The goldfield of Charters Towers was discovered by Hugh Mosman, George Clarke and John Fraser in late December 1871. There was a considerable population of miners in the surrounding districts: Ravenswood and Cape River had been discovered years previously, and miners were working the Broughton and Seventy Mile fields to the near south when the discovery occurred. These provided a large population of miners for the new field within a short time. The newcomers found gold in abundance.

When the news of the discovery broke there was the inevitable ‘rush’, a ‘rush’ that continued as it became evident that an extremely rich field had been found. By the latter part of 1872 the population had swelled to about 4,000, and, rich as the field was, the settlement had problems; it was isolated, food had to be brought from Townsville, water supplies were uncertain, and there were more than enough prospectors for the number of good claims available.

The year 1872 began auspiciously for Charters, with a gift of comparative immortality. Born in Belfast in 1830, Charters was an imposing figure at 6ft 4inches and 18 stone. An imposing man he held an even more imposing name: William Skelton Ewbank Melbourne Charters. After a successful period mining in Victoria, Charters was appointed inspector in charge of police in the Maranoa district in 1861. He had been the first Gold Commissioner for the North Kennedy, and was appointed to the Cape River rush in 1867. Executive power on gold fields was concentrated in the office of Goldfield Commissioner. At that time the Commissioners not only represented the law, but in many ways constituted the law. They had very wide powers within their own areas, and in many cases their decisions were legally final. “I am the law”, Charters had once thundered at a hapless defendant in a Cape River court. By the time the new Charters Towers gold field was discovered in late 1871 the post at Cape River had become a sinecure, for the field had dwindled to a total of thirty fossickers. Charters was then administering both the Cape River and Broughton fields. The Broughton was a field about twelve miles south east of Charters Towers were a minor rush had broken out in late 1871.
It was then that he announced that he would move his headquarters to the Broughton township. Charters’ appointment to the Cape had not been a spectacularly successful one, marred by idiosyncratic interpretations of the Goldfield regulations, and opposition from the mining community. He was soon in trouble on Charters Towers for the same reasons. Charters was appointed Gold Commissioner to the new field in 1872 and gave it his name. Charters was temporarily presiding as Gold Commissioner in Ravenswood when Hugh Mosman applied for a protection area for his new find. A few days after Mosman registered his claim Charters returned to his frontier post. After staying only two days at the new Charters Towers gold field he returned to the Cape leaving the new gold field entirely without supervision during its crucial first few weeks. As late as April 1872, Charters was still using Broughton township as his headquarters. This was demonstrative of his exceedingly poor judgement.

From 1873-1874 Charters was stationed at Etheridge, and returned from 1874-1880 as Gold Commissioner at Charters Towers. In 1873 Charters’ sister had emigrated to the Broughton. Following his retirement Charters operated with his brother Bletchinton Park station outside Charters Towers. Tragically, W.S.E.M. Charters died in 1885 when he finally succumbed to an injury received when he trod accidentally on a rusty nail which was sticking out from a board, and, being a heavy man . . . the nail penetrated deeply into his foot. The wound never properly healed; and for six years Mr. Charters suffered occasionally from the effects of the accident.

Throughout Charters’ career, complaints were rife concerning his unavailability on account of illness; he was either a very ill man or a hypochondriac. He appears to have approached his duties most casually. Indeed, it was his negligence that cost George Clarke and John Fraser, the other two discoverers of the field, their prospecting claims.

**REASONS FOR UNREST IN CHARTERS TOWERS IN 1872**

First, Charters, the senior Gold Commissioner in the district, had adopted “unusual and arbitrary” interpretations of the Regulations, and many of the miners were aggrieved. Charters was also accused of favouring moneyed interests, and retiring ill whenever a brawl or confrontation occurred. As a result the law of the field soon became “the survival of the strong”. Second, the settlers were divided on where the main town should be: the Millchester township near the water, or Upper Camp near the mines. Third, an influx of miners from the south, encouraged by irresponsible newspaper reports of a new alluvial find, apparently fabricated by local business speculators, had found themselves destitute. The rush resulted in hundreds of unluckily prospectors having to return or seek other fields.
What was needed was firm and steady guidance from an outside authority. The chief representative of the Government was the Gold Commissioner, W.S.E.M. Charters. Charters, unfortunately, was not the sound administrator Charters Towers required:

discontent on Charters Towers continues to increase daily, and Mr. Charters continues unable to perform his duties.\(^\text{12}\)

