, QSA.

149. Acting Sergeant E. Conway to Inspector at Depot, 6 February 1911, A/44518, QSA.

150. QPD, XCVI (1905), 1491; Circular Memo 387, 15 March 1917, A/36279, p. 370, QSA.
Brisbane was controlled by the Metropolitan Traffic Board. The Brisbane Traffic Act of 1895 (59 Vic. No. 34) dissolved this board and substituted the Metropolitan Transit Commission which was composed of six Commissioners, one of whom was the Police Commissioner. The inclusion of the Police Commissioner was an attempt to secure greater respect for traffic officers and to enlist more active participation by members of the Police Force. Parry-Okeden expressed concern in his 1898 report that there was scarcely any control over the traffic which was 'drifting along in a manner that is really dangerous'. He advocated that police be solely responsible for traffic rather than the Transit Commissioners who had difficulty maintaining sufficient staff to cope. Divided control was seen as a definite disadvantage when police would initiate proceedings against a person but everything then had to be referred to the comptroller of traffic.

The Brisbane Traffic Act of 1905 (8 Edw. VII. No.18.) dissolved the Commission and gave control of traffic and vehicle registration to the police. For the first time, the preservation of law and order and the regulation of traffic


152. 'AR 1898', QVP, 4 (1899), 895.

153. QPD, XCVI, (1905), 1264.
were seen as activities that went hand in hand. A superintendent and clerk were appointed, and every member of the Police Force while on duty within a five kilometre radius of the General Post Office became effective officers for the control of traffic as against a comptroller and four inspectors under the old regime. Police set about enforcing the traffic laws and gave attention to the overloading of trams and buses and 'driving and riding without the necessary lights'.\textsuperscript{154} Vehicular traffic was increasing and so was the nuisance of bicycles. One of the few regulations for them was to 'ring a bell going around corners or passing a vehicle'.\textsuperscript{155}

The Police Offences Bill was introduced in 1909 to consolidate the law relating to the powers of the Police Force. It contained far-reaching and drastic proposals relating to vagrancy, Sunday observance, the protection of children, the prevention of stock stealing and the suppression of juvenile smoking. Whilst the Bill did not proceed, it gave an indication of the thinking at the time. If passed, it would have allowed such diverse actions as destroying goats straying in public places, fining musicians who would not move on, fining a person for wilfully leaving

\textsuperscript{154} 'AR 1907', \textit{QPP}, 2 (1908), 927.

\textsuperscript{155} Sub-Inspector Nethercote, '1899 Royal Commission', \textit{QVP}, 4 (1899), 432.
open a gate on stock properties and fining those who sold newspapers on Sundays. Whilst the Bill would have given the police far-reaching powers, there would have been inevitable clashes between police and the public. The two were mutually dependent on each other and to upset this balance would have made the duties of the Force even more difficult. It was cynical of the government to suggest that increased penalties would be a better substitute for policemen on the beat. The police presence in the community maintaining the status quo was most important.

Police duties were many and varied. Not only were police required to bring criminals to punishment and mediate in disputes, they were also required to carry out patrols in designated areas and attend to clerical duties. Specific duties varied with the branch of the Force with the mounted men in the country performing the greatest variety. The Government and community demanded much of their police and yet their duties continued to increase.

156. Brisbane Courier, 9 November 1909, p. 17.
Chapter 6

EXTRANEOUS DUTIES

If you have the wisdom of Solomon, the patience of Job, the leadership of Moses, the kindness of the Samaritan, the strategy of Alexander, the faith of David, the diplomacy of Abraham Lincoln, the tolerance of Confucius, and a complete knowledge of criminal law and procedure—you are a police officer.¹

The demands of police duties put Queensland police into this category and yet it was impossible for anyone to be all of these. Central to these inordinate demands was the extensive imposition of extraneous duties which the men had to perform as well as regular police duties. Whilst the latter theoretically were to take precedence, often the opposite was the reality. Police had to be experts in so many areas, from inspecting infants in nursing homes to collecting and accounting for monies for a vast range of licenses and taxes. And yet they were also required to have the compassion and social conscience to deal with welfare problems.

Ex-Commissioner Seymour made an interesting observation at the 1899 Royal Commission:

A good man will attend to his policework and do the other in the best way he can but a loafer will make use of these outside appointments as a means of avoiding his police duties.²

¹. 'Perfect Policeman', 1937, Police Cutting Book, Police Museum.

Whilst this may be valid for Seymour's period when the police had relatively few extraneous duties, it was certainly not so after 1895. Annual reports for decades after this complained about the excessive number of extraneous duties which police were expected to perform. As Cahill explained,

such a policeman ceases, in fact, to be simply a policeman, and becomes a sort of general official factotum, whose police work has to wait its turn amid a round of multifarious functions claiming his time and attention.

The Constables and Sergeants performed these extraneous duties but the complaints by the Commissioner about the increased workload had no effect - the Government, in particular the Home Secretary, had absolute control of this aspect. Police had to collect statistical returns for other Departments - agricultural, census and electoral and also act as Inspectors for these Departments - of slaughter houses, protected animals, hotels, crown lands and nursing homes. Other tasks included inquiries which had to be made as to the bona fides of applicants for Government relief, for Inspector of Orphanages as to children being sent out and for recovery of maintenance money, for the Curator in Intestacy as to

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4. AR 1903, OPP, (1904), 807.
estates, for the Department of Justice in reference to divorce suits and for the Comptroller General of Prisons for property left behind by prisoners.

Yet despite complaints from parliament, the number of extraneous duties continued to grow - twenty in 1901, twenty-six in 1902, forty-three in 1904, forty-one in 1906, forty-five in 1908 and fifty-one in 1910. A two-fold risk was run as Haydon explains;

that of rendering the work so complex that men of average talent and education will be unable to perform it thoroughly, and that of undermining the popularity of the force by exhibiting its members before the eyes of the people as universally interfering and censorious.

The extent of such duties is exemplified by the Acting Sergeant at Burketown who in 1906 had fourteen extra duties

Acting Land Commissioner
Acting Land Agent
District Registrar Births Deaths and Marriages
Acting Clerk of Petty Sessions
Inspector of Stamps
Registrar of the Small Debts Court
Acting Warden
Acting Mining Registrar
Inspector of Slaughter Houses
State Electoral Registrar
Clerk of the Commonwealth Court
Receiver of Income Tax
School Attendance Officer
Crown Lands Ranger


5. QPD, CIV (1909), 641-2.
In 1910 this number for Acting Sergeant James Murphy had risen to twenty-six, the highest of anywhere in the state.8 The sub-officer at Ayr in 1907 had nineteen9 and the Constable at Winton in 1908, twenty.10 Out of the 250 police stations in 1897, 100 of them had police who had extraneous duties.11 Types of duties varied with the area. For example, at Irvinebank in 1907, police handled Mines Department applications for claims which numbered 106 and Miners rights, 464.12 At Texas Acting Sergeant Thompson was Custom's Officer at Greenup's tobacco factory as well as having three of the more common extraneous duties—Acting Clerk of Petty Sessions, Assistant District Registrar and Land Commissioner and Agent.13 At Ebagoolah, because of its isolation, the local police officer was also in charge of the post and telegraph.14

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8. A/44893, QSA.
10. Sub-Inspector (Hughenden) to Comm, 'AR 1908', QPP, 2 (1909), 211.
11. QPD, 2 (1909), 211.
12. 1/C Constable J. Kenny to Inspector, (Cairns), 14 January 1907, A/38069, QSA.
14. Comm to Under Secretary, 4 April 1907, A/44741, QSA.
The work load increased dramatically after Federation because the Police Department was the only one with officers distributed throughout the state. By 1915, there were eighteen tasks which were done for the Commonwealth, ranging from supervising exams for the Postal Department to reporting on applications for naturalisations. In particular the duties in connection with the detection of breaches of the licensing and liquor laws, which had previously been discharged by the Excise Department, were in August 1901 placed under control of the Police Department. The Excise Department disclaimed any further responsibility on the grounds that it was now a state matter. Fortunately for the police the next year it was handed over to the Treasury.

Whilst the appointment of civil servants in a few places in 1906 was a relief, the remarks of one Inspector summed up the situation;

in the case of small outside stations, where, say two men are stationed, extraneous work takes up the whole of one man's time; and where there is only one man, he has little time to carry out that patrol work so necessary for the efficient discharge of Police duties.

It was usually the senior man who undertook these while normal police duties were left to the junior man. As well as Federation, the expansion of the dairying industry and the

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15. A/44741, QSA.
16. 'AR 1901', OPP, 1 (1902), 1023.
17. 'AR 1902', OPP, 2 (1903), 377.
greater demand for land compounded the work.19 As one Inspector complained, 'the collecting of statistical returns in this District occupies the whole time of thirty men for two months each year'.20 There were numerous examples of men being unable to do their patrols and police duties because of the extraneous duty workload. It was difficult to put police work first when electoral rolls had to be checked and statistics collected by a certain date. Typical was the case of the policeman at Torrens Creek where other police had to be sent there to serve summonses. Inspector Alexander Douglas-Douglas explained:

He is acting clerk of petty sessions; registrar of births, deaths and marriages; and, by virtue of his appointment as a policeman, he is acting Crown land ranger, and the only one in the place. There is a boiling-down establishment within a mile and a-half of the place, with 150 men at work there, and a fellmongery with 150 men, so he cannot get away from the place to do patrol duty.21

The extent of monies being handled by the police was shown by the Sergeant at Springsure who handled £4000 for land matters in 1908.22 But of the many extraneous duties the collecting of statistical returns and the revision of the Commonwealth and State electoral rolls were the most arduous. Because interviews had to be done personally to collect the

19. 'AR 1906', QPP, 2 (1907), 276.
information, police often travelled many miles only to find the people not home. 1/C Constable J. Joyce at the one-man station at Wallumbilla in 1904 spent twenty days in September and October canvassing for the federal roll. He then spent another thirteen days in January 1905 collecting statistics—all between other police duties.\textsuperscript{23} The allowances of 2/- per day for foot men and 1/- per day for mounted men to collect such statistics for the Commonwealth acted as an incentive.\textsuperscript{24} The case of Acting Sergeant Walsh in 1901 was more one of pure dedication to duty. His task was to take the poll at Bedourie for the Federal Elections. For this he travelled from Brisbane to Charleville by train, then by Cobb and Co. coach to The Cliffs, east of Windorah. He borrowed a horse from a local grazier and rode to Windorah, swimming the flooded Cooper's Creek before arriving in the town. The caption in the Queensland Police Museum continues:

After a few hours rest, Walsh left Windorah for Currawilla—arriving a day or so later. On his way to Monkira the next day he spent five hours swimming the flooded Diamantina River which was 10 kilometres wide. Another day on, he reached Cluny. That night he began to cross the flooded King Creek, which was then 13 kilometers wide. Early in the morning he camped on an island amid flood waste. In the morning, Walsh took off his clothes—save his hat, and after tying his possessions to his saddle, he carefully wrapped the electoral papers in an oilcloth and fastened the bundle to the back of his neck. As he was swimming the King, his horse went under and was swept away. While the animal was struggling in the water, Walsh's bundle of clothes were lost. He later recovered his mount and after 12 hours in the water, reached the

\textsuperscript{23} A/36346, QSA.

