One day in April 1852 Edward Hammond Hargraves stepped into a Warwick pub to quench his thirst. Just one year before, Hargraves had set colonial Australia astir with his widely-publicised discovery of a major payable goldfield at Ophir near Bathurst. Intrinsically lazy and an inveterate dreamer, Hargraves was more a skilled self-publicist than a prospector. On the basis of his rather dubious experience as a ‘Forty-Niner’ in California, he claimed to be able to recognise auriferous country ten miles away by the shape of the hills or simply by holding pieces of quartz in his hand. This claim would be tested many times and, as Geoffrey Blainey has shown, he ‘denounced many goldfields that were to prove rich, and extolled many that were to prove poor’; he was a charlatan.1 On this autumn day in Warwick his reputation would again be put to the test.

Hargraves had been long expected on the Downs to test the claim of a goldfield at Lord John’s Swamp — part of George Leslie’s Canning Downs run adjacent to Warwick — and to report generally on the auriferous potential of the Moreton Bay district. The local prospectors, however, were not impressed by ‘the great goldfinder’ and conspired to test his expertise by presenting him with a doctored sample. When Hargraves was apparently successfully taken in, the conspirators delightedly revealed the hoax to his face. Unfortunately for the perpetrators, it backfired. By July Hargraves had reported to the Colonial Secretary:

The Canning Downs gold excitement was got up with a leaden bullet covered up, or rather over, with gold leaf, previously beaten out into a nugget like looking specimen. The perpetrator of this hoax, a Mr. Thompson, told me so himself, in the presence of other gentlemen.2

Hargraves believed that the field had been ‘peppered’ by men hired by the local squatters in order to retain labour in the area. He made

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only very cursory further explorations of the region and concluded that there was little prospect of finding gold in the Darling Downs or Moreton Bay districts.

When Hargraves’ report became known, it was vigorously denied by the finder of the gold, Arthur H. McArthur, and the artist-prospector, Edward Thompson. McArthur, a local squatter of Gladfield station and George Leslie’s brother-in-law, argued that Leslie, a gentleman, would never be party to such a fraud, that the find had been verified by Christopher Rolleston, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and that Thompson, much to the amusement of the Warwick men financing the prospect at Lord John’s Swamp, had once again proved the ‘dubious reputation’ of the self-styled expert. Thompson confirmed his tweaking of Hargraves’ nose, denied conspiring with Leslie to pepper Canning Downs, and asserted that there was gold on the southern Downs. The charlatan had again been exposed — but at considerable cost to the hoaxers.

In this instance, however, ‘the great goldfinder’ was substantially right in his dismissive assessment of the gold-bearing capacity of the country. The discovery of a payable Darling Downs goldfield proved most elusive in the golden decade before the separation of Queensland from New South Wales. Nevertheless, such a discovery was deemed necessary by both Downs squatter and Brisbane merchant in order, firstly, to retain population and a labour supply in the district and, secondly, to take advantage of the economic growth that would ensue.

THE EXODUS TO BATHURST

Gold was discovered in California in January 1848. It was a year later before confirmed reports of the discovery appeared in the Moreton Bay press, but before the month was out there were reports of Brisbane shopkeepers migrating to California and by August 1849 special shipping direct from Moreton Bay to San Francisco was being organised. Among these departures was Darling Downs squatter, Francis Forbes of Clifton, who had discovered specks of gold on his run in the mid-1840s and, a firm believer in the auriferous potential of Australia, had written a pamphlet on the subject. Like so many others, he succumbed to another type of yellow fever on the overcrowded, unhygienic fields. Although it is not known how many left Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs, the exodus was most probably confined to merchants and squatters who could afford the fares rather than labourers and servants who could not. Before these latter groups could acquire sufficient funds for California, Hargraves had manufactured an Australian rush.

Sydney and Melbourne had experienced a sudden loss of population on the announcement of the gold rushes. The effect,
possibly due to the distance, was less dramatic in Brisbane and the northern squatting districts but by mid-June 1851 a general rise in wages, even for female domestic servants, had occurred. By September Surveyor E.O. Moriarty reported from Warwick that three of his men had left for Bathurst and another two intended going on the expiry of their contracts. (Such complaints became commonplace in the next three years.) A month later at Cambooya he had been deserted by all but his black boy and he bemoaned the difficulty of hiring men except at the most exorbitant wages and then only by the day. In November Mrs. George (Emmeline) Leslie of Canning Downs anticipated that soon she would ‘have all women servants in our house (as) the men are all going to the mines’. In that month large numbers of men, having served out their contracts or breached their agreements, were walking from Brisbane to Bathurst via Drayton, the Severn River, and Byron Plains, covering some 20-25 miles per day. Others preferred a less strenuous trip for in January 1852 it was reported that no ship cleared Moreton Bay ‘without a full cargo of adventurers’.