Dissatisfaction with the administration of Charters had unsettled the population. Authority was poorly represented: the Commissioner administered the field from an hotel room and he was assisted by a very small detachment of police. Members of the Charters Towers Miners’ Protection Association then made representations to the colonial government to investigate a number of Charters’ controversial rulings.\(^\text{13}\)

The colonial government had finally decided that matters in the tropical goldfields were in danger of running out of control. Into this settlement under seige came Superintendent Gold Commissioner John Jardine, with orders to investigate the problems of the field and take such actions as were necessary.

Before his promotion John Jardine had been Police Magistrate since 1861 at Rockhampton and Queensland’s senior Gold Commissioner. As a newly promoted Superintendent Gold Commissioner, Jardine had been armed with the necessary authority to reorganize the gold frontier. There was no doubt that he would use these powers, for he had been a frontier official for nearly 25 years.\(^\text{14}\)

On 12 September 1872 Jardine received instructions from the Under Secretary of Public Works, A.O. Herbert, to proceed to the northern goldfields invested with the powers and position of Superintendent Commissioner to “carry out the special duties assigned to you”.\(^\text{15}\) Jardine’s first visit was to be to the Charters Towers goldfield where

\[
\text{a large number of men are reported to be located whose numbers are daily increasing — by arrivals from other fields in this Colony, and from the Southern Colonies.}\(^\text{16}\)
\]

Jardine’s brief as Superintendent Commissioner was wide

To determine the locality where each Commissioner should be stationed, the Clerical and Police assistance he should have, to ensure, as far as practicable, efficient administration of the Gold Fields Act and Regulations, and the interests thereunder. Whether any amendments in the boundaries of the Goldfield would be required.\(^\text{17}\)

There appeared to be a hidden agenda to Jardine’s mission. Although he was instructed to visit all the tropical goldfields there is no doubt regarding the place the colonial Government considered potentially the most dangerous.
On your arrival at Charters Towers, circumstances may render it necessary for you to take charge, temporarily, of the field. This interference will be left to your discretion the Government having full confidence that you will discharge a difficult duty with zeal and prudence.\textsuperscript{18}

It appears that his major task was to replace Commissioner Charters. His letter of credential from W.H. Walsh, Secretary for Public Works, stated:

> Should you deem it necessary to make changes and give orders that may not be considered suitable, or may be protested against, by the local Commissioners, you will record their opinions for my information, and forward copies of their protests to this office.\textsuperscript{19}

Jardine was finally instructed to provide a comprehensive report on his findings on the gold fields and his recommendations for improvement.\textsuperscript{20}

Jardine moved swiftly. He arrived at Charters Towers on 4 October. The three local commissioners, Charters, his assistant John Graham MacDonald,\textsuperscript{21} and Ramsay from Ravenswood, were summoned to the town. Jardine read them his letter of appointment and set to work. Commissioners, he found, were grossly overworked

occupied daily from 9am to 6pm, often much later . . . Office hours were unknown . . . [and] The whole business of the Police Court and Gold Commissioner's Office was carried on in a small room 14 by 12 feet in a public house.\textsuperscript{22}

He reorganized the administration of the goldfield, and was granted immediate ministerial approval for the erection of a court house and Commissioner's and Clerk of Petty Sessions Office. On 21 October Jardine accompanied Charters to the Broughton and the Cape diggings.\textsuperscript{23}

\section*{TREVANTHEAN RIOT: THE DOWNFALL OF WARDEN CHARTERS}

With the approach of high summer, water was becoming scarce. To make matters worse, by October 1872 a drought had set in, water cost 3 pence a bucket, fodder was scarce, cartage expensive, and the price of crushing ore rose to thirty shillings per ton. The mills were hung up, as it generally took about 7 tonnes of water to crush a tonne of stone. As feed became scarcer, freight charges began to rise.\textsuperscript{24} The lack of water confined the alluvial miners to the townships. These unoccupied miners constituted a large and discontented group, susceptible to the attractions of mischief.