\textsuperscript{24} Circular Memo 405, 13 October 1906, A/36349, QSA.
outskirts of Bedourie. All he was wearing was his hat and boots. He was at wits end as to how he could reach the Police Station in the centre of town. After some thought, he fashioned a loincloth with the oilcloth and marched proudly up the street to the Police Station. He held the poll the following day and then set out for Brisbane. On his return trip to Windorah, a distance of 433 kilometres, Walsh set a record which could still hold good today. He rode the distance in 58 hours. (41 hours were spent in the saddle.) Of course he used a relay of horses borrowed form local graziers.25

Collecting tobacco, sugar and agricultural statistics for other government departments was nearly as time consuming. In relation to sugar, police were to ensure that only white grown cane was receiving the rebate under the Excise Act of 1901 and the Excise Tariff 1902. Parry-Okeden claimed as a result that police were practically acting as Inspectors of the cultivation of cane.26 The appointment in 1904 of officers of Customs and Excise to monitor the Act eased the situation but police continued to collect other statistics for sugar.

Police acting as Clerks of Petty Sessions was one of the most common extraneous duties in places where there were no Court House Officials. Although an allowance of £15 per year was paid, each Commissioner was critical of the work load it entailed. The example of Sergeant Arrell at Gatton is relevant since he was the policeman criticised at the Gatton


26. Parry-Okeden to Under Secretary, 19 November 1902, POL/J11, QSA.
murder scene for inattention to duty. Parry-Okeden commented;

he was a smart man when doing police duty only. I promoted
him to the rank of sergeant. He went there, and after a
short time was appointed clerk of petty sessions, and he
became simply a clerk of petty sessions. He did not go
about, and knew nothing of his district. I found that even
the Police Gazettes sent to him were unopened.27

Extraneous duties were not confined to Queensland police.
Commissioners from other states also complained of the extra
workload. Police in West Australia, for instance, travelled
up to 65000 kilometres in the 1896-7 financial year because
of the collection and distribution of industrial and
statistical papers. So whilst the extent of duties and
extraneous duties were similar in all states, it was the
monetary factors of pay and allowances which mattered and
Queensland police had the lowest in this respect.28

The Infant Life Protection Act of 1905 went into force on 1
January 1906, later than in the other states. It was to
prevent the alarming sacrifice of infant life due to neglect
in nursing homes. All such homes had to be registered and
made subject to government inspection every three months by
police although Cahill complained that 'periodical inspection
of nursing homes by medical men is absolutely essential'.29

27. Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4
(1899), 261.

28. S. Wilson, 'Police work: the role of the police in
the Kalgoorlie community, 1897-1898', Journal of Australian
Studies, 11 (1982), 11.

29. 'AR 1906', QPP, 2 (1907), 273.
There were two inspectresses to help by 1908 but no medical officers. The point of bitter dispute was not the provisions of the Act but the way it was administered. At the cost of efficiency, the Government placed the control in the hands of the police rather than establish a network of medical officers even though a similar system had proved far from effective in other states. One fact favouring police administration was that policemen inspired more fear than medical officers could. But really the cost cutting factor was the major reason, such police supervision continuing until 1918. Although infant mortality began a steady decline after 1905 as shown in Table 44, this was due far less to the Infant Life Protection Act but more to the enforcement of cleaner dairy conditions, and the establishment of voluntary institutes which supplied pure milk.

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**TABLE 44: Percentages of deaths among infants in Nursing Homes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>14.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>7.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Extraneous duties also extended to the Education Department.

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From 1902, under the State Education Act of 1875 and the Amending Act of 1900, police acted as School Attendance Officers. They were expected to check on children who were absent from school, serving notices on parents and looking out for truant children.\textsuperscript{32} Cahill reported in 1906 for instance;

from January to December the Police delivered 961 notifications to parents of children whose attendance had been indifferent during the quarters March and September, and 266 urgent notifications were served on parents whose children were not likely to make up the statutory sixty days for the half-years June and December, and oral warnings were given to a large number of parents.\textsuperscript{33}

The Slaughtering Act of 1898 applied to the whole of the state which gave the police more powers and more work as Inspectors of Slaughter Houses.\textsuperscript{34} Not until 1908 were Stock Inspectors appointed to help the police in this task.\textsuperscript{35} Furthermore, as Inspectors of Brands, police inspected brands on stock to make sure they corresponded with their way bills. In a typical case in 1911, drover William Lynch was fined for having an incorrect way bill. He was in the process of taking some herds of dairy cattle owned by James Emerson of Lismore to the Atherton Tableland to form the foundation herds there.\textsuperscript{36}

Police also were required to apprehend deserters from the

\textsuperscript{32} QGG, 19 July 1902, A/36338, QSA.

\textsuperscript{33} 'AR 1906', OPP, 2 (1907), 276.

\textsuperscript{34} A/36277, QSA.

\textsuperscript{35} Circular Memo 524, 23 December 1908, A/36349, QSA.

\textsuperscript{36} A/44702, QSA.
Queensland Permanent Defence Force under The Defence Act of 1884. With other duties such as scrutinizing jury lists, checking on licenses of hawkers, and arresting naval deserters, police became very familiar with movements of people in the community.

The protection of Queensland’s fauna was of concern from 1877 when the first legislation was passed. The Game and Fishes Acclimatisation Act of 1898 (62 Vic. No. 17) provided for the introduction, acclimatisation and preservation of birds and animals deemed to be of economic value to the state. Further legislation in 1906, the Native Animals Protection Act (8 Edw. VII No. 5), and in 1910 the Native Animals Protection Act Amendment Act (1 Geo. V No. 17), partly protected koalas and possums. It was up to the police to enforce these laws although Cahill instructed, that ‘police duties at all times have precedence.’ There was a closed season for the shooting of birds but with an abundance of bushland around Brisbane there were complaints that this was not followed especially on Sundays, in contravention of the Sunday

37. General Order 698, 21 April 1889, A/36338, QSA.
38. Circular Memo 280, 16 March 1903, A.36277, QSA.
40. Circular Memo 702, 24 November 1911, A/36350, QSA.
41. Circular Memo 492, 25 February 1908, A/36277, p. 401, QSA.
Observance Act of 1841. 42 'Out on St Lucia estate... all day on Sunday guns are going off'. 43 Furthermore, 'a gang of youths shooting with pea-rifles along Kedron Brook' was a problem. 44 Under the Firearms Act of 1905 which made it unlawful to sell or supply firearms to any person under fourteen years, 45 police were always alerted to such instances. Investigations and reports had to be made and increased patrols made in the area.

People in need also turned to the police for help. In the absence of a Social Security Department, they handled indigence allowances, aged pensions, railway passes, health problems, and family disturbances. Illegitimate children were reported by the police. From 1896 the burial of paupers was arranged and paid for by the Police Department 'if patient dies within five days of admission to hospital'. 46 After 1905 police had authority to hold post mortem examinations. 47 During the plague scare of 1900, fumigating rooms were built by police carpenters at the Depot, Roma Street Station, North

42. Circular Memo 912, 8 September 1915, A/36350, QSA.
43. J. Brown to Comm, 1 September 1897, A/44796, QSA.
44. J. Quigley to Comm, 11 November 1902, A/44796, QSA.
45. A/45393, QSA.
46. Parry-Okeden to Inspectors, 31 August 1904, A/36277, QSA.
47. General Order 740, 7 September 1905, A/36277, QSA.
and South Brisbane lock-ups and at prisons.48

Extraneous duties were also performed by the Water Police. James Wassel was not only an Inspector in the Water Police but was also Tide Surveyor, Assistant Health Officer, Customs Officer and Superintendent on the hulk 'Prosperine' after it became a reformatory for boys. 49 The police involvement in the reformatory was such that even after its move to Lytton in 1881 and before the move to Westbrook in the late 1890s Cowswain John Wassel was said to be 'employed more in looking after the boys at the Reformatory than Water Police work'.50 So involved did Water Police Constable John Gregg become that he resigned from the Police Force in 1899 and became senior warder at the Diamantina reformatory school for boys.51

The CIB did not have extraneous duties although detectives performed both beat and mounted duty depending on where they served. Whilst they were under pressure in the surveillance of people wanted for crimes, they did not have the variety of duties and the time constraints which general duties and extraneous duties of the General Force demanded. Even their

48. 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1910), 1038.