The initial exodus mostly affected the urban centres of Brisbane and Ipswich rather than the squatting districts. In January and June 1852 William Wilkes, the editor of the Moreton Bay Courier, remarked on the still and deserted landscape of Brisbane, the cheerless appearance of its streets, and the despondent aspect of its residents as they experienced a sudden reversal of prosperity: Brisbane, he concluded, fared worse than the stations for labour. The effect was not long delayed. By February 1852 stockkeepers’ wages had doubled to £50 per annum. By September the constabulary at Drayton had given three months’ notice of quitting for the fields. In October there was a great scarcity of men for the shearing season just getting under way. One squatter at Glen Lyon on Quart Pot Creek complained that his shepherds were ‘continually leaving him, and proceeding south with a general exodus to the goldfields’. In September 1853 the men washing sheep at Canning Downs, discomforted by a cold spring and eager to be off to the diggings, demanded an increase in their wages and six nobblers of rum thrown in. The overseer dismissed the men, replacing them with local Aborigines with the result that ‘the work was done better than if performed by white men’. In 1854 there were several labour shortages with working men meeting at Drayton to ‘fix the price of shearing and washing for the oncoming season’. David Denholm has estimated that about 1400 single men left for the fields between 1851 and 1856.

The main concern of the squatters was to find replacements for the small permanent workforce, such as shepherds, carriers, and gardeners, involved in the daily monotony of working a station. There were, however, some unexpected compensations. As the fields were
several hundred miles away, many men preferred to serve out their contracts and thereby acquire a larger grub-stake while testing the permanence of the fields. Moreover, the growing overland migration from Brisbane to the fields provided the local squatters with an itinerant labour force which readily accepted short-term seasonal work to increase its financial reserves.\textsuperscript{11}

The gold rush, in essence, merely aggravated an existing labour shortage. The Downs had been settled in the 1840s just as the transportation of convicts was abolished, assigned labour ended, ticket-of-leave labour became scarce, and free, indentured, immigrant labour demanded high wages for employment on the pastoral frontier. The squatters sought a return to the idyllic days of cheap labour in the late 1830s. Initially, they demanded the resumption of transportation, supported the formation of a new convict colony at Port Curtis, and threw their weight behind Earl Grey’s ‘exile’ scheme. When these schemes failed, they briefly flirted with Indian labour in the mid-1840s, cautiously employed Aborigines as casual labour in the late 1840s, and then, as the gold exodus occurred in the early 1850s, relied heavily on itinerant labour and the importation of Chinese coolies. This labour shortage was largely resolved in the mid-1850s by the well-organised immigration of German shepherds and gardeners on two-year contracts.

The gold rush, however, was expected to have far greater positive benefits. The\textit{Courier}, conceding that gold might entice convicts to escape, nevertheless saw gold eliminating colonial poverty and, asserting that only one miner in fifty would be successful, foresaw the formation of a large pool of cheap labour. Emmeline Leslie acknowledged that ‘the great changes taking place make those whose occupations are fixed rather anxious’ but optimistically believed it was merely a matter of standing ‘at their posts awaiting the changes it must effect’.\textsuperscript{12} Patrick Leslie, the Scots migrant who had initiated the pastoral settlement of the Downs in 1840 in search of a colonial fortune,\textsuperscript{13} was confident that gold

will give such a shove that we will see what colony can overtake us. Labour will rush to us and all we want to be the most prosperous colony in the world is labour, with that we can have all that will advance us beyond what we could have dared to hope would have happened in our time.\textsuperscript{14}

Hargraves’ discovery of gold in central New South Wales was thus enthusiastically received by Moreton Bay merchant and Downs squatter. It was prudently acknowledged, however, that the discovery of a local field would be most advantageous to these two groups.\textsuperscript{15}
A LOCAL DISCOVERY