On 28 October the miners were provided with an opportunity to wreak mischief. That morning Aldolphus Trevethan, of the butchers' firm of J.D. Symes and A. Trevethan, raised the price of meat from
The miners responded on the hot dry Monday evening and with the help of a bullock bell the miners, many unemployed, angry and confused, readily obeyed the summons. The ‘Roll-Up’ warned Trevethan that if the price was not at once lowered his shop would most certainly come down the following evening. Trevethan, perhaps relying on his friendship with the Gold Commissioner for protection, refused to back down.

The streets of Millchester township were crowded on Tuesday evening. There was already a crowd of 600-700 gathered before the butchers’ shop. A large crowd placed a rope around the butcher’s shop and carried the ends across the road.

Immediately a strain was put upon the rope it snapped-cut, we believe by someone behind the building . . . the rope was soon readjusted, this time higher up, and after a few hearty pulls and considerable amount of creaking and groaning on the part of the doomed house, down it came with a crash, amidst great applause. A lull now took place, and the rope was coiled for return, but some out-buildings were discovered and after a little discussion they were next attacked and brought down.

Trevethan was the sole target that night and the crowd occupied the streets of Millchester for several hours before they dispersed.

Jardine and Charters had arrived back from their tour of the Broughton and Cape River that day. For Charters the rigorous ride had proven to be too punishing, and he was taken ill. Although his illness appears to be genuine, it did not save him from Jardine’s scorn. In his official report Jardine stated, contrary to the contemporary newspaper reports, that the riots occurred in daylight, and, a few lines on:

Mr. Commissioner Charters was taken unwell the day the riots commenced, and removed to his residence at Broughton, and did not return until the Monday following, when everything was quiet.

Charters later replied to this assertion that he had taken ill on the night of 28 October, of the first ‘Roll-Up’ in fact, and that on the day following the destruction of Trevethan and Symes shop, at the Doctor’s directions and at Mr. Jardine’s solicitation . . . was removed to Broughton . . . where he required ‘constant medical attendance’ until 1 November.

This is curious as Jardine openly accused Charters of not being present at a time of unusual unrest and leaving the field at the first hint of disturbance.
A sketch of early Charters Towers, looking east over the rapidly growing mining field.

RHSQ Collection
The morning after the riot three men identified as ringleaders were conveyed by the police to the lockup. Rumours began to circulate of a rescue bid for the prisoners. The lockup was very insecure; "an old bark hut". Commissioner Macdonald and some armed police were at the lockup when a noisy crowd arrived and when bail was demanded Macdonald acceded.

On the following Friday, 1 November, the diggers gathered long before the court opened. From 9am small groups of miners arrived and by 10am, when the Court was due to open, a large crowd filled the streets. Throughout the trial there was a continuous and unnerving reminder to the Court's precarious control of authority through the roar of 1500 men outside who at times drowned Jardine's voice. At 11am 'the tumult suddenly increased', and above the noise of the crowd a shot rang out. Trevethan seems to have been possessed of a more than average certainty of the righteousness of his cause, and some courage as well. He had ridden down Mosman Street through the crowd who began to hoot and groan at him. He rode defiantly on, dismounted and attempted to tie his horse to a verandah post. The horse took fright, and Trevethan led him into the yard at the rear of the Court, followed by a hooting, yelling crowd. By now, Trevethan had his revolver in his hand, "a double action Tranter"; the crowd closed in and began to jostle him. He presented the revolver. A bottle flew past him; he turned again, and fired point blank into the crowd. The shot took a miner, Joseph King, in the neck, after grazing a luckier, closer man. Owing to the crush, his assailants could not damage Trevethan much. Someone held his gun-hand until Sub-Inspector Clohesy managed to fight through the crowd and after a great deal of difficulty and danger succeeded in wrestling the revolver from Trevethan who was endeavouring to use it again.

Jardine maintained an admirable sang-froid. He directed the constables to go and rescue Trevethan, and then apparently sat in calm majesty on the bench while the casualties were dragged in. Trevethan came first, presenting a most pitiable appearance, his head and face were bruised and bleeding, while from his rapid and difficult breathing it was evident he had just gone through a severe struggle.

Next, his victim Joseph King was helped in, pale and weak and bleeding profusely from a bullet hole in the neck.