49. Personnel file, J.W. Wassel, A/40345, QSA.

50. Government Medical Officer to Commissioner, 30 November 1900, Personnel file, John Wassel, A/40344, QSA.

51. Personnel file, J. Gregg, A/38809, QSA.
fatigue duties were limited.

It is timely to provide an example of a Constable in the Force during the 1895-1910 period. A mounted man in a country station Constable Stephen O'Brien has been chosen because of the wide variety in his duties and the fact that three important primary sources remain - his personnel file, 52 a letterbook he wrote while at Mundingburra, Townsville during 1906-7, 53 and Daily Occurrence Books for Mundingburra Station during the 1895-1910 period.54 Sworn in on 4 April 1893, he spent seven weeks at the Depot before being sent briefly to Townsville (nine months), Bowen (three months) and Hughenden (six months). In January 1895 he was back at Townsville and in June 1900 he was posted to Mundingburra now a suburb of Townsville but in those days being five kilometres north-west from Townsville proper, it was considered more remote. It was actually a turning point west for the inland route to Charters Towers, Hughenden, Richmond and Cloncurry. He remained at Mundingburra until 1908 but served most of the remainder of his thirty-seven years in the Force in North Queensland - at Irvinebank, Halifax, Charters Towers, Cloncurry, Charleville, and Toowoomba before

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52. Personnel file, Stephen O'Brien, A/40876, QSA.

53. Letterbook, Mundingburra Station, 1906-7, Queensland Police Museum.

returning again to Townsville as an Inspector in 1925. Every available mounted man was rushed westward during the Shearers' Strikes, O'Brien being involved in the strike of 1894. In 1898 he married Catherine Wallace - 'a respectable young woman. Her parents are also respectable'. He was then able to receive the one shilling per day allowance as a married man because he no longer lived at the barracks. Whilst the records do not directly indicate where he lived, because he was the only policeman at the station he would have lived in the married quarters which formed part of the station building. During the period of his career his extraneous duties included Receiver of Income Tax (RIT), Inspector of Stamps (IS), Acting Clerk of Petty Sessions (ACPS), Acting Deputy Registrar of Births and Deaths (ADR), District Receiver of Insolvency (DRI) and Protector of Aborigines (PA).

He was considered by his Inspector five years after being sworn in to be a 'first class mounted man. Good bushman and thoroughly reliable plucky man - but illiterate'. The fact that he was considered illiterate was not typical of most Constables at the time but the fact that he was a good bushman was. A study of reports he wrote show that whilst his

55. Acting Sergeant James McLean to Sub-Inspector, (Roma Street), 31 July 1898, A/40876, QSA.

56. Defaulter's Sheet, Inspector, (Townsville), 1898, A/40876, QSA.
English may have been limited at first and indeed his results in the exams of maths and dictation for his promotion from Constable to 1/C Constable in 1903 were still very poor, he soon mastered this problem gaining promotion and rising through the ranks to become an Inspector. His expertise lay in catching cattle and horse thieves for which he often received monetary rewards from station owners, the monies having to be first paid into the Police Reward Fund. With the crime so widespread throughout the state, his ability in this was highly regarded - formal education played but a small part. Often the mounted patrols he undertook required plain clothes and a secret departure after dark, exchanging his horse for a private one before reaching his ambush. For daytime mounted patrols he carried only handcuffs but at night he added a revolver.

Being a mounted man, the Daily Occurrence Books show that O'Brien was often on mounted patrol - to Cluden and Ingham Races, Ross River Meatworks and further if looking for cattle thieves. With this came the hazards of such travel. In 1905 the police horse he was riding during Mounted Duty in Flinders Street shied because of a passing vehicle and threw him against a verandah post and kerb stone. He was knocked unconscious and was on sick leave for twenty-nine days.

Mundingburra Station was enroute to the meatworks at Ross
River where labour was seasonal. There was poverty in the area with the poorest living in makeshift shacks and tents on the reserve near the Ross. Mainly in the off season O'Brien assessed the need for people to receive ration and indigence allowances. Whilst he was a man of compassion he was also realistic to people's needs. Thus a letterbook entry of 8 February 1906 relates how he interviewed Mrs. Sowards re a ration allowance for herself and her four children. Her husband was away and had sent no money. He recommended that rations be given. Not so for Mrs Kearney and her six children four days later; 'she drinks heavily...has money obviously for drink'. Such an emergency allowance was given in the form of food, distinct from the indigence allowance which was given in cash. It was also for people in need but for a longer term. He generally kept a concerned presence in the community and applied a basic common sense approach in his assessments. A woman applied to use her premises as a nursing home - a house of two rooms 'built of galvanised iron the walls about 7 feet high with a low roof and clay floor'. His summation was that 'this house is not fit for a nursing home, it is hardly fit for any person to live in during Summer months'.

He earned respect not only through his expertise in cattle stealing - 'his evidence highly respected by judges,
magistrates and juries' - but also through brave acts such as the time he saved a girl from a burning house. The girl's father praised O'Brien, adding that 'too often such services by the Police are allowed to pass unrecognised by the Public'.

Mr. Prowse, a local resident, also wrote thanking him for his 'unselfish spirit' and 'courageous action' in stopping his bolting horse. Thus his work extended to all sections of the community - criminals, the poor, those of unsound mind (he had to help assess whether they should go to Dunwich), illegitimate children (he had to report the circumstances) and the Chinese. With the high proportion of Chinese in the area, it was O'Brien who gave them character references in order that they could visit China. There were nine such requests from Chinese in October 1906. He was also involved in locating people for the Commissioner of Taxation.

Using specific examples from the 34 Letterbook entries for February-March 1907 in conjunction with the Daily Occurrence book for the same period, a mental picture can be established of his varied duties. On 1 February he wrote saying he had been out looking for a Tracker for Mackay. 'There are no boys in or about T'ville that are any good as trackers'. Three

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57. Inspector Galbraith, Townsville, 7 March 1908, A/40876, QSA.

58. M. Rheuben to Senior Inspector, (Townsville), 7 July 1901, A/40876, QSA.

59. J. Prowse to Inspector, (Townsville), 13 November 1900, A/40876, QSA.
days later he reported on the illegitimate child of Agnus Winton; mother is 19, father is contributing support to the child, mother is living with her parents. He collected returns for other Departments from 4-6 February. February 8 and 12 he interviewed Mrs Sowards and Mrs Kearney (already mentioned). Also on 12 February he set shoes on the police horse Searl. He carried out the Commonwealth task of checking the correct christian name of Michael James Casey on 22 February. What may have seemed a small task might well have taken considerable time, especially if the man had to be found. Then of course there were the various reports that had to be written. One long letter of 26 February concerned a complaint made by one resident against another. Such domestic situations always seemed to involve the police. This letter was written at the end of a long day - 8.30am to 6 pm - on duty at the Supreme Court. He was at the Court for the same period the next day. At the end of the month he gave the station report. In summary this explained:

Crime - 8 cases of stealing; (3 from dwelling; 5 of horse and cattle stealing)
Duty - Performs mounted duty principally; foot duty 8pm to 11 pm; enquiries; general duties.
Bicycle - nil
Missing property - thirteen horses recovered and handed to owners; four other horses recovered and sold, no owners could be found.
Sunday trading - Strict watch kept on hotels, person seen entering hotels, followed. No breaches of Licensing act observed.
Infant Life Protection Act - No nursing homes in Mundingburra. 2 cases in the year; one to nursing home; one kept by mother.
Work performed for other departments - Indigenous Allowance Applications; Government relief; Income Tax
Commissioner; Immigration Restriction Act re permit for Chinese to visit China

It was the work for other Departments, for which no allowance was paid, that caused him concern. 'There are a great deal of the above mentioned enquiries to be made at this station and regular Police Duty is neglected'. March 4 saw him checking at the school in his role as truant officer. 'Mrs McConachie states that her two boys are not playing truant. They have been bad with boils'. In a different role, under The Licensing Act he checked on 7 March the Aitkenvale Arms Hotel to make sure that Bertha Wills was a fit person to take charge of the hotel in her mother's absence. The extent of clerical duties was obviously bothering him when he complained in a letter on the same day that there was no letter press at the Station, all letters having to be copied by hand. Letter writing was mostly done at night because of the patrols and fatigue duties during the day. For instance he had the job on 9 March of recovering the body of a Chinese from a lagoon. He had to dive for the body and use the Police Department's grappling irons but they were useless 'owing to the very weedy state of the Lagoon'. Policing took on a different perspective for the next couple of days when he was out looking for an offender who had absconded from bail. The way bill for thirty-four head of cattle which passed through was checked the next week and everything was found in order. That week also he had to assess two families for indigence
allowance - both deserving cases. March 25 he rode to the Argentine Hotel and Range Hotel to check both under Section 26 of the Licensing Act. Both were found to be clean and containing the accommodation required. Whilst during this particular period he was not involved on major patrols such as looking for cattle thieves, his personnel file refers elsewhere to many times when this was being done. Indeed he often worked with the Department’s other cattle expert, Rody Byrne.

Before leaving on transfer to Irvinebank in 1908, permission was given by Cahill for the residents of Mundingburra to hold a farewell function for him at which they showed their appreciation by presenting him with a ‘purse of sovereigns’. Such farewells were quite common for all police. Again at Irvinebank in 1910, before his transfer to Halifax, he was host at a smoke concert. Cahill approved the farewell ‘provided it is not held in a public house or the subject of a public demonstration’.80 His later years were marked by more of the same honest solid service and he was awarded the Imperial Service Medal for his lengthy service when he retired on pension on 14 July 1930. He died on 1 March 1933 and in accordance with the Police Acts Amendment Act of 1924 his wife received a pension of £60 per year less 15% under the Financial Emergency Act of 1931.

80. Cahill, 17 January 1910, A/40876, QSA.
Unless Stephen O'Brien's working life had been highlighted here, documented details of his duties and deeds would have gone unnoticed. And yet there were many Stephen O'Briens in the Queensland Police Force who were steady upright citizens—proud of their work, proud of their Force and honest in their endeavours. Certainly there were the lazy men, the less than honest, the slower ones because of age and those who took to drink. But a Police Force by its nature is a reflection of society itself. The Queensland Force was no different.
Chapter 7

EQUIPMENT

The work and efficiency of the police was crucially affected by the equipment supplied by the Government. With the Queensland police 1895-1910 essentially a mounted force, considerable attention will be given to the subject of horses. Bicycles were used for police work from 1896. Uniforms were important - for appearance, morale, respect and comfort. The arming of the Force was another serious aspect but one which was plagued with complaints. Highlighted will be the technological advances of photography and fingerprinting. The police band was formed and disbanded during this period and an attempt made to establish the Police Benefit and Recreation Fund. Such areas all helped to influence the Force in varying ways.

