

Notes

Comment on sources

Most books that I consulted in writing this manuscript have been mentioned in the Notes at the appropriate place. On the first occasion only I have given the reference in full. A great number of general works on Australian history and many local histories were also read. Most of the specific information on the Inverell district did not, however, come from books, but from newspapers, periodicals and other written documents of every description. These are listed in the Notes for the chapter in which they were used. The sources of documents have often been listed — in abbreviated form (see below). On many occasions I was able to interview old residents of Inverell. Their names are too numerous to mention, but I was grateful for their assistance. Their recollections were used to substantiate and add to the information gained from primary sources. Written reminiscences were also valuable when the factual information could be verified from documentary evidence. They gave a valuable insight into the way of life, and provided clues to stimulate research. My lifetime interest in history, 18 year residence in the Inverell district and years of teaching school children have led me to visit almost all the places about which I have written, looking for relics of the past. My search has always been for the truth, so if the reader has reliable written evidence correcting statements I have made I would be grateful to receive it. My original intent was to leave 'no stone unturned', but in order to provide the first written account of Inverell's history it was eventually necessary to call a reluctant halt to research.

Newspaper sources

During the 1840s there are occasional references to the Inverell district in the Maitland Mercury (available on microfilm). From 1857 the Armidale Express is an invaluable source. Most copies are available on microfilm (U.N.E. Library). In the Country News column there was a contribution from Inverell (and sometimes Ashford) almost every week. After 1871 Inverell had its own newspapers, but the Armidale Express continued with its regional news, containing excerpts from the various Inverell papers. This is fortunate as almost no copies of the Inverell newspapers have survived. By the end of the 80s Inverell news in the Armidale Express was more scanty. (I searched for information about Inverell from 1857 to 1895.) From the 1870s to the early 20th century the Australian Town and Country Journal and the Sydney Mail (weeklies, published in Sydney) contained Inverell News at irregular intervals and occasional illustrated supplements. These journals are kept in the Newspaper Room of the State Library of NSW, Macquarie Street, Sydney, and incomplete indexes to them can be found in the Mitchell Library. From 1899 the Newspaper Room contains an almost complete file of The Inverell Times and a few years of The Inverell Argus. From 1934 copies have also been retained in Inverell. I examined every available issue from 1899 to the present in the quest for historical information. Other newspapers and journals will be mentioned in the Notes, where they were consulted to obtain specific information.

Abbreviations used in Notes

NEWSPAPERS and PERIODICALS

AE - Armidale Express

ATCJ - Australian Town and Country Journal

IA - Inverell Argus

IT - Inverell Times

JPRAHS - Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society

S. Mail - Sydney Mail

SMH - Sydney Morning Herald

SOURCES

AO - State Archives Office, Globe St., Sydney

GIA - Glen Innes Archives, History House

HSR - Historical Society Records, Pioneer Village, Inverell

ML - Mitchell Library, Macquarie St., Sydney

NEHRC - New England Historical Resource Centre, College of Advanced Education, Armidale

UNEA - University of New England Archives, Armidale

GENERAL

ibid. Information found in the same place as the preceding footnote

obit. Obituary

op.cit. In the book by this author previously mentioned

c. = circa = about

Introduction and Chapter 1

1. From Allan Cunningham's journal in Ida Lee "Early Explorers in Australia", London, 1925 p.561. All extracts in this chapter from this book.
2. Glen Innes Examiner 8.7.1890.
3. Page 7. This booklet contains a brief history of the district. Its chief purpose was to accompany Inverell's district exhibit entered in the Royal Agricultural Show, Sydney, 1917.
4. These figures are for Inverell — there is considerable variation in the district.
5. Surveyor Galloway's Monthly Progress Journal, July 1851. AO 2/1539.
6. John Campbell, as related in his "The Early Settlement of Queensland", Ipswich, 1875.
7. Many writers have become confused about Cunningham's trip because of the later names given to these rivers. This will be clarified by the account below and the map of Cunningham's journey.
8. Background information on Cunningham from W.G. McMinn "Allan Cunningham, Botanist and Explorer", MUP 1970.
9. In order to avoid confusion, I have decided to spell "Macintyre" this way throughout the book. Peter Macintyre usually wrote his name McIntyre, although he sometimes wrote McIntyre or Macintyre. The river Cunningham found he named Macintyre's Brook. The first surveys of the town of Inverell spell the river Macintyre and it has always subsequently been written that way. Most of the family of McIntyres into which Mary Macintyre married (see Appendix) have written their name McIntyre, which probably accounts for disputes which have arisen over the spelling.
10. This account is a shortened version of a typescript document written by Mr J.R. Black, "Allan Cunningham's Journey of Exploration, 1827, through Inverell-Yallaroi-Bingara Shires", 1980 (HSR). Mr Black has attempted to reconcile the Cunningham journal as given by Ida Lee (op.cit.) with his sketch map "Brief View of the Progress of Interior Discovery in NSW" (ML M2813.1) and modern contour maps prepared by the Royal Australian Survey Corps. Conclusions have been checked with local people and Mr Black's extensive personal knowledge of the topography of the upper north west slopes. Wherever possible, Cunningham's longitude and latitude bearings have been used to locate his position. The latitude was found to be largely accurate, but the longitude was more difficult to place because of the variation in the earth's magnetic field which has occurred. Mr Black does not claim absolute accuracy for his work, but it is by far the most thorough and most carefully researched account of Cunningham's travels in this region, and I am greatly indebted to its author.
11. From another version of Cunningham's Journal, typescript, ML.
12. D. Boyce "Clarke of the Kindur", MUP 1970.
13. "Notes on the Geology of Parts of NSW and Queensland made in 1842-3 by Ludwig Leichardt", Part II, Sydney (undated, ML).