Outside, a rumour that King was dead sped through the mob, which rushed the court, shouting that they would have Trevethan out, 'hang him like a dog'. The police drew their pistols, but, with a rare and delicate understanding, did not fire. The press drove them back into the court room. Jardine managed to fight his way onto the hotel
verandah, and tried to persuade them that Trevethan was in custody and would face trial for shooting King. He was unsuccessful: the tumult continued.

The authority of the Crown having been set at naught, it devolved upon the representative of a totem more powerful to an Irish mob to step in and save the day. His Lordship Bishop James Quinn, Roman Catholic Bishop of Queensland, had arrived on the goldfields some days previously. There is no doubt that his authority was, for a large portion of the crowd, persuasive. He demanded and got a show of hands to allow Trevethan to be locked up for trial. The mob refused to allow the hearing against the ring leaders Steel, Scullen and Foreman to be adjourned even though the Crown witness was now in custody. Jardine wisely bowed to this demand and adjourned the case until Monday 4 November. Trevethan was tried on Saturday on charges of shooting and wounding and committed to trial before the Rockhampton assizes. He was then spirited out of town.

Jardine had still to support the dignity of the Crown and bring his rioters to trial. There was no hope of police reinforcements arriving in the near future, so he enlisted help by swearing in thirty four special constables. This had been done at the urging of Jardine’s superior, the Secretary of Public Works. On first reports Jardine’s superiors had been advised that it was Trevethan who had been shot! This was undoubtedly a factor in their grave concern for the established order. If there was no respect for the merchant class then the next target would be the colonial officialdom. The crowd was smaller this day, 500 or so. Again, church supported state, but the presence of Bishop Quinn did not deter the mob from ‘alternately groaning, cheering and shouting’ during the proceedings. Although the prisoners were committed for trial to the Townsville District Court in hindsight the riot was not a very serious affair. King recovered, Trevethan was never tried, and when Scullen, Foreman and Steel came to trial in Townsville they were found not guilty.

Jardine appeared to have been uncharacteristically conciliatory during the trial. The mob amused themselves by pelting rotten eggs at the unarmed special constables. Jardine was entitled to feel relieved that a potentially explosive situation had ended in nothing more than a shower of eggs. Although he maintained public discretion; privately, especially to the unfortunate Charters, who returned on 4 November, he was scathing. He made the suggestion to Charters that he should have some of the fellows apprehended and trust to providence for evidence so that the Colonial Secretary could see that something had been done.
Jardine later remarked on Charters' convenient removal to the Broughton with vitriol:

... more will have to be apprehended to show the Colonial Secretary that something had been done in the matter a d--n nice thing you having the guts-ache: you that knew every person could have sworn to the lot of them.  

On 7 November Jardine wrote to Charters detailing the recommendations of his investigation of the goldfield. The majority of the letter had Jardine emphasizing the necessity of a Commissioner being acquainted with the duties of their position and the need to act in an uniform way. Jardine's final recommendation was to be the sting in the tail of the letter.

I have recommended to the Minister for Public Works that you should continue in charge of the Broughton and Cape River districts as heretofore, and that Mr. McDonald should remain at Charters Towers — the Broughton River being the boundary: and I have to request that this division of duties may be observed until the approval or disapproval by the Minister of Works is received.  

Jardine appointed MacDonald to discharge the duties of Gold Commissioner at Charters Towers; "I believe McDonald to be fully competent".  

In so doing Jardine effectively exiled Charters to the southern side of the Broughton. MacDonald had been by Jardine's side throughout the delicate proceedings of the previous week while Charters had been convalescing at the Broughton. At the end of this letter Jardine requested acknowledgement of the receipt of the communication. This ploy was to be the downfall of Charters.  

Charters' reply to Jardine contained the excuse he had been waiting for. The reply was a statement in unadulterated arrogance.

If the Government can find any good reason for making the change suggested by you they will no doubt after hearing from me acquiesce therein but I consider they must be first consulted before any change can be made, more particularly as the Gold field is under my control.  