Of the 949 policemen and Trackers in the force in 1899, 700 were mounted. Many of the duties involved transport by horse whether it be patrolling in the bush, escorting prisoners or collecting statistics for other government departments. Camels were used in the Birdsville district from 1886 when six were purchased from Adelaide, having previously come from India. But they arrived in a poor state having contracted disease in Australia and although recommendations were made that camels were actually superior to horses, their use was
not continued. By 1895 horses were again the main means of transport even in that area.¹

Parry-Okeden found police horses to be in an unsatisfactory state when he assumed office and immediately set about purchasing one hundred and casting forty-two. By the end of 1896 there were 1100 police horses, each branded with a broad-arrow over a QG on the near shoulder. He classed two-thirds as good while the remainder he ranked as fairly effective to bad.²

**TABLE 45:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horses bought and sold 1893-1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horses sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 886.


Inspectors were fortunate to have both a buggy and a Constable who acted as an orderly to care for their horses and attend to the garden at the their police residence. After 1916, however, orderlies were only allowed on ceremonial occasions. The lower ranks were strictly accountable for the care of their horses as exemplified by a policeman at Roma in the 1800s:

I unsaddled my horses, and having a pack-horse (on which I carried all my worldly goods) that had a tender back, I asked the storekeeper for a pannikin of brine out of the beef cask. After cleaning and drying my horses, I bathed the pack-horse's back with the brine, and then put them through the slip-rails into the horse paddock... I had ridden seventy miles that day.

Disease was a problem with the horses especially when it could not be controlled as occurred in the late 1880s in the south west corner of the state. Even in 1906 this disease, called the Birdsville Horse Disease, was still prevalent. The 1876 Regulations paid extensive attention to horses, giving instructions, for instance, on the way to shoe a horse and the daily ration for sick horses - fourteen pounds of hay; twelve pounds of bran and four pounds of straw. As to the feed for horses, forage was supplied by the

4. ibid., p. 279.
6. Acting Sergeant W.A. Fadden to Sub-Inspector J. Quilter, 30 June 1906, POL/G4, p.76, QSA.
7. 1876 Regulations, pp. 122-3.
Department and used when local feed was scarce. Police were expected to cut bush hay for the horses when it was available. 8 Wheat was even sown for green feed in the police paddock at Wallumbilla in April 1905. 9 In the city at the Police Stables at Petrie Terrace, fodder was purchased locally when it was cheap and stored, the cost of feed per horse running at 9/2 per week. 10 Forage was an expensive item as the table shows, so that the bicycle was welcomed as a means of saving such costs.

TABLE 46: Cost of Forage, 1893-1898

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-4</td>
<td>6881</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-5</td>
<td>6028</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-6</td>
<td>8429</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-7</td>
<td>7623</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-8</td>
<td>6535</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 887

Detailed records of forage received through government contracts were kept at the stations with monthly details of quantities received, issued and on hand. According to the 1876 Regulations the regulation scale of a ration of forage was fourteen pounds of oaten hay, eight pounds of maize or oats and one pound of bran. 11

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8. Circular Memo 21B, 14 August 1896, A/36276, QSA.
11. 1876 Regulations, p. 108.
The equipment for the mounted men was understandably more extensive than for footmen. Thus, where the latter received rifle, sword bayonet and sheath, pouch belt, waist belt and frog, number and letter, Manual of Police Regulations, extracts from Acts of Parliament, baton, handcuffs and duty badge, the mounted police received:

- Saddle
- Saddle cloth
- Crupper
- Stirrup leathers
- Stirrup irons
- Carbine buckle and straps
- Surcingle
- Three cloak straps
- Three valise straps
- One carbine stay strap
- Valise
- Valise pad
- Breast plate
- Girth
- Bit
- Curb
- Regulation head collar
- Halter
- Japanned iron monger log, chain
- Carbine, rifled
- Sword
- Sword belt and slings
- Pouch belt
- Revolver
- Baton
- Handcuffs
- Number and letter
- Bridoon

Source: 1876 Regulations, p. 4.

Police saddles were made at St Helena although Parry-Okeden complained at the 1899 Royal Commission that they were illfitting and badly made.12 Two kinds were used—a hogskin saddle for the town and a rough saddle for bush purposes. The men complained of the height of the pommel which was very rough on riding pants and Seymour went so far as to say that ‘they never made a decent saddle in St. Helena

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12 Parry-Okeden, ‘1899 Royal Commission’, QVP, 4 (1899), 293.
Instead of lasting five years they were being replaced every year. Indeed some men even bought their own saddles. The repair of saddlery fell to the police unless there was a qualified saddler in the town. The Department supplied the tools if police could do the work themselves although they were not paid for it and it was often quite time consuming. For example, Constable Anderson at Birdsville in 1899 is listed in the Daily Occurrence Book as on Fatigue Duty repairing saddlery from February 13 to 18. Until 1896 police received an allowance for the shoeing of horses but this was often abused; horses were often being reshod once a month even in grassy country.

Police paddocks for the grazing of police horses varied in size from 640 to 1000 acres, depending on the District. Because fencing could be costly, the paddocks were often left unfenced. The horses were usually hobbled at night, rounded up in the morning and allowed to run foot loose during the day. In some cases the Department preferred to rent a fenced paddock from a local grazier. Such was the case at Cloncurry in 1896 when the Department paid Mr. Willmer £52 a year for

15. Circular Memo 215, 29 May 1896, A/36276, QSA.
this purpose. Cost was always a factor, and in the case of the police paddock at Birdsville in 1899 the rabbit fence was taken into consideration as a possible boundary. Stolen cattle and horses also needed to be kept in these areas until court cases settled disputes as to ownership. The numbers in the paddock could vary and with the threat of dry weather, the police had to keep an eye on their animals. Unfenced paddocks were an obvious nuisance to patrol; very often the Daily Occurrence Books showed the Tracker's duties as 'looking for lost police horses'.

The breeding of police horses at Woodford did not begin until the early 1900s. It coincided with the agistment of police horses there during the drought, the Goodna Asylum cattle also being cared for on the Woodford reserve. Meanwhile horses continued to be purchased, each Inspector selecting horses (usually five to seven years of age) for his district, although sometimes they were sent from Brisbane. Parry-Okeden was a horse expert and often purchased horses on his travels and had them sent to Brisbane. He explained at the 1899 Royal Commission that:

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17. Birdsville station file, 29 September 1899, 24S, Queensland Police Department.
18. 'AR 1902', QPP, 2 (1903), 379.
We have got large paddocks thirty miles from here, where we have yards and every convenience for breaking. We have had a lot broken and sent out to districts where they were wanted. You get better horses in that way.\(^\text{19}\)

The drought of 1898-1902 naturally affected the horses to the extent that at Birdsville they were not even strong enough to pull a dray of firewood.\(^\text{20}\) There was difficulty in purchasing remounts after the drought with stock numbers down and prices high. This was compounded by the purchase of remounts by Indian, Japanese, Dutch and American army agents. Cahill requested a more liberal vote in this regard.\(^\text{21}\) He was successful so that by 1908 horse numbers were 1111.\(^\text{22}\)

In some district offices and at headquarters in Brisbane was kept the 'big Stud Book'. It contained every horse purchased in the district, with a description of the horse in full, from whom it was purchased, where and the cost. The names of the horses were kept alphabetically and if a horse was transferred, it was marked off in the book. In other stations, the ordinary stud book contained the name of the horse, the station and if transferred, its destination. The big Stud Book was most useful in the case of horses cast and

\(^{19}\) Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 289.

\(^{20}\) Acting Sergeant P. Walsh to Inspector, 31 October 1899, Birdsville, POL 9A/G3, QSA.

\(^{21}\) 'AR 1906', QPP, 2 (1907), 277.

\(^{22}\) 'AR 1908', QPP, 2 (1909), 207.
sold. When a horse was sold, usually for one to two pounds, it was branded with an arrow (pointing upwards) on the cheek. This often grew out and it was difficult to trace the origin of the horse if complete details were not kept.

In 1908, Cahill obtained a reserve of 78,000 acres at Carnarvon, resumed from the Consuelo leasehold. Named Rewan, it became the horse breeding establishment for the police for the next twenty-five years. It began with seventy-six mares, thirty-seven geldings and twenty-four foals. Three stallions were purchased - 'Mack', 'Libertine' and 'Bonny Boy'. 1912 was the first year that Rewan bred horses were supplied to the Police Force. Although being established with a full view to economy and efficiency, it suffered from drought and poor breeding methods ranging from poor choice of breeding stock to the fact that the best were sent to the Depot instead of being kept for breeding. It closed in the 1930s.23

Methods of transport altered when bicycles were introduced in 1895. They proved very useful for both day and night patrols and were even used by Commissioned Officers, Sub-Inspector Urquhart riding one to the Toowong station when he inspected it in 1896.24 Although they cost approximately £13 compared

23. A/41686, QSA.
24. A/41507, QSA.
with the cost of a good horse at £8, their use increased.\textsuperscript{25} Urgent calls could be attended more promptly without the hassle of finding and saddling a horse. The 'Massey-Harris' brand was introduced initially in 1895, with men choosing either the 'higher' or 'lower' models. By 1899 there were twelve bicycles in use.\textsuperscript{26} Increasingly they were used for the supervision of beats and then by the men for actual beat duty although as with typewriters, the men often used their own. Inspector John Stuart reported in 1899 that 'both the sergeants in South Brisbane have bicycles, and they can go round their beats in a very short time'.\textsuperscript{27}

They were also used in the west although there were problems with the pneumatic tyre in the heat and thorns causing punctures. Parry-Okeden said he knew of station owners who had laced greenhide over the tyres for protection from the heat.\textsuperscript{28} They proved their worth during the drought when horses were moved to the coast for agistment. The following table for 1902 shows the high proportion of bicycles which were used in the west.

\begin{table}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{25} Chief Inspector John Stuart, '1899 Royal Commission', \textit{QVP}, 4 (1899), 346.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{28} Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', \textit{QVP}, 4 (1899), 293.
TABLE 47: Number of police bicycles, 1902

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Bicycles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane and Moreton</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darling Downs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleville</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wide Bay</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockhampton</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longreach</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsville</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normanton</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 'AR 1902', QPP, 2 (1903), 372.