14. This was an earlier trip, not the one during which he disappeared.
15. "The Letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichardt", collected and translated by M. Aurosseau, Cambridge, 1968, Vol II p.663
16. Information given in this section on Peter Macintyre and Alexander Campbell comes from one or several of the following sources, unless otherwise indicated. Nancy Gray "The Promised Land". A summary of early settlement in the Shire of Scone, Scone Historical Monograph No 3, Scone and Upper Hunter Historical Society, 1975. W. Allan Wood "Dawn in the Valley", Sydney, 1972. D. Pike (ed.) "Australian Dictionary of Biography", Melbourne, 1966 James Symes — article on Peter Macintyre in "Tide of Time" No 3, Inverell and District Historical Society, 1969. Larry Thomson "History of Inverell 1830-1890", UNEBA thesis, 1974. Rachel Roxburgh — article in JGRAHS Sept, 1972, p.178 ff.
17. Letter from Scone and Upper Hunter Historical Society dated 14.1.1972 (HSR)
18. Only the spelling has been altered in this letter. It was published in full in the Appendix of Thomson's thesis op.cit.
19. Cecile Mitchell "Hunter's River" Maitland, 1973.
20. Letters to the Colonial Secretary re Land (microfilm AO).
21. From papers in the possession of Capt. D.H. Macintyre of "Kayuga" Scone — copies in HSR.
22. This is obvious from the Invermeil (Scone) Bench Book (microfilm AO)
23. Half yearly returns — 1 July 1845, Comm. McDonald AO 4/5488.
24. All this information from Letters to the Col. Sec. re Land, op.cit.
25. These licences, called Depasturing Licences (4/1117 AO) are a basic source for the squatting period. The NSW Government Gazette (UNE) also contains lists of licences issued from 1836 to 1849. Many of these have been collected in a booklet by J.F. Campbell "Squatting on Crown Lands in New South Wales", A. and R. 1968.
26. Copies of material in the AO obtained in NEHRC and GIA.
27. Dr John Aitchison, CAE Armidale, provided some of this information.
28. JGRAHS Vol.VIII 1922, article by J.F. Campbell p.235.
29. "Reminiscences of William Baldwin" about 1918, reprinted in IT beginning 15.1.1960.
30. Charles Swancott "Wiseman's Ferry", 1965.
31. Census 1841 (AO)
32. Manuscript volumes by William Gardner "Productions and Resources of Northern and Western New South Wales", 1854; "Productions and Resources of the Northern Districts of New South Wales", 1851; "Description of a Map of the Five Northern Districts beyond the Boundary of Location in New South Wales", 1844-46 (ML) Microfilm — UNEA, copies NEHRC.
33. Such as in E.C. Sommerlad "Twixt Tableland and Plain", Inverell, 1917 and William Baldwin's Reminiscences op.cit. Letters written to the Commissioners of Crown Lands for New England and Gwydir (AO) have contained clues. These are specifically mentioned when used. I have consulted with several local historians of New England and the Hunter. They agreed that this version accords with all the known facts of the discovery of the region. I do not claim, however, that this account is entirely accurate, as some mysteries remain, the chief one being the date of the discovery of Byron Plains. The Campbell family gave varying dates for their father's arrival in Inverell, the most common one being 1836. Campbell died in 1858, without realising the significance of his discovery.
34. The sons of their elder brother later squatted at Texas, but I have found no connection between this and the 1835 trip.
35. From a largely legendary account by J.F. O'Connor IT 6.10.1922 and 10.12.1934.
36. The early history of Winscombe is related in Lawrence Murray's obit. AE 17.1.1879. John Faulkner was traced through the 1828 Census and records of convict ship arrivals (AO). He was connected with Baker's Creek by a comment in Baldwin's Reminiscences op.cit. Several accounts associate the founding of Guyra with Faulkner. One Macintyre station there was called Falconer.
37. I found Byron's ship and year of arrival in the 1828 Census, and was then able to see the convict ship's indent (AO).
38. For more on the convicts see chapter 3 of this book.
39. Letter dated 8.11.1847 from Donald Macintyre (AO4/2811) copy in NEHRC
40. NSW Government gazette, 1837, p.119.
41. Depasturing Licences 4/1117 (AO)
42. Letter written to the Commissioner of Crown Lands — Gwydir, by James Hale, dated 12.7.1845 (AO).
43. "Reminiscences of Donald McIntyre", Tamworth, 1924, p.5 (HSR)
44. From papers in the possession of Capt D.H. Macintyre op.cit.

Chapter 2

1. In 1938 Inverell celebrated its centenary, and former mayor S. Butler stated that he had heard it said that the date of Campbell's arrival was March 27th. No evidence at all was produced substantiating this, and the date was never previously mentioned. It seems likely that March 1838 was the time when the drays arrived to establish Byron Plains fully as a sheep station. (Account of centenary IT 1.4.1938).
2. The Australian, 29.4.1836 Ship Arrivals.
3. JGRAHS 1923, p.394 ff. My account has been based on this. Depasturing Licences op.cit., a discussion with Mrs N. Gray and an anonymous article in IT 18.7.1919.
4. This is substantiated by Clerk's licence, dated March 1837, mentioning the Bundarra River as the situation of the station (AO)
5. Comm. McDonald's Itinerary (copy in NEHRC)
6. This is very evident from Muir's Diary (see below)
7. Mrs Young's date (see No 3 above), which I feel sure is accurate.
8. ML B 1496
9. Mr A.A. McLellan (Scone), provided helpful details about Brodie.
10. Comm. McDonald arbitrated in the dispute. Document in AO 4/2485 (copy NEHRC)
11. Letter to Comm. McDonald AO 4/2759 (copy NEHRC) and IT 4.3.1931.
12. This probably changed after 1841, when Peter Macintyre died.
13. Depasturing Licences AO.
14. This is the view of Mrs N. Gray. There is no evidence to suggest that Campbell came to live at Inverell earlier than 1844.
15. Letter to IT 13.4.1938 from H. Campbell Fraser.
16. Documents in AO 4/2486 (copy NEHRC)
17. Muir's Diary op.cit.
18. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1843 (copy GIA)
19. This date is a little earlier than the usual, which is based on the record of Leslie's trip in H.S. Russell "Genesis of Queensland", Sydney, 1888. I have used Muir's date.
20. Muir's Diary op.cit.
21. H.S. Russell op.cit., was valuable for tracing the subsequent movements of the Inverell squatters.
22. Thomas Hall, "Early History of the Warwick District", undated, p.44 (ML)
23. Information gained, using index, from Cecile Mitchell op.cit.
24. W. Gardner "Northern Districts of NSW" p.36.
25. J.G. Steele "Conrad Martens in Queensland", 1978, Uni of Qld Press, and article in Descent (Journal of Genealogical Society) p.30.
26. Related in his "Early Settlement of Queensland", op.cit.
27. Muir's Diary op.cit.
28. SMH 23.12.1842.
29. Information on the Dight family from an article in the Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, vol.4, No 3, 1977; some traditional (family) information and a newspaper cutting from the Warwick Argus of 1903 — reminiscences of L.B. Gray.
30. Detailed report of court case SMH 27.3.1843 — Russell Vs Simpson and Abbott.
31. Hickey applied for a depasturing licence in 1837 (AO 4/1117) but the district is not mentioned. Circumstantial evidence points to 1838 as the year of the first settlement at Wallangra.

32. AO 2/7625.
33. Included in the Everett papers UNEA.
34. Government Gazette 1838 p.514
35. AO 2/7627.
36. Muir's Diary op.cit
37. W. Gardner "Resources of the Northern Districts" vol.1.
38. Information from 1828 Census, Warialda Bench Book (AO) and Reminiscences of William Baldwin IT 5.2.1960
39. "The Rising Sun" (History of Moree) p.19-20.
40. AO 2/7625.
41. AO 4/2759 (copy in NEHRC).
42. D. Pike ed. "Australian Dictionary of Biography" vol.1.