Charters misjudged Jardine's authority. He thought he was the 'Grand Pajandrum'; the law, answerable to nobody. Jardine's actions demonstrated that the colonial government could wield enough power to bring crashing to earth even the most entrenched, authoritarian colonial official. The power of the government reached to the very edge of the colonial frontier. Jardine informed the Minister that:

Interference by Commissioner Charters in management of Charters Towers has been & is most injudicious to field — Have directed him to confine himself to the duties of Broughton & the Cape.
Without Charters' knowledge Jardine had decided as early as 9 October, if not earlier, to move Charters back to his old jurisdiction. In this Jardine had the full support of the government. This division of the gold field, once it had provoked Charters into a rebellion that justified his suspension, was abandoned for the transparent gambit it was. The Cape River and Broughton diggings were almost played out and their future administration would place no additional burden on the new Gold Commissioner of Charters Towers, J.G. MacDonald.

'ROLL-UP' OF MINERS IN SUPPORT OF CHARTERS

Charters still retained support amongst a substantial number of miners and on Saturday 9 November a meeting of miners convened to discuss the rumours that Charters was to be removed from the field. A deputation was then selected to approach Jardine. In reply Jardine stated that he could not receive a deputation appointed to wait on me in reference to rumours and questions which rest entirely with the ministerial head of my department.

Jardine was furious and charged that their could only have been one source for the rumours; Charters. Not to be dissuaded, the miners held a Public Meeting on Saturday 16 November where it was resolved that a petition be presented to the Minister. Jardine wrote to the Minister expressing that the proceedings originated in a foolish desire on the part of Mr. Charters to appear to be supported in his endeavour to bring into contempt your orders, and my instructions.

Jardine saw this 'Roll-Up' as calculated to excite a class of the population, the 'rowdies and loafers', to show still farther their disregard for all law and order, and anew to endanger life and property.

It was at the feet of Charters that Jardine lay the full responsibility for the continued disturbance.

On 13 November the Secretary for Public Works, W.H. Walsh, telegraphed Charters that he was required in Brisbane at once. MacDonald was then appointed Gold Commissioner of Charters' diminished empire and on the 18 November Jardine continued his tour of the northern gold fields. Jardine's work had been done on the Charters Towers gold field.

In a letter dated 13 December 1872 the Under Secretary for Works viewed Charters' refusal
to obey Mr. Jardine's instructions as a manifest disobedience of the orders issued to yourself, and other Commissioners from this office; and that your conduct generally, as detailed by Mr. Jardine, indicates that you are not worthy of the duties entrusted to you. 61

He then proceeded to inform Charters that

under these circumstances, I am to inform you that you are suspended from official employment, and must show cause why you should not be dismissed from the public service. 62

There were two reasons stated for Charters' suspension: 'manifest disobedience' of Jardine's orders, and 'general misconduct'. Charters determined to exercise 'the right of protest' reserved by Jardine's instructions and to refer the question to the Minister for decision. Charters' defence was that Jardine did not deliver his letter until eight o'clock in the evening of the 8 November and requested a reply by the following morning. The result was poorly worded and capable of misinterpretation. 63

In response to the first charge Charters stated that

... I infer from the tenor of some of [Jardine's] remarks that the sole ground of his complaint on this point is the letter written by me to him on the 8 November last. 64

Charters argued that Jardine's instructions did not specifically authorize him to alter the jurisdiction of the local Commissioners, and that he had no power to remove an appointed Commissioner from one district to another.

On the second charge of 'general misconduct' Charters argued that

they are of vague and general a character that I have some difficulty in meeting them. 65

Charters had been accused of being instrumental: in organising the 'Roll-Up' which expressed dissatisfaction with Jardine; of being friends with disreputable 'party men'; of pretending to be sick during the riots; and refusing to arrest those involved in the riots. 66 Charters requested that if he was not to be reinstated that the matter be referred to a Board of Inquiry.

When Jardine was informed of Charters' suspension he immediately telegraphed that he could not be in Brisbane before Christmas. For Jardine, Charters' dismissal was a mere formality and he wanted to be there when it happened.