Lamps were used on the bicycles for night patrol although there were criticisms that the lamps kept going out. By 1910 there were eighty-seven bicycles, considered 'indispensable' by the Commissioner especially in the saving of horse flesh.

Just as transport requirements were basic to the needs of the Queensland policeman of the 1895-1910 era, uniforms were also part of the tools of trade, even more so since they had to be worn both on and off duty. Under Seymour the men obtained their own with a resulting variation in colour, fit and pattern. Parry-Okeden and Cahill were more concerned about appearance, uniformity and presentation with the result that changes were made - for the better. The new uniform lifted morale, helped with efficiency and discipline and generally was a positive influence within the community.

29. 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-2), 622.
The uniform from 1865 until 1896 consisted of a short jacket referred to as a jumper. It was of the Garibaldi pattern with standing collar and five buttons which were not visible. The regulation trousers were of the same material with mounted men having the option of white or drab cord breeches instead of the blue trousers. Concertina style leggings to just below the knee, short boots and a helmet for day wear and cap for night wear completed the mounted outfit.\textsuperscript{31} The black helmet came in for criticism especially in the north. The recommendation of the 1889 Royal Commission was followed in this regard and white helmets were allowed for general use from 1891.\textsuperscript{32}

Police were originally given an allowance for their uniform ranging from £12 to £16 per year. It was thought they would be more careful if they had to provide it themselves.\textsuperscript{33} The jumper of the uniform came in for criticism, however, because of insufficient protection in the lumbar region which led to lumbago and sciatica. It had no pockets and the trousers did not have a belt. Thus there was no place to carry handcuffs or a baton. It was also impossible to carry side-arms and an


\textsuperscript{32} '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 1 (1899), 623; Comm Memo, 24 April 1891, A/36274, QSA.

\textsuperscript{33} Seymour, ‘1889 Royal Commission’, QPD, LXXV, (1896), 941.
ammunition pouch which resulted in a 'dishevelled appearance' on parade.\textsuperscript{34} So long as the men supplied their own uniform, there was no uniformity in make, material and colour which varied from black through invisible green to light blue. Furthermore, 'all this was accentuated by many uniforms shiny with old age and dirt, and 'ornamented' with different piping and seaming according to the fancy of the individual'.\textsuperscript{35}

Parry-Okeden set about to change all this in 1896 with the introduction of a tunic to be worn in towns and a khaki uniform for country use. There was a phasing-in period of six months and where the old style uniform cost £6/1/3, the new style was not much more at £6/2/6.\textsuperscript{36} Measurements were supplied to Brisbane contractors John A Clark for the cloth and serge uniform (town and foot duty), and Pike Brothers for the khaki uniform (bush and mounted duty). White helmets were worn during the day and caps at night. Mounted men wore Bedford breeches, black Napoleon boots and leggings. Chevrons were worn to denote rank thus:

- Foot Senior Constable - Silver chevron of two bars on right arm below the elbow.
- Foot Sergeant - Silver chevron of three bars on right arm below the elbow.
- Mounted Sen Const and Sergt - Chevrons above the elbow.
- Senior Sergeant - Silver chevron of four bars surmounted

\textsuperscript{34} Parry-Okeden Memo, 'Tenders for Police Uniforms', \textit{QVP}, 1 (1896), 823.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{36} Parry-Okeden Memo, \textit{QVP}, 1 (1896), 824.
by silver crown on the right arm below the elbow, and oak-leaf braid on the cap. A duty badge for those below Senior Constable was to be worn when on duty. It was a white slip-on band with two thin horizontal stripes.\textsuperscript{37}

The awarding of the contracts was not without incident. Questions were raised in parliament as to the fairness of the tendering. Ipswich Woollen Company had been the lowest tenderer for the blue cloth and serge uniforms and claimed that their cloth was of equal quality.\textsuperscript{38} An enquiry was held in September 1898 with Parry-Okeden backing down to some degree. Fortuitously, the two years for the contracts had elapsed and he stated that 'there is no reason why there should not be different contractors for cloth, serge and khaki uniforms'.\textsuperscript{39} Thus at the 1899 Royal Commission, details were given:

**TABLE 48: Uniform and costs, 1899**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The 1899 cost of the Queensland uniform to the men: £ s d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serge - Tunic and trousers</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contractors, Q’ld Woollen Manufacturing Company)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth - Tunic and trousers</td>
<td>2 9 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contractor, John A. Clark)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaki - Tunic and trousers</td>
<td>1 7 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contractors, Pike Brothers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helmet - White (Mountcastle and Sons)</td>
<td>0 8 0</td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap - Cloth (Mountcastle and Sons)</td>
<td>0 7 6</td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap cover - (Mountcastle and Sons)</td>
<td>0 1 3</td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hat (khaki felt) - Mountcastle and Sons)</td>
<td>0 9 0</td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterproof Cloaks</td>
<td></td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcoats</td>
<td></td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leggings</td>
<td></td>
<td>Issued free</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1899 RC, QVP, 4 (1899), 882.

\textsuperscript{37} General Order 677, 1 May 1896, A/5067, QSA.

\textsuperscript{38} QPD, LXXV, (1896), 940; QVP, 1 (1896), 44.

\textsuperscript{39} Comm to Under Secretary, 25 July 1898, QVP, 1 (1898), 644.
By 1906, Pike Brothers were still supplying the khaki uniform but the contract for the serge had gone to M. Gerson and Company, Brisbane.\textsuperscript{40}

In other states, uniforms were either free or an allowance provided. They were free in New South Wales and included a pair of leggings, a cape every three years and a great coat replaceable when unserviceable. For detectives, the officer's allowance in lieu of uniform was £10/10/ per annum and for others £7 per annum. Trackers were provided with two suits of uniform per annum.\textsuperscript{41} In West Australia, officers were given an allowance in lieu of uniforms - Superintendents and Inspectors £15 per annum, Sub Inspectors £12 per annum, Detectives and plain clothes police £7 per annum. All others were supplied free. In South Australia there was an allowance in lieu of uniform - £12 per annum. Police in Victoria provided their own uniform although overcoats and helmets were provided for Sergeants and Constables.\textsuperscript{42}

The problem of the men having to supply their own uniform was an area of complaint especially in view of the low wages and the fact that they could take the uniforms with them on leaving which provided a ready and tempting means of police

\textsuperscript{40}. Cahill, 27 September 1906, A/38294, QSA.

\textsuperscript{41}. NSW Uniforms, 1907, A/44808, QSA.

\textsuperscript{42}. Uniforms, 1907, A/44808, QSA.
personation. Cahill complained to the Under Secretary that New South Wales police were liberally supplied with uniform complete with great coats, water proofs and boots while in Queensland, only the great coats and water proofs were supplied. In any case, the water proof cloaks were not always forthcoming when requested; in 1909 Constable Laughren at Nigger Creek had not received one since 1903 despite applications in 1907 and 1908.43

The khaki uniform proved very popular, the men practically living in them, performing the roughest of work in all weathers. Indeed, the men wanted to wear khaki in Brisbane in the summer but the Commissioner disallowed this saying that the 'serge uniform looked better'.44 He also had the excuse that in khaki police could not be distinguished from the Defence Force.45 The 1899 Royal Commission had recommended that the men be allowed to wear khaki in Brisbane in the summer months; also that mounted men be allowed three pounds per annum for the extra cost of their uniform.46 Neither recommendation was followed. Indeed, a General Order in 1907 instructed that men visiting the metropolis were not to

43. Constable Laughren to Inspector, (Cairns), 9 June 1909, A/38102, QSA.
44. Parry-Okeden, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 327.
45. QPD, LXXXV, (1900), 1071.
46. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 162.
appear in khaki uniform.  

The mounted men also had to purchase Bedford cord breeches and riding boots which added to the cost. In 1899 this was estimated at £2/2/- for a pair of breeches and £3/15/- for a pair of boots. Parry-Okeden was not sympathetic towards the men having to purchase their own uniforms, informing the 1899 Royal Commission that he considered the £12 allowed per year was more than sufficient to cover costs. Indeed it is ironic he should be so frugal in this respect given his obvious desire for the Force to be properly turned out. Detectives did not wear uniform unless appearing in court to give evidence. This was done to make them less recognizable but they disliked the practice because it involved carrying their uniform ‘backwards and forwards to the court’.

In 1898 a long waterproof coat was substituted for the short waterproof cape previously worn. After 1905, police when on transfer did not have to hand in the waterproof cloaks and

47. General Order 768, 6 April 1907, A/35277, QSA.


great coats. They could be kept until unserviceable, and then supplied to the trackers if needed. Uniforms were finally supplied free after 1909, after many requests from Cahill. Also at this time (1910), on the death of King Edward VII, a crepe mourning band was worn on the left arm, the officers wearing it for six months, the rest for two months.

Alexander Douglas-Douglas pointed out the extra cost to country police for the packaging and transporting of their uniforms. A helmet in Brisbane was 8/- but to country men it cost 11/3. He also suggested that the water proof coat was useless; 'in the Western country they soon get as hard as a board', the men preferring to use either their great coats, an old blanket or a piece of American oilcloth. Douglas had made up for himself an overall of common silk which was painted. He found;

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51. 'AR 1898', QVP, 4 (1899), 894; General Order 745, 30 October 1905, A/36277, p. 181, QSA.