Chapter 3

1. I cannot possibly give the source of every piece of biographical information contained in this chapter. Over 18 months I carefully built up files on all the squatters, chiefly from the following sources: GIA, HSR, ML, Mr and Mrs A. Gray's files, the Public Library of Newcastle and the Index to the Sydney Morning Herald's Births, Deaths and Marriages.
2. Shipping Registers, AO.
3. W. Gardner "Northern Districts of New South Wales" vol.1.
4. Collins moved on to settle at Coolmunda in present southern Queensland. Information on Queensland squatters from the Government Gazette and J.G. Steele op.cit.
5. D.S. MacMillan "Scotland and Australia", Oxford, 1967.
6. The Scottish scholar was given no prior information IT 4.7.1951.
7. From the papers of Capt D.H. Macintyre (copies in HSR).
8. See headstones in Inverell cemetery.
9. The following account is taken from a letter written by F.C. Lamotte to his sister in England, JPRHS, Vol. XV, p.44.
10. Letter written by W.M. Borthwick, AO 4/2759 (copy in NEHRC).
11. Wyndham information from Cecile Mitchell op.cit p.133 ff.
12. Ronald Arndell "Pioneers of Portland Head", Bris. 1976, p.151.
13. Information from W. Allan Wood and the Journal of the Historical Society of Queensland, December, 1952, p.709.
14. Census of 1828.
15. Vivers information from "Golden Horizons" (IT 28.2.1972), W. Allan Wood "Dawn in the Valley" and my own biographical research.
16. Both gentlemen are listed in D. Pike "The Australian Dictionary of Biography", as are others connected with the Inverell district.
17. Dangar information from Mr P. Dangar (Armidale) and histories of the Hunter Valley.
18. Inverell Station ledgers (UNEA).
19. Based on discussion with Mrs N. Gray, Scone.
20. Police Letter Book, Scone.
21. Commissioner of Crown Lands Reports 4/2485 (AO) dated 31.8.1839 (copy in GIA).
22. Letter from Comm. McDonald 30.4.1842 (copy in NEHRC).
23. Comm. for Crown Lands, letters received AO 4/2525 (copy NEHRC).
24. ML document A2029.
25. Wellingrove Bench Book 22.3.1854 AO 4/5555.
26. Scone Bench Book, reel 678 AO (15.8.1837).
27. NSW Government Gazette 1839, p.1336.
28. NSW Government Gazette 1836 p.727.
29. NSW Government Gazette 1839 p.875 Captures were reported in the Government Gazette too.
30. H.S. Russell op.cit. p.197.
31. There are several different versions of the Gentleman Dick story which agree in the major details, but have differing accounts of the capture. This was compiled from Muir's Diary op.cit., the Reminiscences of Mrs Susan Young op.cit., a letter by George Everett published in IT 29.2.1952 and two extracts from A.E. 11.12.1874 and 18.12.1874.
32. Census of 1841 AO 4/1240
33. Half Yearly Returns AO 4/5488 and 4/5498.
34. Census of NSW 1861, 1881.
35. From D.H. Macintyre's papers op.cit.

36. M.H. Ellis "Lachlan Macquarie" A and R 1973, p.98
37. N. Gray "The Promised Land" p.36.
38. From letters and papers transcribed by Mrs H. Gibson (private possession)
39. Baptismal Register of Rev William Purvis (copy GIA). Until recently, it was thought that Rev R. Blain, who visited the Inverell district in December 1845, was the first clergyman to arrive. In April 1844, however, Rev Wm. Purvis (Port Macquarie) had come as far as Newstead, where three children were baptised. One of these, Jane Anderson, born 2.7.1841, is now thought to have been the first known white child born in the district (apart from those travelling through — see Muir's Diary). Both ministers were Presbyterian. Rev Blain performed the first recorded marriage in the Inverell district on 20.12.1845, between John Thom alias William Goodman and Maria Goodfellow, daughter of Moses Goodfellow, a shepherd at Inverell Station. On the same visit Rev Blain baptised Moses Goodfellow's son Henry, born 18.3.1842, Peter Colin Campbell and Thomas Henry Dasey (both born 1844). Rev Blain's Register is kept in the Assembly Building, York Street Sydney.
40. From letters and papers transcribed by Mrs H. Gibson.
41. Much of this biographical information has been collected by Mr A.W. Cameron and deposited in the GIA.

Chapter 4

1. Based on H.L. Wyndham "Bukkulla Station", typescript, 1957; "Reminiscences of Celia Wyndham" (UNEA) and Nesta Griffiths "Some Northern Homes of NSW".
2. A.J. Wyndham "Extracts from the Dinton-Dalwood Letters".
3. "Reminiscences of Celia Wyndham" op.cit.
4. T.H. Dasey, quoted in "Tide of Time" (Inv. and Dist. Hist. Soc.), Vol 7, 1973, p.7-9.
5. These descriptions of a shepherd's life are from an anonymous article in IT 4.7.1919.
6. AO 4/5679, Warialda Bench Book, Nov. 1850.
7. From a letter in the Anderson family papers (private possession).
8. Based on figures included in Table in Appendix.
9. From "NSW Statistical Register", 1907
10. See Chapter 10 for further information.
11. Photocopy of this diary seen in NEHRC — Josiah Allen Betts "Journal of Journeys to Beebo and other places in New England, Oct. 29, 1846 to March 10, 1847".
12. From a cutting from IT 1911, quoted in "Tide of Time", Vol.7, 1973.
13. AO 4/5555, Wellingrove Bench Book.
14. AE 25.4.1863.
15. "Reminiscences of Mrs Ross", Inv. 1913, p.4.
16. AE 4.12.1869, 11.12.1869.
17. See chap. 6 of David Denholm's "The Colonial Australians", Peng, 1979.
18. AO Map 4603, Surveyor Galloway's Map; also Gardner's maps in his manuscript volumes.
19. Surveyor Galloway's letter dated 19.11.1851 AO.
20. AO 4603, see copy of this map p.52.
21. AO 4/2486.2
22. Ed.D. Lea "Atlas of New England", p.173.
23. AO 2/7625.
24. ibid
25. AO 4/2812
26. H.S. McMaster "A History of Warialda and District", typescript, UNEA.
27. Maitland Mercury 26.6.1850.
28. Quoted in an article by J.S. Ryan in the Armidale and District Historical Society's "Journal and Proceedings", No 17, p.17.
29. AO 4/5488.
30. AO 4/6660, Wellingrove Police Letter Book.
31. AO Wellingrove Bench Book No 2.
32. Quoted in E.C. Sommerlad "Land of the Beardies", 1922, p.47.
33. AO 4/5463 Armidale Crown Lands Letter Book, 30 June, 1853.
34. Maitland Mercury, 3.7.1850.