The possibility of finding a local goldfield was encouraged by the opinion of the respected geologist, Reverend W.B. Clarke, who likened the Great Dividing Range to the California Cordillera. In June 1851 a group of Brisbane merchants offered a £1000 reward to the man who discovered gold in the Moreton Bay-Darling Downs region by November. Prospectors went quickly to work at Cunningham’s Gap, Mt. Brisbane in the Upper Brisbane Valley, and the D’Aguilar Range near Kilcoy. Stephen Mehan, mine host of the “Downs Inn” at Drayton, invited searchers to test the truth of Clarke’s opinion by using his refurbished pub as a base for establishing ‘The Drayton Diggings’. Reports of a discovery at Mt. Brisbane caused a minor rush in October with land values at Ipswich, the nearest town, soaring by 100 per cent. It proved worthless.16

Great hopes were held for the discovery of a Darling Downs field. On 26 June 1851 the Warwick Bench of Magistrates (comprising the squatters Patrick Leslie, George Leslie, and William Leith Hay) informed the Colonial Secretary, in a tone of suppressed urgency, that ‘there are several parties searching for gold in this district, that some of them state that they have been successful to some extent and anticipate finding an Extensive field’. They requested the immediate proclamation of a goldfield and the appointment of appropriate officers to forestall ‘disastrous consequences both to Employers of Labour, the mines themselves . . . and the diggers as well’. The Colonial Secretary, announcing that it was not government policy ‘to encourage persons to quit their ordinary avocations to dig for gold or to attract them from one field to another’, despatched twenty-five copies of the Gold Fields Proclamation and Regulations of 22 May 1851 with detailed instructions on the collection of licence fees, the allocation of claims, the policing of the field, and the despatch of the gold under armed escort. Commissioner Rolleston, however, was cautioned to verify the discovery before placing these notices on court house notice boards, pub walls, and wayside trees.17

Before Rolleston could carry out his investigation in November, the news became public. On 28 July the Courier reported that a Mr. Harris had taken some Downs gold to Sydney where it had been favourably assayed by Rev. Clarke. In September Arthur McArthur, confidently expecting the £1000 reward, forwarded the Lord John’s Swamp samples to Clarke who urged a systematic prospect of the north-westerly watercourses in the area. George Leslie then hired three Warwick men, Henry Alphen, Edward Thompson, and a man known only as Murray, to search the creeks around Perrott’s Gap. When they found ‘a few specks of gold’ about a foot below the surface, these were personally taken to Sydney by George Leslie. By early
November there were several men at work on Canning Downs run, although their prospecting was hampered by the lack of local joiners to make the cradles necessary for washing. Emmeline Leslie, reporting the ‘wonderful gold discoveries’ to her Scottish relatives, enthused that ‘there is little doubt it abounds here’. A public meeting in Warwick on 12 November enthusiastically agreed to pay the licence fees of the local prospectors and petitioned the government for a qualified geologist to direct operations. At the same meeting Patrick Leslie extolled the advantages that would accrue to the infant town of Warwick from the local discovery, although he carefully omitted to list the benefits for the local squatters.\textsuperscript{18}

There can be little doubt, however, that local squatters vigorously backed the search for a Warwick field. The Leslie brothers took prominent roles financially and magisterially. Canning Downs run was the focus of the search, McArthur was related by marriage, and on 21 November Commissioner Rolleston, a staunch defender of squatterdom, a close friend of the Leslies, and soon to become their brother-in-law, advised his superiors to declare the field. He explained that

\begin{quote}

since the Northern Districts are gradually being drained of their supply of labour; since the discovery of Gold alone is likely to stop their further de-population; since moreover there is every reason to believe, judging from geological data, that Gold will be found over spreading a considerable portion of the Darling Downs; and since its existence in one spot at least, has been proved beyond a doubt I would strongly deprecate a policy tending to check a discovery upon which the continued welfare of these Districts is largely dependent.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

The squatters tried to ensure their labour supply and procure general economic benefits by ‘talking up’ another Bathurst. This was not a deliberate hoax. Rather, it was the consequence of a momentary rush of blood to the head in the aftermath of Hargraves’ momentous announcement.