52. Circular Memo 196, 8 February 1895, A/36276, QSA.

53. 'AR 1909', QPP, 2 (1910), 1005.


it does not look very nice, as it is yellow in colour, but it is very serviceable and will last for many years.... when travelling I roll it up and wrap it in a piece of basil. They go in about three years' time; they get sticky then, but all you have to do is to wash them in strong soda, which takes the old paint off, and when repainted they are all right.56

Whilst it was compulsory to wear uniforms at all times, this was not always done. When Inspector D. Graham inspected Cloncurry Station in 1896, he found 'the three Constables in plain clothes, 2 in barracks and 1 in the office. Sergt Green I found properly dressed except his helmet - he informed me he had none.'57

The Water Police had a different uniform, which was made at St Helena. The uniform kit supplied to the Thursday Island water police in 1902 gives an idea of the details:

| D.B. Jackets | Dungaree trousers |
| Blue serge trousers | Panama hats and ribbons |
| Blue serge jumpers | Scotch twill shirts |
| White duck trousers | Blue cloth caps 58 |

There were complaints about the uniform;

the trousers have two different colours in the legs....We also often get them with two wedge-shaped pieces at the back to make them fit....We do not get fitted properly....When they are sent down we change about and try to get a fit. We have had white jumpers sent down, and though I am the smallest man down there, the wrist would not reach further then the muscle of my forearm.59

56. ibid.
58. Thursday Island Water Police, 1902, A/41708, QSA.
Constable Gregg also complained that the shirt was 'too much like the dress of a sailor to do for police officers'.\textsuperscript{60} Notwithstanding such complaints, the uniform was not changed until 1905 when a serge pilot jacket and peaked cap were introduced.\textsuperscript{61} The men had to pay for their own, £10 being allowed per year to each man, this being reduced to £5 in 1894.\textsuperscript{82}

Police were able to display their military and police medals on their uniforms. In order to recognise 'pre-eminent' bravery, Cahill instituted the Queensland Police Medal for Merit in 1906.\textsuperscript{83} Recognised as the only medal awarded specifically to the Queensland Police Force, it was phased out by the 1920s. In 1906, for example, Sub-Inspector Edward Martin received this medal for rescuing a mentally disturbed woman who was held fast in mangroves at Mackay.\textsuperscript{84} The King's Police Medal was instituted in 1909 for heroism or devotion to duty, and this was awarded more often than the medal for merit. It was similar with the Imperial Service Order which

\textsuperscript{60} ibid.

\textsuperscript{61}, Inspector White to Comm, 24 July 1905, Document Collection, Queensland Police Museum.

\textsuperscript{62}, QPD, 71 (1894), 687.

\textsuperscript{63}, Circular Memo 404, 4 October 1906, Document collection, Queensland Police Museum.

\textsuperscript{64}, Cahill, 24 January 1907, Document collection, Queensland Police Museum.
was awarded from 1903 for long service.85

Queensland police were part of the patriotic celebrations experienced at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee of 1897. It was commemorated with the presentation of silver and bronze medals - the former to men who joined before the Jubilee of 21 June 1887 and continued in the force until 1897, and the latter to those who joined after 21 June 1887 and who were still in the force.86

In 1905 Cahill adopted a new pattern of undress blue uniform and cap for police below the rank of Sub-Inspector. It was not a major change because the old uniform could be altered at a small cost. The khaki uniform was not affected.87 The new cap came in for much criticism, with claims that they gave no protection to the back of the head and made the men look 'more like Russian soldiers than Queensland police'.88 The white gloves were omitted for all except mounted men in 1908.89 Until 1906 when Cahill abolished the district 'letter' system, a district letter (for example A for Moreton) prefixed a district number which was displayed on

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85. OPP, first session, (1904), 808.
86. 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 632.
87. General Order 733, 11 July 1905, A/36277, QSA.
88. R. Philp, QPD, XCVII (1906), 1026.
89. Circular Memo 510, 11 August 1908, A/36278, QSA.
the head-dress. When the officer was transferred, he handed in all items that carried a district number.

Arms used but not always carried by the police during 1895-1910 included Snider carbines, Martini-Henry rifles, Martini-Henry carbines, Winchester rifles, Lee-Enfield rifles, Adams revolvers and Webley revolvers. The Snider was considered obsolete by the 1890s and was being phased out in preference to the Martini-Henry. The Martini-Henry rifle was on issue to coastal towns and the carbine to those inland, the latter being shorter and thus better able to be carried on horseback. Some police, especially mounted men, were also equipped with a Webley R.I.C. pattern revolver in .442 calibre. They were worn in a holster on the left hip. A light cavalry pattern sword was part of the dress uniform although it was not worn in the field.

Forty-six additional Martini-Henry Carbines with sword bayonets had been borrowed from the Defence Force during the 1894 Shearers' Strike - 'being much handier'- but were returned in 1898 for use by the newly formed Cadet Corps.70 Winchester repeating rifles were also used by the police during the Shearers' Strikes and proved very popular.71 One hundred Lee-Metford magazine rifles Mark 11 were purchased in

70. Inspector to Comm, 5 December 1894, POL/J11, QSA.
71. Ibid.
1895 but they proved unsuitable and were handed over to the Defence Force. 72 Three hundred Mark 1* Short Magazine Lee Enfield rifles were received in 1908 to replace the Martini-Henry rifle and whilst they proved quite suitable they were kept essentially in the metropolitan area.

Both brands of revolvers — the Webley and the Adams — were unreliable. Criticism of the latter was that 'sometimes they won't go off at all'. 73 Cahill, however, was especially critical of the Webley revolver:

The rifling of the barrels of many of these revolvers is so worn away that the rotary action of the bullet is not maintained, and the bullet consequently strikes the target, even at short range, 'side on'. 74

The long barrel and short handle were criticised and as a result the men often purchased their own — as was the case of a Sergeant in Brisbane who said the Webley revolver was 'useless' and 'for years I carried a Colt's revolver, and in all seasons, which is as good now as at first'. 75 By 1910, complaints about the obsolete arms were widespread, especially the revolver. Indeed, in 1910, Cahill completely disregarded the old weapons when he stated: 'there are only 300 rifles and 100 revolvers to arm 900 men. The old

72. Col Sec to Comm, 1 July 1895, POL/J11, QSA.
73. 1/C Inspector A. Meldrum, '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 448.
74. 'AR 1907', QPP, 2 (1908), 930.
75. Sergeant to Comm, 6 March 1896, POL/J11, QSA.
revolvers and rifles are useless and dangerous'. Inspector Quilter also complained in 1910 that;

many of the police use private revolvers, as it would be disastrous to rely on the ones supplied if emergency arose. They are inaccurate in aim, and many fail to explode the cartridges when fired. They are also too big and cumbersome.

Notwithstanding an increase in arms after this time Cahill was still complaining in 1914 that the Force had only 900 short magazine Lee-Enfield rifles for the arming of 1200 men. He tried to borrow from the military but was informed that all available arms were being used by the expeditionary forces.

The police rarely used their arms although they were necessary in times of self defence and in defence of others. There were parades under arms each time a station was inspected. With the arms seldom being used, they were often found in a neglected state, as was the case when Inspector D. Graham inspected Cloncurry station in 1896. Arms were essential, of course, for the escort of gold, both a revolver and a rifle being at the ready, the latter being

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76. 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-2), 627.

77. Inspector Quilter to Comm, 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-2), 639.

78. Cahill to Military Commandant, 5 October 1914, Document Collection, Queensland Police Museum.

79. Inspector D. Graham, Cloncurry, 14 May 1896, POL 14B/1, QSA.
carried in the bucket with the hammer at half-cock.

The men were encouraged to join rifle clubs, and in 1887 Senior Constable Stephen George was granted twenty-one days leave to compete in a competition in New South Wales.\textsuperscript{80} A police rifle club was formed in 1896 although many police belonged to other rifle clubs.\textsuperscript{81} By the early 1900s the police club was languishing, one reason being the lack of suitable rifles.\textsuperscript{82} Men in country stations who belonged to clubs requested that Martini-Henry rifles be sent because of their greater accuracy.\textsuperscript{83}

The state and with it the Police Force was also advancing technologically. By 1898 Inspector Urquhart had established a scheme for the classification and registration of criminals through personal descriptions of race and height and a systematised scheme for the collection of statistics on crime. Fingerprinting was introduced in 1903 after a meeting of state Commissioners and by 1905 there were 2245 fingerprints filed at the CIB.\textsuperscript{84} This increased to 9229 by

\textsuperscript{80} A/38608, QSA.

\textsuperscript{81} A/44814, QSA.

\textsuperscript{82} 'AR 1900', QVP, 4 (1901), 1039; 'AR 1903', QPP, first session, (1904), 810.

\textsuperscript{83} Senior Sergeant Bain (Longreach), to Inspector, 22 June 1897, POL/J11, QSA.

\textsuperscript{84} 'AR 1905', QPP, 1 (1906), 1543.
Queensland's first case where a burglar's print on a stolen article matched a registered fingerprint occurred in February 1906. That year there was more widespread fingerprinting of prisoners and those under arrest although not all those detained in lock-ups were fingerprinted. By 1910 most stations in Queensland had fingerprint equipment. A fingerprint expert, an Acting Sergeant, was appointed by 1909. Close cooperation with other states was a feature of the success of the system. In 1910, for example, of the 269 prints forwarded to other states for identification, 55 were identified and of the 107 prints received from other states, 9 were identified. Other forms of technology were beginning to be used by police in the early 1900s. In 1904 Sergeant Michael O'Sullivan solved a case by taking plaster of Paris casts of shoe prints and tracks of horses.