35. AO 4/5555, April 1849
36. AE 16.2.1861
37. AO 4/5555 op.cit.
38. Anonymous writer in IT 6.5.1919
39. "Report of Select Committee on Intemperance", V and P, NSW Leg. Ass., 1854, Vol.2, p.572
40. Maitland Mercury 11.12.1850 Wellingrove News.
41. Information on the Ross family from "Reminiscences of Mrs Ross" and article by P. Whish in "Tide of Time", No 5, 1971
42. ATCJ 30.11.1872, p.689
43. AO Wellingrove Bench Book No 2
44. Undated newspaper cutting c.1931, letter from M. O'Connor
45. The Armidale Express covered the issues well — 30.5.1857, 20.6.1857 and 29.8.1857
46. AE 30.5.1857
47. AE 25.6.1859
48. Rev J.D. Lang "History of New South Wales", p.320
49. AO Map 3165A
50. "Land of the Beardies History House Bulletin", July 1977
51. IT 12.4.1928
52. Letter dated 8.3.1855, AO 4/5463

Chapter 5

1. William Gardner in his writings gives many aboriginal names, such as Caubawn Coonigal, for rivers, plains and mountains. Not many were used by the Inverell district squatters. Giree Giree (Gree Gree) appears on some of the earliest maps of the town of Inverell, but was never widely used.
2. Most sources agree on these approximate territories. I am indebted to Mrs Robyn Howell for help with this section. References:-
 - (a) William Gardner "Productions and Resources of Northern and Western New South Wales", 2 vols, 1854, ML
 - (b) J. Macpherson, various articles in JPAHHS, Vol. XVI, 1930, p.120; Proceedings of the Linnean Society of NSW, Vol 29, 1904 and Mankind, Oct. 1934
 - (c) Norman Tindale "Aboriginal Tribes of Australia", ANU, Camb. 1974
 - (d) W.T. Wyndham, article in "Proceedings of the Royal Society of NSW", Vol. XXIII, 1889 and Letters in "Tide of Time" (Inv. and Dist. Hist. Soc.) 1972
 - (e) J. Calvert "Mineral and Topographical Survey of the Five Northern Districts of New South Wales", 1845, MS, ML
3. JPAHHS article, 1930, op.cit.
4. "Banks and Plains of the Dumaresq", Texas Hist. Soc., typescript, p.10
5. "Diary of Mr Davison", c.1845, quoted extensively in "Goon-diwindi 1840-1922" (Glen Innes Hist. Soc. Lib.)
6. J. Calvert op.cit.
7. W.T. Wyndham's paper 1889, op.cit. This discussion of the tribal life of the local aborigines was built up solely from contemporary records about the Inverell tribes, not from general anthropological works.
8. IT 1.4.1938, John Fraser's Recollections.
9. "Reminiscences of Donald McIntyre", Tamworth, 1924, p.21
10. Roderick Mitchell (Comm. of Crown Lands, Gwydir) AO 4/2811, 1848
11. See Appendix
12. John Campbell "The Early Settlement of Queensland", op.cit. p.2-5
13. Davison's Dairy op.cit.
14. "Reminiscences of Donald McIntyre", op.cit. p.5
15. References for the story of the Myall Creek Massacre:-
 - (a) Brian Harrison "The Myall Creek massacre and its significance in the controversy over the Aborigines during Australia's early squatting period", UNE thesis, 1966
 - (b) Margaret Conner's article in "Tide of Time", 1970
 - (c) Chapter in Bill Wannan's "Very Strange Tales", Melb. 1962. The original material is still available in Sydney, but I decided to use these very adequate secondary sources.

16. This information was passed on to Brian Harrison op.cit. by Mr Len Payne, Bingara.
17. V. and P. Leg. Council of NSW, Vol. II, 1844
18. An anonymous letter from Reedy Creek, Gwydir River, dated 29.12.1842, quoted in R.J. Webb "The Rising Sun — A History of Moree and District", Moree, 1962, p.9
19. Roderick Mitchell, op.cit. (note 10).
20. J. Campbell, op.cit. p.3
21. Sydney Herald, 19.10.1840
22. JPAHHS, Vol. 48, 1962, p.387
23. Journal of the Royal Hist. Soc. of Qld. Vol. X, No.3, 1977-8, p.12
24. AO Comm. of Crown Lands, Gwydir, corres. 17.10.1844
25. "Journal and Proceedings", Arm. and Dist. Hist. Soc., 1978
26. W. Telfer "The Early History of the Northern Districts of New South Wales", typescript, p.8-9
27. P. McCosker's Reminiscences, IT 1.5.1929
28. Article by M. Pearson "Journal and Proceedings", Arm. and Dist. Hist. Soc. 1974, and "The Banks and Plains of the Dumaresq", op.cit. p.11
29. Rev W. Ridley "Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages", Thomas Richards, Syd., 1875, p.167-8
30. Maitland Mercury 12.12.1849 Hunter River District News.
31. IT 20.6.1919
32. This, and much of the information about the more recent aboriginal history is from M. Fennell and A. Grey "Nucoorilma", Syd., 1974, duplicated.
33. Inverell Municipal Council Minute book, 1891
34. "Nucoorilma", op.cit. p.145-6
35. AE 11.9.1894
36. For example, the death of Bangaree, employed by John Sinclair, IT 5.8.1899. "Schoolmaster Jack" of Pindari was another fondly remembered character from this period.
37. IT 10.5.1902
38. Mary Ann Sullivan, mentioned in this letter, was known as "Granny Sullivan" in her later years when she was "mother of all mothers" to the Tingha aborigines (i.e. a virtual "queen of the tribe"). The letter was written by Miss K. Broun. IT 9.12.1946
39. IT 24.3.1902
40. IT 5.3.1904
41. IT 21.6.1907
42. "Nucoorilma", op.cit. p.150

Chapter 6

1. IT 16.5.1919
2. AE 23.1.1864. Unless otherwise specified all information in this chapter comes from the weekly Inverell News column in this paper.
3. ATCJ 19.8.1871, p.234
4. "Reminiscences of Mrs Ross", 1913, p.5
5. IT 14.1.1955
6. "Inverell Public School 1862 to 1940", Dept. of Educ. Syd., July 1962, (HSR).
7. AE 17.4.1865
8. IT 13.10.1933
9. IT 10.12.1934
10. "David Jack's Reminiscences" (private possession), 1910. These were a great help in compiling the map of Inverell's buildings.
11. "Census of NSW", 1861
12. AE 29.9.1860
13. "David Jack's Reminiscences", op.cit.
14. Letter from George Dick dated 6.9.1922, Inverell Shire Council.
15. "Reminiscences of Mrs Ross" loc.cit.
16. IT 10.4.1941 Obit. Mrs Susan Lundie
17. IT 25.8.1933
18. IT 7.3.1945 Reminiscences of W. Redditt, also IT 17.4.1919
19. IT 3.1.1941
20. AE 15.4.1871
21. IT 9.3.1955