The Canning Downs prospect proved worthless. On 2 December 1851 the government, having received an unsolicited negative opinion of the field from Surveyor E.O. Moriarty, refused to declare the field and by the end of the month it was abandoned by all but one man. The other prospectors moved to new locations recommended by the surveyor: Thane’s Creek, where Moriarty had made small discoveries, and the rough terrain around McIntyre Brook in the granite belt. In February 1852 the *Courier*'s Warwick correspondent ruefully reported that ‘our goldfields have died a natural death’\textsuperscript{20}

It was in this depressed frame of mind that Warwick prospector, Downs squatter, and Brisbane merchant awaited the arrival of Hargraves in April 1852. The ‘revelation’ and backfiring of
Thompson’s ‘leaden bullet’ hoax with Hargraves’ subsequently negative report was therefore all the more galling. A spate of letters charged the great goldfinder with indifference and incompetence. They now looked forward to visits by W.B. Clarke and the government geologist, Samuel Stutchbury. Clarke visited the Downs early in 1853, submitting a discouraging report in October: the precious metal was not likely to be found on the Main range or the Downs proper where it would be buried beneath 100 feet of non-goldbearing grit, shale, and sandstone; fine gold might be found in the geological upheavals along some of the mountain creeks but, he concluded, ‘it will require far more energy and determination than the talkers about it have yet exhibited’. Clarke was far more impressed by the evidence of excellent reserves of coal scattered over the Downs. Similarly, Stutchbury’s visit late in 1853 revealed greater concern for coal and water reserves than for specks of gold. The experts offered no encouragement to the providers of the reward or the prospectors in the field.

The search, nevertheless, continued with stubborn persistence overcoming constant disillusionment. In mid-1852 Robert Shanklin, a Warwick storekeeper, formed a prospecting party which toured the southern Downs from Warwick to Thane’s Creek to Canal Creek and up McIntyre Brook before returning to the town; they found no payable gold. The mood of despondency was not relieved when a few specks were found by Robert Meston (soon to become editor of the Moreton Bay Free Press) at Pikedale Creek in February 1853 or by a party of ‘Californians’ at Canal Creek in June. By December the Brisbane merchants had raised the reward to £2600.

The Californians worked throughout 1854 but it was two years before some interesting specks were found along the Emu and Cooyar Creeks east of the Range in the upper Brisbane Valley; an exhaustive survey revealed they were insufficient for the reward to be paid out. By then there was renewed interest in a southern Downs field for in May 1856 William Spreadborough was gaining four ounces of gold per week at a place on the Range called ‘The Elbow’, about fourteen miles from Warwick. Four months later Joseph Russell and William Chappel were earning ten shillings per day about twenty-five miles from the town and by the end of the year there were thirteen men using the latest Californian pumps in the area. Although their work was curtailed by drought-breaking rains and floods, they daily expected to claim the reward. Early in 1858, even though no reward was forthcoming, these fields were nevertheless still going ahead in ‘first rate style’ with over a pound-weight of gold being forwarded from Warwick each month. In mid-1858 there was the excited announcement of a ‘New Gold Field on the Darling Downs’ after Surveyor A.F. Wood had reported the certainty of finding payable gold along Thane’s Creek, Canal Creek, and McIntyre Brook but,
again, nothing eventuated. These finds, while supporting a handful of determined workers, all proved inadequate as a stimulus for a major local rush.

**DISCOVERIES FURTHER AFIELD**

It was quite galling for the donors of the reward for a local Moreton Bay-Darling Downs field that the most promising rushes occurred to New England fields and benefited Armidale. Gold had been found at Bingarra on the Gwydir River as early as September 1852, causing a sudden emigration from Warwick and Drayton. Another find at Rocky River between Bingarra and Warialda in July-August 1856 had similar effects in Ipswich and Toowoomba. This made the search for a closer field more urgent. Downs squatters, however, continued to benefit from the itinerant labour crossing their runs.