Criminals were photographed in the country by local photographers and in Brisbane by the police photographer, Acting Sergeant John Thompson (promoted to Senior Sergeant in 1905). He had begun the photographic work for the department

85. 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-2), 825.
86. Brisbane Courier, 10 February 1906.
87. Circular Memo, 1 January 1906, A/36277, QSA.
88. A/44819, QSA.
89. 'AR 1910', QPP, 2 (1911-2), 825.
90. Western Star, 2 April 1904.
in 1893 while a police clerk at the CIB. In 1897 he was relieved of his clerical duties and continued the photographic work

with the addition of half tone work for the Police Gazette, which is of a difficult nature requiring a considerable amount of care, patience, & part of the work is neither of a very agreeable nor of a healthy nature.91

He complained of the nitric acid used for etching the photographs on the zinc block. It damaged his clothes and in 1900 he asked for an allowance for such specialised work. Possibly on account of the stringent economic times as a result of the drought, Parry-Okeden disallowed this.92 Later he was granted an allowance of £10 per year.93 With Inspector Urquhart head of the CIB, photographs were reproduced in the Police Gazette for the first time in September 1897 using the half-tone process.94 Also in that year the old plan of registering photographs and criminals in cumbersome albums was discontinued and a scheme of identification adopted in which photographs, fingerprints and classification by race and height were added.95 In 1905,

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91. Acting Sergeant John Thompson to Officer in Charge, CIB, 24 October 1902, 3700AF, QSA.
92. Parry-Okeden to J. Thompson, 26 July 1900, 3700 AF, QSA.
93. A/45342, QSA.
94. Supplement to the QPG, 11 September 1897, no. 39, vol. 34, Queensland Police Museum.
95. 'AR 1902', QPP, 2 (1903), 375.
Thompson gained his first official premises - the converted stable building at the back of the CIB on the corner of George and Elizabeth Streets, the work being carried out by police carpenters.96

Persons let out under the First Offenders Probation Act of 1886 (50 Vic no 14.) were photographed in Brisbane by the police photographer and in selected country stations by local photographers. As the technology of photography advanced, so too did its use by the Police Department increase. Thus in 1912, amid complaints that the old fashioned stand camera had to be fixed on a tripod causing delays, a Telephot lens and Reflex Camera was purchased with the view of taking photographs of persons associated with the Tramways Strike.97

There were lighter moments in the life of the Queensland policeman and it is appropriate to complete this chapter on that note. Brisbane police who played a brass musical instrument were able to join the First Queensland Constabulary Band between 1895 and 1905. On 2 February 1895 ten members, mostly from the Roma Street Station, formed a committee and by April thirteen men had advanced £4 each and, with subscriptions from other members, £99/3/6 was raised to

96. District Architect to Comm, 17 November 1905, A/41678, QSA.

97. Sub-Inspector M. O'Sullivan to Comm, 28 February 1912, HOM/J84, QSA.
buy instruments. 'Professor' Seal was employed as band master, the men paying one shilling each per week for tuition.98 There were twenty-one performers by August 1895 and on 11 January 1896 the band gave its first public appearance at the botanic gardens.

By 1897 Parry-Okeden commented that the band was in a sound financial position as a result of a grant of £150 from the government 'and by assiduous practice has assumed a prominent position among the bands of Brisbane'.99 It played for the Governor, at the Botanic Gardens and other large gatherings such as a Patriotic Demonstration at Ipswich in 1900 and The Grand Naval and Military Tattoo in the same year.100 Since there was some difficulty in finding skilled players in Brisbane, Inspector Urquhart requested that Constable John Cameron of Woolgar and 1/C Constable Clare of Nerang, both 'good players' be sent from the country. Despite the Commissioner complaining that the band was 'not as efficient as I could wish', the request was disallowed.101 Police duties were more important.

New uniforms copied from the Hussars' dress were introduced

98. Inspector White to Comm, 1 November 1904, A/44844, QSA.
100. A/44844, QSA.
101. 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 630,
for the band in 1901. They complemented the Brisbane celebrations which Parry-Okeden so capably helped to organize in 1901 - the inauguration of the Commonwealth, the arrival of the Imperial troops, and the Royal visit of the Duke and Duchess of York. The visit of the latter necessitated drawing in police from all districts of the state; the police carpenters and parties of men on fatigue duty worked for weeks in the domain in preparation.\(^{102}\)

The yearly government grant for the band was withdrawn in 1903 and, despite a fund raising picnic aboard the 'Lucinda' organised by the officers' wives, the band never regained its sound financial position. Bandmaster Seal died in September 1904, and whilst D.G. Bloomfield was appointed to the position Cahill disbanded the band in July 1905. The instruments were later donated to the Defence Department during World War I.\(^{103}\) Although the public obviously enjoyed the performances with constant requests to play at functions, Inspector White reported to Cahill that its existence was not conducive to efficiency or good discipline. Police duties were obviously not seen as extending to this area of public relations. Not until 1958 was another police band formed - this time a pipe band.

\(^{102}\) 'AR 1901', QPP, 1 (1902), 1024.

\(^{103}\) A/44844, QSA.
The Police Benefit and Recreation Fund was established in 1897 as a Jubilee project by Parry-Okeden in order to provide libraries, recreational equipment for cricket, gymnastics and billiards, and gratuities for deserving cases, particularly sick members of the Force. He was particularly keen to keep it viable. Contributions ranged from £5 per year for the Commissioner to 1/8 per month for Constables. But because of the dislike by the men of the Fund, the 1899 Royal Commission recommended that it be abandoned and monies returned. The main grievance was that the country men failed to see how it would benefit them. Most of the facilities would only be available to city police. The £1750 collected was returned to the contributors.

This chapter has shown that the history of policing in Queensland has been one of reactionary change. When technological change in transport and science impinged on the Force, it reacted - albeit slowly. And when the public demanded more police protection with better quality weapons, then the Force was forced to rearm. Although improvements were gradually being made there were still many deficiencies because of the limited funds from the Government. The Force was below strength, wages were low and equipment needed

104. A/36276, QSA.
105. '1899 Royal Commission', QVP, 4 (1899), 184.
106. 'AR 1897', QVP, 1 (1898), 632.
upgrading. The Government was always loud on rhetoric of the importance of a Police Force but gave the Force a low priority financially. Furthermore it loaded so many extraneous duties onto the men that ordinary duties suffered.

Yet finances were not the only consideration. The leadership skills of the Commissioner, the managerial skills of the Inspectors and the efficiency of the Sergeants and Constables were all influential factors in the overall effectiveness of the Force. The influence of the Commissioner was paramount. He was the one to decide on the direction the Force should take, lobby for increased spending, alter training methods so that his men were prepared for such influences and keep in perspective the demands of Government and the community.
CONCLUSION

This thesis in its approach 'from the bottom up' has allowed discussion to take place from a perspective not previously attempted in police histories. It is appropriate to attempt to place it along a continuum in relation to these publications. Discussions will be confined to those works which are specific histories of Australasian Police Forces rather than those covering the history of policing. A common factor to them all is their chronological approach, seemingly the most efficient way of handling the wealth of available material. Also, with the exception of O'Brien's work, their dates of publication are very recent. Police history has indeed been an area grossly neglected but with the increased popularity of social history and the desire for organisations to preserve and document information which was gradually


becoming lost, this has changed.

The most comprehensive of all the works are the two volumes by Hill concerning the New Zealand Force. Whilst an institutional history does require some attention to theoretical aspects of policing and law and order, Hill pays greater attention to this aspect than any of the other works. As well as giving a comprehensive history of the New Zealand Force, he places this history in the socio-economic and political context of the social and racial struggles which so governed New Zealand's history. He does this to the extent that in all this plethora of historical data, the ordinary policeman is seldom heard although the power brokers of the Force are very much to the fore. Whilst it could be argued that it is difficult to include many specific references to the ordinary policeman in a book to cover a vast number of years, Hill's volumes so far only cover until 1867.

Bettess and Higgs have produced essentially a social history, but it is very readable and able to be enjoyed and appreciated by their intended audience - past and present members of the Force. Haldane, Clyne and Salecich place more emphasis on the institutional aspects of the Force; the administration, its hierarchy, its relationship with government and historical influences which have affected the Force. My thesis falls essentially into the category of their work albeit approached from a different angle. So where this
thesis has chapters titled 'Recruitment and training', 'Conditions' and 'Duties' which all pertain to the ordinary policeman, Clyne brings the Commissioners to the forefront in his chapter headings 'Consolidation - from Finnis to Tolmer, 1843-1852' and 'Raymond to Edwards, 1910-1916'. Haldane seemingly places more emphasis on the lower orders with chapters such as 'Drunks, Soldiers or Policemen?' and 'Fighting with the gloves off', but a study of his work reveals that it is covered from the 'top down'.

A fortunate aspect of my study was the vast amount of primary source material available. It was possible to study specific records pertaining to the one station - the Daily Occurrence Books, Letterbooks, the station file and then the personnel files of the men stationed there. It was unfortunate, however, that while country station records remain, records from Brisbane suburban stations are somewhat lacking. It was probably a case of superior officers giving instructions to destroy whereas in the country there was no such authority on the spot. The nature of CIB work made it secretive and discreet and as a result few records remain. Historically this is a pity because it leads to an imbalance in emphasis although the CIB in Queensland for the period studied was narrowly based which did not lead to a significant problem in this paper.
Whilst it was impossible for O'Brien to give such detail in a book which covered all Australian Police Forces, it is noticeable in the other works that reference to detailed personal and primary source material has not been as prevalent as in my thesis. This is not intended as a criticism since their approach did not allow such emphasis on the lower orders. It merely illustrates that differing approaches call for varied emphasis on the material used. What is more important is whether they achieved their aim of giving an overall history of the Force - and to a certain extent they did. Haldane is probably the most successful in producing what he terms a 'warts and all' police history\(^3\) aided perhaps by the extent of his time frame - from the beginnings of the Force in 1836 until 1984. Clyne limits his study to emphasis on the early period - from 1836 to 1916 while Bettess and Higgs were constrained by the fact that women form but a small part of the totality of the Force.

A problem for this thesis has been for the theme to be too passive, for the Constables and Sergeants not to be heard because of the powerful role of the Commissioner. The use of police personnel and station records - letterbooks, daily occurrence books and building files - has corrected this concern. Alternately, too much emphasis can be placed on the lower orders to the extent that influence from the Constables

\(^3\) R. Haldane, *The People's Force*, p. xiii.
and Sergeants is overemphasized. But constant reference to the General Orders and Circular Memoranda which emanated from the Commissioner's office, reinforcement from evidence at the 1889 and 1899 Royal Commissions, annual reports and letters which passed through the Inspectors' and Commissioners' offices have counteracted that concern. So whilst the approach is different, the conclusions are the same as for a history from the 'top down'. Power and control was firmly with the Commissioner with varying amounts of influence from the Government and the community. The Inspectors also had inordinate power in areas such as transfers, punishments and promotions.