22. IT 14.1.1955.
23. ATCJ 19.8.1871 p.234
24. AE 23.6.1866.
25. S. Mail 23.6.1866.
26. ATCJ 19.8.1871, p.234.
27. "Tide of Time" (Inv. and Dist. Hist. Soc.), 1973, p.21.
28. S. Mail 23.6.1866.
29. AE 18.11.1871.
30. "Reminiscences of Donald McIntyre", op.cit. p.20.
31. AE 4.6.1859.
32. This narration is summarised from the account in AE 27.9.1866.
33. Letter from Mrs Caroline Walsh, dated 30.9.1922 (Inv. Shire Council).
34. A factual account will be found in Robin Walker's article in JPRAHS, 1957.
35. NSW Police Gazette, 31.3.1869, (NEHRC).
36. "Our Ancestors — a family history" (HSR).
37. North West Champion, Moree, 30.1.1950 and IT 14.2.1944 Obit. Wm. Coughlin.
38. Wm. Baldwin's Reminiscences, series in IT Mar, 1960.
39. AE 31.9.1868.
40. IT 13.11.1931.
41. AE 8.8.1868.
42. C.E. Blomfield's Reminiscences, NEHRC.
43. AE 24.4.1870.
44. IT 13.1.1928 — Reminiscences of George Medhurst.
45. E.C. Sommerlad "Land of the Beardies", 1922, p.41.
46. Monckton told his fascinating story to Ambrose Pratt, published as "Three Years with Thunderbolt" (now a rare book).
47. This narrative is based on James Roper's letter to the AE 25.5.1867 and an account in AE 18.5.1867. Quotations from letter.
48. Abbreviated from IT 27.4.1926.
49. "Census of NSW", 1871.
50. IT 6.6.1919, 13.6.1919.
51. AE March 1880.
52. AE 2.11.1867.
53. Advertisement in IA 21.2.1885 (HSR).
54. Bukkulla Papers (HSR).
55. IT 4.11.1946 — Reminiscences of Malachi Kelly.
56. "History of the Inverell Public School", op.cit.p.7.
57. AE 5.12.1868.
58. IT 1.4.1938.
59. IT 13.10.1933.
60. AE 30.6.1866.
61. "Tide of Time", 1977 (Official P. O. History).
12. E.C. Sommerlad "Twixt Tableland and Plain". Inv. 1922, p.115.
13. The early mining at Elsmore is fully reported in ATCJ 5.8.1871 and SMH 9.8.1871 p.5.
14. The inscription is from his tombstone in Newstead churchyard. The age on the stone has always been interpreted as 65, but the writing was indistinct by the time J.E. Carne was researching in 1911. The AE 4.10.1873 says that he was 45 years old when he died. His attempts to collect a testimonial are recorded in AE 4.10.1873.
15. These discoveries were reported in almost every issue of the Armidale Express in the end of 1871. From this source it appears that the first to mine tin on Cope's Creek were Theophilus Cooper and Mr Hayes of Bundarra (AE 4.12.1871 p.3).
16. Reminiscences of James Mellvee IT 25.10.1933.
17. Aust. Mining Standard 5.6.1889 p.16 and AE 9.3.1872
18. Illustrated Sydney News 2.8.1872 p.19
19. SMH 26.2.1872 p.9.
20. AE 3.8.1872
21. SMH 24.3.1873 p.5.
22. Aust. Mining Standard 5.6.1889 p.16.
23. The invention, a small perforated box, still in use, is amply described by Philip Percy Wright, who assisted Willoughby. See his memoirs, ML p.7-17.
24. ATCJ 24.8.1872 p.238.
25. This description is based on the memoirs of P.P. Wright op.cit.
26. AE 9.3.1872.
27. Annual Report of the NSW Dept. of Mines 1877, p.137.
28. ATCJ 13.3.1880 p.502.
29. AE 19.5.1876 p.6.
30. IT 24.2.1958.
31. IA 19.5.1903 p.3.
32. My B.A. (Hons.) thesis — UNE analysed the sociology of the mining rush. Elizabeth G. Campbell, "A History of Mining in the Inverell District 1871-1914 and its effects on the development of the town and district" Unacknowledged information in this chapter comes from this source.
33. A brief extract from a long letter in a similar vein from the Tingha correspondent of ATCJ 2.3.1878 p.423
34. Annual Report of the NSW Dept. of Mines, 1877 p.139.
35. Aust. Mining Standard, 26.6.1889 "Tingha in the Past"
36. Obit. P.B. Eddy, IT 14.1.1919.
37. IT 24.2.1958 — stories told by Jim Symes and Val. Cox.
38. ATCJ 19.7.1905.
39. SMH 27.1.1873 p.5.
40. AE 14.12.1872 p.6.
41. Reminiscences of C.E. Blomfield, NEHRC p.15
42. For example AE 19.4.1895 News of the Day column.
43. Annual Report of the NSW Dept. of Mines, 1877 p.138.
44. 1891 Census of NSW
45. Annual Report of the NSW Dept. of Mines, 1881 p.85
46. AE 27.10.1882 and S. Mail 10.9.1887
47. AE 9.2.1883.
48. S. Mail 3.8.1901 p.292.
49. IA 11.12.1903.
50. IT 16.8.1905, 3.6.1964; 9.12.1960.
51. These figures are fully discussed in my thesis op.cit. The numbers of miners were usually given in the Annual Reports of the Dept. of Mines. Census returns are inadequate, as they occur only at 10 year intervals.
52. ATCJ 19.7.1905 p.23.
53. AE 2.11.1872.
54. AE 31.5.1873.
55. AE 8.2.1873, 1.11.1873
56. AE 7.3.1874
57. Population from census, other information from Ann. Report of Dept. of Mines, 1881, p.85.
58. ATCJ 20.5.1882 p.934.
59. IT 24.6.1905 p.4.
60. ATCJ 11.4.1874 p.581. Information on villages collected from many sources in the course of research.
61. Annual Report of the NSW Dept. of Mines 1875, p.53; Aust. Mining Standard 19.6.1889 p.14.

Chapter 7

1. AE 29.9.1860.
2. E.F. Pittman "The Mineral Resources of New South Wales", Syd. 1901, p.131.
3. Rev W.B. Clarke, "Extract from Report to the Colonial Secretary dated Ranger's Valley, Severn River, 7th May 1853", part 3 of Appendix C, p.65 "Transactions of the Royal Society of New South Wales", 1872.
4. At Bungonia, 1868-1870, altogether about 150lb being obtained. J.E. Carne, "The Tin Mining Industry and the Distribution of Tin Ores in New South Wales." 1911, p.14-15.
5. Reminiscences of David Jack op.cit.
6. E.C. Pittman, op.cit.
7. AE 16.3.1872.
8. The claims of others have been fully examined by J.E. Carne, op.cit. I am fully convinced that not only was Wills the discoverer, but that contrary to Carne's opinion he knew that the mineral was valuable. Wills' letters, in the Mitchell Library, show that he was an accomplished prospector.
9. Information about Wills from his letters dated 22.12.1866 and 31.1.1867 M.L.
10. AE 2.12.1871 and Aust. Mining Standard 5.6.1889 p.15.
11. SMH 30.7.1872 p.3 The actual site of the sawpit was portion 50, parish of Anderson, county Gough. (IT 4.6.1954).