The most likely development was at Boonoo Boonoo where two Americans had found gold on A.K. Cullen’s Tenterfield run just twelve miles north of Tenterfield, twenty-two south of Ballandean, and thirty-six from Maryland. Situated on a two-mile-long swamp on the eastern side of the Range, Boonoo Boonoo was doing well in March 1858 with two stores, six pubs, and 400 people. These included several Toowoomba residents, calling themselves the ‘Twelve Apostles’, who worked a claim known as ‘Mt. Toowoomba’. Returns were estimated at twenty-five shillings per man per day, although a large capital outlay of £60 per four-man team was necessary. Dubbed ‘The Dismal Swamp’ by a jealous Armidale press, it was adopted as ‘Our Gold Fields’ by Moreton Bay. Brisbane merchants sent J. Leith Hay and Captain Albrecht Feez to determine the feasibility of a gold escort and Drayton storekeeper, Edward Lord, investigated establishing a supply route to the field. The onset of winter and a switch from alluvial to the more expensive shaft-mining, however, considerably dampened enthusiasm. This was only partly restored next summer when a marked tree line cut by the road engineer, Thomas B. Yates, attracted 600 miners to a field which was now stretched out over twenty-five miles of isolated creeks.

Boonoo Boonoo, however, was swamped in importance by the discovery of the Canoona field on the Fitzroy River in the Port Curtis district to which some 15,000 people flocked in September-October 1858. Although the greatest excitement was felt in Sydney and Melbourne, there was a considerable exodus from Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs. In Brisbane, where the streets were deserted and property values fell by 50 per cent, it was feared that the town might lose its claim to be the capital of the new colony of Queensland. In Ipswich in the last week of September a lawyer processed eighty mortgages for property holders raising capital for a trip to
Rockhampton. Downs squatters thought the ‘Rockhampton delusion’ was a ruse to raise wages at shearing time. There was a general despondency at the depreciation of values, the loss of trade, and the shortage of labour but the Canoona madness soon ended as miners were stranded in poverty and without return fares. By March 1859 the rush was over.  

In the midst of the Canoona rush Brisbane merchants renewed their reward for the discovery of gold within 130 miles of the town. Boonoo Boonoo was revived briefly only to be replaced by Fairfield (now Drake) — ‘the most permanent (and generally payable) goldfield at present known in Australia’ — some 200 miles from Brisbane. As it was encompassed by rocky mountains and impassable gullies, it was rejected as a suitable field by Brisbane merchants, even though diggers were making up to £20 per week and labourers about twenty shillings. It was with great relief, therefore, that a major field was discovered at Tooloom in August 1859.

Tooloom was located on a tributary of the Clarence River twenty-eight miles east-north-east of Boonoo Boonoo and twenty miles north-west of Grafton. As the intervening country was extremely rugged, the easier route to Ipswich 85-100 miles to the north-north-east was preferred. Tooloom therefore became the much sought auriferous focal point of Moreton Bay with more than 500 miners taking up claims within days. A Warwick merchant initially supplied the field with flour but this was a bad Chilian variety and the venture failed. By September Ipswich flour-miller, Joseph Fleming, had seventeen drays on the road to the field. Other Ipswich merchants formed a private gold escort company to bring the gold to Ipswich. The official mail route to the field was gazetted as via Ipswich and shipping companies offloaded southern diggers at Brisbane rather than Grafton on the Clarence. In November 1859, however, just days before the separation of Queensland, the New South Wales government established an official gold escort from the field to Grafton. When Queensland was separated, Tooloom was twenty miles inside New South Wales territory. Moreton Bay and, indeed, Queensland had been cheated of ‘their’ field. The Darling Downs gained a small but viable field at Talgai in 1864, but Queensland had to wait for the major find at Gympie in 1867.

THE IMPACT ON THE DOWNS

Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs continued to prosper throughout the golden decade largely because the pastoral industry, despite short-term labour problems, experienced new growth. In general terms the profitability of squatterdom in this period was enhanced by a rise in wool prices, an increase in tallow production,
and the removal in 1852 of the assessment-on-stock levy which saved squatters some £16,000 annually. A great boon was the growth in the meat trade: by March 1857 Downs squatters had overlanded 100,000 sheep to the Victorian fields; in October 1858 Kent & Wienholt of Rosalie Plains sold 7000 wethers to the Canoona field at thirteen shillings per head, after removing the wool, of course; in March 1859 some 30,400 Downs sheep were sold to Melbourne markets at 8-12 shillings per head; and when Pilton was placed on the market in 1859, attracting interest from as far away as London, its greatest drawcard was its frequent sales to Port Phillip. At the same time Downs stations were improving their breeding lines for stocking the expanding frontier in central Queensland: in February 1859 Arthur Hodgson of Eton Vale sold 7000 sheep to new stations on the Fitzroy.