Pray withhold confirmation of Mr. Charters dismissal till my arrival. 67

On 21 January 1873 Charters was ordered to appear before a Board of Inquiry consisting of F.O. Darvall, the Auditor-General, Fred
Rawlins, the Police Magistrate of Brisbane, and John McDonnell, the Under Secretary of the Post Office.68

The inquiry found that although Charters' letter contained a reactionary stance his actions were in accord with his superiors instructions. From the receipt of Jardine's orders, Charters confined himself to discharging the duties of Commissioner on the Broughton and abstained from interference in Commissioner MacDonald's duties on the Charters Towers gold field. Charters' defence was that he was required to pen the response to his exile by Jardine in one evening. The result was an ill considered reply.69

The Board of Inquiry found that the evidence supplied was insufficient to disprove Jardine's charge. Charters' penance, rather than dismissal, was a severe reprimand through removal and employment at 'some other place',70 and a ban on returning to his hut on the Broughton field.71 Immediate transfer to the Etheridge gold field was to be the act of contrition.

CONCLUSION

For a proud, arrogant man the effective exile to the Broughton was too insulting to accept. Ever since missing out on the Ravenswood Gold Commissioner position Charters had been angling for a more influential post. No doubt Charters saw the gold field named in his honour as his ticket to the greater influence he craved. However, he was to be thwarted by the investigations carried out by Jardine in fulfilling his 'special duties'. The colonial government definitely had a hidden agenda in sending Jardine on a tour of the tropical goldfields. Indeed, the initial complaint that turned the gaze of the Minister upon the frontier empire of Charters was the protestations from the Charters Towers Miners' Protection Association; the oppositional power base on the gold field to Charters. This was lodged without Charters' knowledge and Jardine's investigation was largely carried out without Charters' knowledge. Jardine had decided within five days of his arrival that Charters would be removed. However, even Jardine felt that he needed an excuse. Charters obliged through his actions during the Trevethan riot and his subsequent arrogant blusterings. Jardine was so critical of this behaviour that he removed Charters from control of the Charters Towers gold field and appointed J.G. MacDonald in his place. This division of the gold field, once it had provoked Charters into a rebellion that justified his suspension, was abandoned for the transparent gambit it was. Charters misjudgement was the belief that his popular support with the miners on the gold field was enough to weather out any storm with the colonial government.

In short, Charters was guilty of a conflict of interest between his associations with many miners on the field and his position as
Government representative. His colonial superiors viewed this as untenable and sent in Jardine as a hatchet man. Upon reflection, if any judicial official had turned in the same questionable performance in Queensland during the days of the Fitzgerald Inquiry instead of banishment to a shrunken kingdom they would have undoubtedly received free bed and breakfast on behalf of the Government.

ENDNOTES

2. Oath of Allegience, Brisbane, 19 August 1861, A/4832 No:114, QSA.
4. Ravenswood Miner, 16 December 1871.
5. Port Denison Times, 12 September & 28 November 1868; Cleveland Bay Express, 12 September 1868.
6. Ravenswood Miner, 23 March, 30 March, 20 April, 1 June, 8 June, 15 June & 29 June 1872.
7. Although the gold field has been referred to as Charters Towers, in 1872 that entity was only a convenient geographical description. The reality was four or five thousand miners scattered over several miles of country, with three villages, Upper Camp, Just-In-Time and Millchester, each of which contained some of the amenities to serve them. It was Upper Camp that eventually became the administrative and governmental centre and was tagged Charters Towers.
8. Letter: W.S.E.M. Charters to Secretary of Public Works, Gold Commissioners Office, Georgetown, 2 March 1874, WOR/A81 1874/1368, QSA.
10. Ravenswood Miner, 21 September 1872.
11. Queenslander, 31 August 1872.
12. Northern Miner, 8 June 1872.
13. Queenslander, 7 December 1872.
15. A.O. Herbert to J. Jardine, Department of Public Works, Brisbane, 12 September 1872, 1872/3283 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
17. Herbert to Jardine, 12 September 1872, QSA.
18. Ibid.
19. Wm. Henry Walsh to J. Jardine, Department of Public Works, Brisbane, 12 September 1872, WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
20. Herbert to Jardine, 12 September 1872, QSA.
21. Born in Cumberland, NSW, in 1834, MacDonald was a surveyor and grazier. In 1861 he took up a large selection between Port Denison and Carpentaria Downs. In 1864 MacDonald explored the Gregory River and took up one million acres called the Plains of Promise. In 1872 he began a long career in the colonial public service as Gold Commissioner at Gilberton and in 1872 was transferred to Charters Towers. MacDonald’s career ended well
into the first decade of the new century as Police Magistrate in South Brisbane (Men of the Time, *Pugh's Almanac* 1886, pp.395-396; & Letters of various Police Magistracy & Clerk of Petty Session positions, with the name of incumbants ca 1870-1887, COL/430, QSA).