62. Anonymous manuscript about Stannifer, Howell and Stanborough in the early 20th century (HSR).
63. "Gilgai Public School Centenary" 1978.
64. AE 7.3.1874.
65. AE 25.11.1871.
66. S. Mail 27.4.1901.
67. ATCJ 19.7.1905 p.23 and IT 26.5.1900.
68. IT 24.10.1900. Specific information on mining from 1899 came from multiple references in the IT unless otherwise specified.
69. IT 23.9.1903.
70. IT 24.6.1905.
71. Annual Reports of the NSW Dept. of Mines.
72. IT 15.1.1962.
73. IT 27.3.1913.
74. IT references for this section — 31.8.1917; 28.3.1918; 23.1.1920 and 13.5.1921.
75. IT 22.3.1921; 1.11.1921.
76. IT 13.5.1921.
77. IT 7.9.1966.
78. IT 19.10.1964.
78. IT 23.2.1959.
80. IT 7.5.1954.
81. The figures are quoted in my thesis op.cit. p.66. After this period agricultural statistics appeared in countries.

Chapter 8

1. SMH 30.7.1872 p.3.
2. ATCJ 26.10.1872.
3. ATCJ 30.11.1872 p.689.
4. Sources for description of 1872 flood: IT 21.12.1949 (reprint of article in Inverell Courier 25.12.1872), AE 11.1.1873, ATCJ 14.12.1872, references in the Inverell Times:- 30.5.1919, 6.6.1919, 16.10.1933, 23.12.1936, 5.1.1945, 28.2.1945, 5.3.1945, and numerous mentions in Feb-Mar. 1955. Also letter from C. Walsh (in Inv. Shire Council records) and Mrs Ross' Reminiscences, op.cit.
5. The number increased from 7 to 14 (NSW Statistical Register).
6. Unless otherwise acknowledged, information in this chapter comes from the Inverell News in every week of the Armidale Express.
7. S. Mail 15.7.1882.
8. For details of changes in ownership of the major stores see Appendix. There is little point in listing the names of the smaller stores, as they changed hands very frequently.
9. Recollections of David Fraser IT 1.4.1938.
10. S. Mail 24.2.1877.
11. IT 2.9.1964.
12. "Official Post Office Country Directory and Gazetteer of New South Wales for 1878-9" by James Tingle, Syd., John Sands, p.293.
13. IT 21.6.1921.
14. IT 4.9.1953.
15. Samuel Rowland's biography in "Australian Men of Mark", Vol. 11, Sydney, undated (1888).
16. ATCJ 9.3.1878 (Country News).
17. IA 21.2.1885 (HSR).
18. Sands Directory op.cit.
19. AE 6.7.1872.
20. Official Post Office History in newspaper supplement "Golden Horizons," IT 28.2.1972 p.48-9.
21. AE 19.11.1875 and 28.6.1873.
22. AE 15.6.1883.
23. Riley's real name was Frost. He came from Bundarra. S. Mail 25.5.1882, ATCJ 26.5.1883, AE 19.3.1886, IT 25.9.1961.
24. AE 31.8.1872.
25. AE 7.11.1879.
26. IT 9.12.1960.
27. IT 17.11.1933 James Mellveen's Reminiscences.
28. 1871 Census of NSW.
29. ATCJ 5.1.1878.
30. Advertisement in AE 31.8.1872.
31. AE 15.2.1873, IT 28.6.1927.
32. The Inverell Dispatch, quoted ATCJ 10.1.1874.
33. AE 28.5.1875, IT 19.12.1975.
34. IT 4.5.1932.
35. AE 20.5.1881.
36. AE 16.8.1873.
37. AE 28.4.1876 The former R.C. school must have closed down, as the newspaper commented that this school was founded by Father Davis, who only arrived in 1873.
38. Mrs Ross' Reminiscences op.cit. Fees varied from time to time.
39. AE 19.11.1875.
40. IT 19.4.1948.
41. "Inverell Public School 1862-1940", op.cit.
42. ATCJ 11.6.1887 p.1225.
43. AE 21.1.1881.
44. IT 7.12.1960.
45. IA Almanac 1889 (HSR).
46. "Tide of Time", 1972, article by Jane Lawry.
47. ATCJ 27.10.1885.
48. "Tide of Time", 1972 op.cit.
49. IT 23.7.1962.
50. Eden Valley — Parish Burgundy on the Macintyre River.
Conifer — Darby's Branch Creek near Tingha.
Cairnmore — Ferndale, Middle Creek.
Ten Mile — 10 miles from Inverell on the Tingha Road.
Turrawarra — on Myall Creek Subdivision Estate.
Willow Grove — near Bukkulla.
Lists of schools which operated are given in "Government Schools of New South Wales 1848-1976", J. Fletcher and J. Burnswode, Dept. of Education, 1977.
51. S. Mail 4.2.1888 p.276.
52. IT 11.11.1905. Unless acknowledged the following account is derived from the Municipal Council's Minutes.
53. AE 15.2.1873.
54. S. Mail 15.7.1882.
55. ATCJ 10.1.1874.
56. Inverell correspondent in AE 11.6.1870.
57. IT 20.11.1946.
58. AE 21.7.1876 (quoting Inverell newspaper).
59. ATCJ 20.9.1879 p.554.
60. Prospectus, quoted in article by Pat Burge in "Tide of Time", 1977.
61. AE 30.7.1870 and Mrs Ross' Reminiscences op.cit.
62. S. Mail 4.2.1882.
63. IT 4.5.1949.
64. IT 26.9.1932.
65. AE 20.8.1875.
66. AE 8.5.1891.
67. IT 4.9.1929 p.4.
68. ATCJ 20.9.1879 p.554.
69. AE 19.9.1879.
70. AE 6.6.1879.
71. AE 28.6.1873.
72. Extract from Bukkulla letter HSR.
73. ATCJ 11.11.1882 p.938.
74. Weekly Advocate 28.5.1887 p.96.
75. IT 22.12.1900.
76. IA 14.3.1894 (HSR).
77. AE 19.7.1878.
78. Mrs Ross' Reminiscences op.cit.
79. S. Mail 15.7.1882.
80. Most of the information in this section comes from a series of articles by Con Murray, IT August 1953.
81. ATCJ 14.9.1889.
82. IA 21.2.1885 (HSR).
83. AE 19.3.1889, IT 16.1.1953.
84. "Wild Australia" The reminiscences of Ben Bridge, p.48.
85. "Reminiscences of Dominic Higgins", typescript (private possession).
86. IA 13.1.1903 and GIA.
87. IT 14.6.1963.
88. AE 1.9.1882.