The life of the ordinary policeman was subjected to a great variety of external and internal influences and considerations which run as constant sub-themes throughout chapters of this thesis. The effects of immigration, the economic crash of the 1890s, the shifting alliances of parliament of the late 1890s and early 1900s, the Great Drought of 1898-1903 and the technological advances of the period were all historical factors which affected the Queensland Police Force between 1895 and 1910. The internal influences of pay, allowances and superannuation were of such paramount importance that many men left to join Forces interstate. The change of Commissioners in 1895 and 1905 resulted in a changed emphasis in areas such as recruitment,
the style of uniform, promotion and technology.

The ordinary policeman, the Constable and the Sergeant, was in so many respects the unwitting object, perhaps victim, of these various influences. Their lives were highly controlled, such that police work rarely attracted the upper strata of society, the wealthy, highly educated or faint-hearted. As Haldane explained, 'working-class men were cheaper and arguably more suited to the physical, outdoors and often onerous nature of police duty'. And yet an analysis of their duties has shown them also to be social workers, psychologists, carpenters, painters, undertakers and medicos. So much was expected of them. But the Police Force was also only as good as the public it served. Indeed it was a reflection of the community itself. The Force was neither autonomous nor a pace-setter but drew its strengths and weaknesses from the people it served. Thus the prevention and detection of crime was subsumed beneath the overall police function of keeping a stable status quo in society.

In many ways little seems to have changed in society. Ninety years ago there was ample evidence of juvenile delinquency, unrestrained alcoholism, child neglect, racial tensions and drug abuse with opium. What this paper has shown is the 'closeness' between the police and the community. It was

difficult for members of the community not to get to know their local policeman even if they were law abiding citizens. He encroached on their lives in so many ways; patrolling on beat duty, collecting statistics from their farms, checking electoral rolls or checking mobs of stock passing through. His obvious presence and standing in the community was then open to scrutiny from all levels of society. Yet this approach worked satisfactorily when Queensland was predominately a collection of small rural communities and the concept of the 'village cop' was alive and well.

He had a job which involved so many tasks and duties that to do it well was almost impossible. Thus he often came in for criticism. Often the criticism was not justified — but for a full understanding of the problem one needs to look further to the policies and priorities which the government set in respect of the police and policing. Ultimately these policies and priorities were a reflection of society's own attitude towards the regulation of civilised living.
APPENDIX 1. 1895-1910 Size of Queensland Police Force

Note: Water Police and Commissioner not always included

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<th>1898</th>
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+ In 1896 Chief Inspector rank replaced Travelling Inspector
@ Additional rank to bring in line with N.S.W. classification of 1/C Superintendent
* Exclusive of five Constables on leave in South Africa

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++ Plus four trackers on Thursday Island (included in Trackers)

Source: Annual Reports 1895-1910
## APPENDIX 2:

### BUILDINGS 1895 - 1910

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<th>Stations Opened (District)</th>
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<td>Millmeran (Darling Downs)</td>
<td>Kelvin Grove (Moreton)</td>
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<td>Sandy Creek</td>
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<td>Oakey Creek (Darling Downs)</td>
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<td>Yaamba (reopen) (Port Curtis)</td>
<td>Rosedale (Wide Bay)</td>
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<td>Toompine-reopen (Warrego)</td>
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<td>Opalton</td>
<td>Black Ridge (Port Curtis)</td>
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<td>Stack's Dam</td>
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<td>Bedourie (reopen) (Gregory)</td>
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'AR 1895', QVP. 1 (1896), 808.

'AR 1896', QVP. 2 (1897), 14.
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<td>(Charleville)</td>
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<td>Prosperine E</td>
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<td>(Ch. Tws)</td>
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<td>Stamford E</td>
<td>(Hughenden)</td>
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<td>(Cairns)</td>
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'AR 1897', *QVP*, 1 (1898), 632.

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'AR 1898', *QVP*, 4 (1899), 893.

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<td>Westwood C</td>
<td>(Rockhampton)</td>
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'AR 1899', *QVP*, 5 (1900), 538.
1900  20  8

Moorooka A (Brisbane)  Yeronga A (Brisbane)
Plane Creek E (Mackay) Hill End E (Mackay)
Hampden G (Cloncurry) Musgrave F (Cook)
Kelvin Grove A (Brisbane) Black Ridge C (Clermont)
Clayfield A (Brisbane) Calcifer F (Cairns)
Mount Usher C (Rockhampton) Oakvale F (Cairns)
Pinkenba A (Brisbane)
Hebel D (South Boundary)
Stewart’s Creek E (Townsville)
The Leap E (Mackay)
Glassford Creek C (Rockhampton)
Ebagoolah F (Cook)
Kallanda E (Townsville)
Chillagoe F (Cairns)
Koorboora F (Cairns)
Einasleigh G
Cawarral C (Rockhampton)
Upper Warrego B1 (Charleville)
Hopetoun A (East Moreton)
Yaamba Road C (Rockhampton)

‘AR 1901’, QVP. 4 (1901), 1037.

1901  9  8

Woolooxin A (Brisbane) Carbarlah A (D. Downs)
Goombungee A (Darling Downs) Paradise Al (Wide Bay)
Meringandan A (Darling Downs) Torbanlea A1 "
Ralf (U Warrego) B1 (Ch’ville) Capella C (Rock’ton)
Brookville E (Townsville) Cawarral C "
Merinda E Opalton D (Mitchell)
California Creek F (Cairns) Koorboora F (Cairns)
Coolgarra F " Ayton F (Cook)
Lappa Junction F "

‘AR 1901’, QPP. 1 (1902) 1019.
1902

Calliope Crossing A (Wide Bay)
Dunwich A (East Moreton)
Kingsborough F (Cairns)
Capella C (Rockhampton)
Forest Hill A (West Moreton)
Goomeri A (Wide Bay)
Sunnyvale B (Maranoa)
North Ward E (Townsville)

'AR 1902', QPP. 2 (1903), 372.

1903

Newtown A (Darling Downs)
Wallumbilla B (Maranoa)
West End E (Townsville)
Bajool C (Rockhampton)
Warra A (Darling Downs)
Wondai A (Wide Bay)
Redcap F (Cairns)
Corfield E (Winton)
Lappa Junction F (Cns)
German Gardens E (T’v)
Calliope Crossing A (Wd B)
Goomeri A (Wide Bay)
Einasleigh G (Burke)
Yaamba Road C (R’ton)
Broadmount C (R’ton)

'AR 1903', QPP. (1904), 803.

1904

Amby B (Maranoa)
Bamford F (Cairns)
Chermside A (East Moreton)
Ewan E (Townsville)
Gilliat G (Cloncurry)
Hamilton A (Brisbane)
Kingaroy A (Wide Bay)
Mount Molloy F (Cairns)
Peter’s Rush C (Rockhampton)
Bajool C (R’ton)
Breakfast Creek A (Bne
Deep Creek A (West M)
Dunwich A (East M’ton)
Eight-Mile (Cooktown)
Glassford Creek A (W B)
Kallanda E (T’ville)
Kingsborough F (Cairns)
Merinda E (T’ville)
Nigger Creek F (H’ton)
Palmer F (Cook)
Tabletop G (Burke)
Toompine A (Wide Bay)

'AR 1904', QPP. 2 (1905), 132.
1905

Albert Street C (Rockhampton)
Alma Street C (Rockhampton)
Breakfast Creek A (Brisbane)
Corinda A (East Moreton)
Farleigh E (Mackay)
Glassford Creek A (Wide Bay)
Liontown E (Charters Towers)
Lyndhurst G (Burke)
Mooretown A (West Moreton)
Seymour River E (Townsville)
Wolfram Camp F (Cairns)

'AR 1905', QPP, 1 (1906), 1542.

1906

Cambooya (Toowoomba)
Coen Township (Cairns)
Coolangatta (Brisbane)
Einasleigh (Normanton)
O.K. Mines (Cairns)
Simpson's Road (Brisbane)
Thane (Toowoomba)
Ukalunda (Townsville)

'AR 1906', QPP, 2 (1907), 270.

1907

Finch Hatton (Townsville)
Mount Elliott (Cloncurry)
Fossilbrook (Cairns)
Kingsborough (Cairns)
Homebush (Townsville)
Reid River "
Clarke River "
Evergreen (Toowoomba)
Almaden (Cairns)
Prairie (Hughenden)
Helton (Cloncurry)
Marian (Townsville)
Booval (Brisbane)
Sapphiretown (Rockhampton)

Torren's Creek (Hughenden)
Thane (Toowoomba)
Blackstone (Brisbane)

'AR 1907', QPP, 2 (1908), 924.
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`AR 1908`, QPP, 2 (1909), 201.

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`AR 1909`, QPP, 2 (1910), 999.

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`AR 1910`, QPP, 2 (1911-2), 621.
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(a) Police Department records

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily Occurrence Books</th>
<th>POL 9A/N2-13</th>
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<td>Cloncurry 1894-1919</td>
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<td>Birdsville 1885-1911</td>
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<td>Wyandra 1897-1907</td>
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Aboriginals and Opium    POL 1; POL J16; POL J17
Arms and ammunition    POL J11; POL J29
Attestation Book 1872-3    A/36354
Pay and Allowance Book  (Ravenswood)    POL 11B/1
Changes in the force    A/36284
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Statistics - promotions, appointments, punishments    A/45436
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Regulations and Rules    A/44788
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Watchhouse Charge books
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Barry, J.E. A/40257
Byrne, R. A/40690 and A/40691
Cahill, W.G. A/47927 and A/47928
Campbell, J.J. A/40940
Chatfield, G. A/40684
Clarke, W.A. A/38749
Conroy, J. A/38748
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Fitzgerald, H. A/40231
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Gallagher, P. A/38817
Gooch, T. A/38812
Gregg, J. A/38809
Grimes, S. A/38806
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Lloyd, S.J. A/38879
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Maguire, W. A/40532
McQuaker, J. A/40095
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O'Sullivan, M. A/37938 and A/37939
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Short, P. A/47941
Sullivan, M. A/47938
Taylor, A. A/40174
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Thompson, J. A/40759
Urquhart, F.C. A/47932
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Wassel, John A/40344
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QPD, XCII - XCIII (1904)
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