The Darling Downs, as the newest pastoral district, had experienced dramatic growth in both stock and population in the 1840s. This slowed in the first half of the 1850s, partly due to the gold rushes and partly due to a natural pause for consolidation, but revived in the latter half of the decade. Oscar de Satge, a new-chum drover employed in the overlanding of stock, reported that the live sheep, wool and meat trades were doing very well in the mid-1850s. Downs sheep numbers increased from 616,000 in 1850 to 1,000,000 in 1855 and 1,500,000 in 1859, maintaining a growth rate more than double that of the pastoral districts generally. Cattle numbers jumped from 42,600 to 62,000 in 1855 and 108,000 in 1859, maintaining a growth rate slightly above the colonial average. Similarly, the Downs population grew by 230 per cent in the period 1846-1851, contracted to 43 per cent during 1851-1856, and rose by 130 per cent in the next five-year period. In the two censal periods of the 1850s, Warwick’s population grew by 77 per cent and 150 per cent respectively. In Moreton Bay in the first half of the decade, despite the lamentations of deserted streets, the populations of Brisbane and Ipswich increased by 73 and a massive 164 per cent respectively, although they slowed to 38 and 34 per cent in the next five years. In essence, the gold rushes represented little more than a hiccup in the expansion of the region.

As early as July 1852 a squatters’ paper, the Moreton Bay Free Press, avowed that there was ‘no necessary antagonism between the old branches of colonial industry and the new nor any likelihood of the latter bringing ruin upon . . . the former’: while gold brought temporary inconveniences, these were compensated by the advantages of economic growth. By early 1855 Brisbane merchants and Downs squatters were convinced the worst was over: the Courier saw the northern districts expanding in wealth, population and public spirit and Burnett squatter, Gordon Sandeman, conceding that gold had provided a great fillip, took comfort from the view that wool still
produced the great staple of the country. In September 1858 the
*Darling Downs Gazette*, established at Drayton just three months
previously, argued that any gold discovery 'will be largely beneficial
to even the remotest part of the colony'. At the end of the decade
the *North Australian*, in comparing the squatters' current position
with that of the 1840s, summed up the impact of gold on wool: 'The
gold discoveries, the extended trade and manufacturing powers of
the parent state, have contributed to the prosperity of the squatting
interest to an extent beyond all probable attainment, and entirely
reversed the position of the pastoral body'. This was no better
illustrated than by Arthur Hodgson in reviewing his fortunes on the
Downs from his arrival as an ambitious new-chum in 1840 to his
departure as a rich man in 1855: in the first five years he lost two-
thirds of his capital; in the next five years he recovered a third of
his capital; and in the last five years he made his fortune 'mainly
owing to the extraordinary change which has come over this colony
since the gold discovery, and consequently the increased value of stock
and stations'. Hodgson was now able to pursue other interests by
leaving his successful run in the hands of competent managing
partners. Several squatters, such as George Leslie, sold their runs for
handsome profits in the mid-1850s and retired to England in comfort.

Gold enhanced rather than retarded the development of pastoralism
on the Darling Downs. Its discovery was greeted in anticipation of
certain advantages and, while its brief discomforts caused some alarm
in the labour market and centres of commerce, its ultimate benefits
were embraced. At Separation the squatters were on the eve of a
period of prosperity and growth. There was little need for either a
genuine discovery or 'a leaden bullet'.

NOTES

4. *MBC*, 6, 27 January, 3 February, 30 June, 7 August 1849; D. Forbes,
   'Reminiscences of the Early Days of the Present Colony of Queensland',
   *Queensland Geographical Journal*, 16 (1900), 60-1.
5. *MBC*, 14 June, 8 November 1851, 17 January 1852; E.O. Moriarty to
   Surveyor General, 23 September, 31 October 1851 (AONSW 2/1560, Letters
   Received 1849-1853, no. 51/131 and 51/132); Emmeline Leslie to Mary Anne
   Davidson, 24 October 1851 in Letters of the Leslie Brothers in Australia
   (John Oxley Library OM71-43, letter no. 428).
7. *MBC*, 7 February, 11 September, 9 October 1852. For Glen Lyon see *Warwick
   Daily News*, 28 March 1940.
8. Thomas Hall, A Short History of the Downs Blacks known as the "Blucher"
   Tribe, p. 39 (T/S, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, c. 1920).