89. IT 1.2.1899.
90. AE 24.4.1891.
91. Quoted in Council Minutes.
92. Major references about bridge:- IT 4.5.1949, 9.5.1949.
93. From numerous references in *The Inverell Times* incl. 15.7.1910.
94. Letter by Mrs C. Walsh (Inverell Shire Council).
95. AE 8.5.1891.
96. ATCJ 19.3.1887.
97. IT 3.1.1941 (Obit. Robert Cameron) and IT 1.10.1965.
98. ATCJ 24.4.1875.
99. History of the Church of England (HSR).
100. AE 29.4.1892.
101. Wiedemann, although a German name, is actually of Swedish origin.
102. Major references IT 26.2.1968, 7.9.1951, 9.3.1955 and 1.7.1949 "Tide of Time", 1968, *Glen Innes Examiner* 28.2.1877.
103. AE 15.2.1873.
104. AE 9.3.1877.
105. AE 18.4.1879.
106. IT 27.11.1914. Other sport references — IT 7.9.1951, 26.3.1951, 9.4.1951, 10.6.1921 and 3.11.1958.
107. IT 29.9.1937.
108. IT 3.10.1960, 17.10.1960.
109. AE 8.10.1875.
110. Compiled by counting electoral roll.
111. AE 26.5.1893.
112. AE 6.10.1893.
113. ATCJ 1.11.1890.

Chapter 9

1. John Dunmore Lang *History of New South Wales*, 1874 p.320.
2. SMH 3.7.1872.
3. S. Mail 1.7.1882 p.14.
4. ATCJ 30.11.1872.
5. *Weekly Advocate* 28.5.1887.
6. "Wandering Reporter" in AE 30.6.1866.
7. S. Mail 8.7.1882 p.54.
8. Comments written on P.H. Henderson's 1856 map of Inverell AO 3165a.
9. John Robertson, reported in SMH 31.1.1861.
10. Facts and figures relating to district properties in 1884 have been extracted from the Report of the Chief Inspector of Stock 1884, (Glen Innes and Warialda districts) (GIA). Background information on Free Selection from C.J. King, "An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales", part 1, Dept. of Ag. 1957.
11. ATCJ 4.4.1874 p.543.
12. *Wellingrove Land Sales Book* (Glen Innes).
13. Papers of Mrs Margaret McIntyre (ML).
14. IT 3.1.1919 Obit. and ATCJ 8.12.1883.
15. ATCJ 4.4.1874 p.543.
16. IT 1.4.1938.
17. IT 13.12.21 Obit. Biographical information in this chapter comes mostly from obituaries in *The Inverell Times*.
18. IT 26.7.1978.
19. H.L. Wyndham "Bukkulla Station", (typescript) p.10.
20. All unacknowledged information in this chapter from a careful study of the *Armidale Express*.
21. *Reminiscences of Peter Burt Finn* (HSR).
22. IT, quoted in *Glen Innes Examiner*, 25.8.1875.
23. AE 30.12.1865.
24. *Reminiscences of James McIlveen* IT 21.10.1933.
25. "Reminiscences of M.H. Bridge" MLMSS 819/2 p.21 (ML)
26. IT 11.5.1960.
27. "Our Ancestors", pamphlet by George Stacey, 1956 (HSR).
28. Papers of Mrs Margaret McIntyre (ML).
29. IT 20.9.1950.
30. UNE Archives.
31. 1909 "NSW Statistical Register".
32. ATCJ 24.5.1879.
33. AE 30.12.1865.
34. IT 28.12.1964 and 25.4.1924.
35. From typescript family history (GIA) and IT.
36. ATCJ 24.5.1879.
37. Reported in AE 28.7.1866.
38. AE quoting *Inverell Dispatch* 21.12.1877 (Obit.).
39. AE 26.1.1877.
40. AE 15.10.1880.
41. ATCJ 19.2.1887.
42. AE 19.5.1891.
43. S. Mail 9.2.1889.
44. IT 11.2.1904 (Obit.)
45. C.A. Hughes and B.D. Graham "Voting for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly 1890-1964", ANU Canberra, 1975.
46. IT 21.8.1953.
47. IT 13.5.1929; 9.10.1963.
48. AE 6.1.1872.
49. ATCJ 24.8.1872.
50. This is based on a comparison between the Report of the Chief Inspector of Stock 1884 op.cit. with the evidence presented to the Parl. Standing Committee of Public Works Inv. Railway 1897. pp. 50-2 and pp. 72,3.
51. *Reminiscences of Mrs Alice Watts* IT 3.2.1964.
52. AE 31.3.1866, IT 7.8.1875.
53. This excludes Ashford and regions north, and Tingha. Areas such as Wallangra and Delungra were in the Warialda police district.
54. Agriculture production figures were collected from the NSW Statistical Register. After 1891 the figures were given in counties, and therefore cannot be used for this study, as Inverell is in the same county as Glen Innes.
55. AE 28.4.1876.
56. Evidence presented to 1897 Railway committee op.cit. p.52, p.73.
57. S. Mail 1.7.1882.
58. *Australian Country Life* 2.11.1908.
59. These descriptions are based on information contained in article on the Gilhoms IT 6.1.1947; George Mephams obituary — newscutting HSR; *Reminiscences of Elsie Clark* (HSR) and extracts from old court books IT 29.1.1954.
60. George Partridge's unpublished autobiography (GIA).
61. S. Mail 8.7.1882 p.54.
62. Machine descriptions from the AE (Inverell news) of the time.
63. Evidence given to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 1893.
64. 1897 Railway evidence op.cit. p.50.
65. ATCJ 19.8.1871.
66. All comments on the weather based on *Inv. News* in AE., rainfall records since 1875. Claim about 1835.6 from IT 23.11.1915.
67. AE 28.7.1866.
68. R. Walker "Old New England", p.67.
69. Sources for this section on flour-milling include:
 - (a) Multiple references in the *Armidale Express* esp. 22.10.1875.
 - (b) Evidence presented to the various railway committees (see chap. 11).
 - (c) Major articles in *Inverell Times*:- 3.9.1954, 30.8.1968, 8.4.1949, 19.10.1949, 16.7.1948.
 - (d) ATCJ 14.9.1889.
 - (e) D.B. Waterson "Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper", *A History of the Darling Downs 1859-1893*", SUP 1968.
70. E.C. Sommerlad "Twixt Tableland and Plain" p.60.
71. Major sources for this section on wine-growing:-
 - (a) ATCJ 8.12.1883, 24.5.1879, 19.8.1871 p.234.
 - (b) S. Mail 24.6.1882 p.998, 1.7.1882 p.14.
 - (c) IT 12.9.1958, 11.9.1953 and 18.9.1953 (articles by C. Murray), 28.6.1967.
 - (d) *Australian Vignerons and Fruit-Growers Journal*, July 1891, Aug. 1891.
 - (e) "Tide of Time", June 1968.
 - (f) H.L. Wyndham "Bukkulla station" (typescript).
 - (g) R. Howell "History of the Graman School District" (Kulki section), 1980.