25. J. Jardine to Minister of Public Works, Gold Commissioners Office, Charters Towers, 3 November 1872, WOR/A58 1872/4508, QSA.
26. Jardine to Minister of Public Works, WOR/A58 1872/4508, QSA.
27. *Brisbane Courier*, 25 November 1872
29. W.S.E.M. Charters to Minister for Works, Brisbane, 24 December 1872, 1872/4771 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
32. Jardine to Minister of Public Works, 5 November 1872, WOR/A58 1872/4508, QSA.
34. Telegram: Samuel Symth (Detective) to Commissioner for Police, Ravenswood, 3 November 1872, COL/A175 1872/2348, QSA.
35. Telegram: Thos. Clohesy (Sub-Inspector) to Commissioner for Police, Ravenswood, 2 November 1872, COL/A175 1872/2348, QSA & J. Jardine to Minister of Works, Ravenswood, 5 November 1872, COL/A175 1872/2348, QSA.
39. *Queen vs. Adolphous Trevethan*, Police Court, Charters Towers, 23 November 1872, CPS 11A/P2, QSA; *Brisbane Courier*, 6 December 1872.
41. Jardine to Minister of Public Works, 5 November 1872, WOR/A58. 1872/4508, QSA.
42. Telegram W. Henry Walsh to Superintending Commissioner Jardine & Mr Ramsay, Brisbane, 2 November 1872, COL/A175 1872/2348, QSA.
43. *Ravenswood Miner*, 5 April 1873.
44. *Brisbane Courier*, 25 November 1872.
45. Charters to Minister for Works, 24 December 1872, 1872/4771 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
46. Transcript: Hearing of Charge, Audit Office, 21 January 1873, 1873/4863 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
47. J. Jardine to W.S.E.M. Charters, Gold Commissioners Office, Charters Towers, 7 November 1872, 1872/4518 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
49. W.S.E.M. Charters to J. Jardine, Gold Commissioners Office, Charters Towers, 8 November 1872, 1872/4518 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
50. Telegram: J. Jardine to Minister for Public Works, (Charters Towers 7/11/72), Ravenswood, 8/11/72, 1872/4295 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
51. Exerpts from Letters to the Minister of Public Works from J. Jardine, 9 October & 29 October 1872, in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
52. Telegram: B. Palmer to Minister for Public Works, Brisbane, 12 November 1872, 1872/4294 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
53. B. Palmer to John Jardine & reply, 13 November 1872, in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
54. Ibid.
55. J. Jardine to Minister for Public Works, Gold Commissioners Office, Charters Towers, 13 November 1872, 1872/4513 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
56. This petition contained 95 substantiated signatures [Memorial: re retaining services of Mr. Commissioner Charters at Charters Towers to Minister for Mines, December 1872, 1872/4516 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA].
58. Ibid.
59. Telegram: Wm. Henry Walsh to Undersecretary of Works Office, Stanthorpe, 13/11/72, 1872/4249 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
60. Telegram: J. Jardine to Minister for Public Works, Ravenswood, 21/11/72, 1872/4294 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
61. Letter: R. Jennings (for Under Secretary) to W.S.E.M. Charters, Department of Public Works, Goldfield Branch, Brisbane, 13 December 1872, 1873/4575 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
62. Ibid.
63. W.S.E.M. Charters to Minister for Public Works, Brisbane, 24 December 1872, 1872/4771 in WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Telegram: J. Jardine to Minister for Public Works, Rockhampton, 13 December 1872, WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
68. F.O. Darvell to John Jardine, and W.S.E.M. Charters, Audit Office, Brisbane, 17 January 1873, 1873/486 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
69. Minutes, Audit Office, Brisbane, 21 January 1873, 1873/486 file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
70. Memo Minister for Works to Council 5 March 1873, 1873/48623, in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.
71. Telegram: W.S.E.M. Charters to A.O. Herbert, Georgetown, 30/7/1873, 1873/486 in file WOR/A62 1873/999, QSA.