Chapter 10

1. William Gardner, "Northern Districts of NSW" 1854.
2. IT 24.10.1933 Mr McIlveen Remembers.
3. These statements based on stocking figures collected at the State Archives, and the Report of the Chief Inspector of Stock, 1884.
4. William Gardner, op.cit.
5. IT 30.5.1919.
6. E.C. Sommerlad, "Twixt Tableland and Plain", 1917 p.99.
7. AE 8.5.1871 "Squatting in the North".
8. Cutting from Border Post 11.4.1890 quoted IT 23.4.1920 and cutting from Goondiwindi Herald (undated) quoted IT 3.7.1923.
9. D.N. Jeans, "A Historical Geography of NSW to 1901", 1972 Sydney, p.144.
10. All unacknowledged information in this chapter was derived from the Armidale Express of the time.
11. Celia Wyndham's reminiscences (UNE Archives).
12. From Wyndham papers quoted IT 2.6.1944.
13. Information from Mr J. Black.
14. IT 13.4.1938.
15. IT 11.8.1950 and 27.4.1951.
16. AE 10.7.1885.
17. Information from the Dight family.
18. IT 27.8.1948 Obit. John Swan.
19. IT 1.5.1929 and 13.11.1931.
20. Reminiscences of Donald McIntyre p.32.
21. AE 20.6.1857.
22. AE 11.4.1874; article by John Atchison in Arm. and Dist. Hist. Soc. Journal, No 24 p.5 and "Life" magazine 4.1.1904 p.59.
23. Condensed from AE 5.5.1874.
24. Wyndham Letters (UNE Archives).
25. Wallangra Station records (UNE Archives).
26. IT 6.1.1947.
27. Quoted in IT 2.6.1944.
28. Reminiscences of Donald McIntyre p.31.
29. IT 27.3.1927 Other information from Wallangra papers.
30. Reminiscences of Dominic Higgins (typescript).
31. AE 25.5.1877 and 22.6.1877; ATCJ 26.1.1878, 23.2.1878, and IT 25.8.1950. Figures not exaggerated — 20,000 were taken in one drive ATCJ 31.5.1879.
32. Information from Mr A.W. Cameron.
33. Autobiography of George Partridge (GIA).
34. IT 28.6.1899.
35. IT 23.11.1927.
36. IT 6.5.1940.
37. IT 13.11.1931.
38. "Pastoral Homes of Australia", 1911 Melb (ML).
39. Undated newspaper cutting (HSR) interview with Hugh McKenzie.
40. IT 6.4.1973, 16.3.1949 and ATCJ 24.5.1879.
41. 1893 Railway Evidence, evidence of Arthur Menzies.
42. S. Mail 8.7.1882 p.54.
43. IA 12.9.1902.
44. IT 24.12.1956.
45. IT 5.1.1962.
46. 1897 Railway Evidence, p.14.
47. IT 22.12.1914.
48. IT 3.3.1925.
49. IT 26.3.1941, 26.11.1902, 29.4.1913.
50. IA 6.10.1922.
51. ATCJ 21.3.1874 p.453.
52. "Our Ancestors" by George Stacey (HSR).
53. S. Mail 24.3.1877.
54. ATCJ 21.2.1885 (country news).
55. AE 16.12.1871.
56. Aust. Women's Weekly 26.4.1972. On one of his trips to Newstead about 1894, Roberts painted 'Bailed Up'. The painting was based on an experience of 'Silent Bob' Bates, noted coachdriver, who had been held up by Thunderbolt on the main northern road many years previously. For the painting Bates and other local people staged the scene on the Paradise-Newstead

- road and the artist made a sketch from a platform in the trees. Roberts also painted a portrait of Bob Bates. (IT 10.1.1931).
57. IT 11.7.1919 — an excellent account of blade shearing. Other experts with the blades were Billy Roberts, Mick O'Connor and Mick Quinnell.
 58. Quoted IT 26.5.1944.
 59. Quoted IT 31.5.1944.
 60. AE 16.6.1891.
 61. AE 4.12.1891 (also 19.11.1870).
 62. Information from Mr J. Black.
 63. Wallangra Papers (UNE Archives).
 64. IT 23.2.1940.
 65. Extracted from shopping lists in Bukkulla Papers (HSR).
 66. Celia Wyndham's Reminiscences (UNE Archives).
 67. Donald McIntyre's Reminiscences, p.17.
 68. IT 17.2.1954 p.2.
 69. ATCJ 30.5.1874.
 70. From a manuscript written by Miss T. Thomas.
 71. ATCJ 7.3.1874 Obit.
 72. IT 4.7.1919 p.7.
 73. ATCJ 31.5.1879.
 74. ATCJ 28.3.1874.
 75. Information from Mr J. Marquardt.
 76. IT 3.3.1978.
 77. 1893 Railway Evidence.
 78. Information from Mr J. Black.
 79. H.L. Wyndham's "Bukkulla Station" (typescript).

Chapter 11

1. Today Brewarrina and stations west of Ivanhoe are further from Sydney than Inverell is.
2. SMH 17.2.1904.
3. IT 30.11.1901.
4. I.M. Laszlo, UNEMA thesis "Railway Policies and Development in Northern New South Wales 1846 to 1889" p.10.
5. ATCJ 11.11.1882 p.938.
6. AE 13.7.1872.
7. Quoted by Laszlo, op.cit p.112, to which source I am indebted for much of this information.
8. AE 21.1.1876.
9. *ibid.*
10. AE 1.9.1876.
11. AE 12.1.1877.
12. Margaret Ann McDonald, UNEBA thesis "The Great Northern Railway in the New England Pastoral District 1867-90" p.80.
13. Laszlo, op.cit. p.116 and Armidale Express 24.5.1878.
14. AE 24.5.1878.
15. IT 26.7.1899 p.2.
16. Laszlo, op.cit. p.117 gives specific examples.
17. ATCJ 1.7.1876 (leader).
18. AE 21.6.1878.
19. AE 14.2.1879.
20. AE 14.4.1882.
21. AE 3.8.1883.
22. Article by G. Harman in JPRAHS 1970, p.284.
23. SMH 24.7.1883 (leader).
24. The 1891 evidence was read in the Armidale Express May, 1891. The other reports are in the Inverell Historical Society Records. They provide an invaluable source about Inverell in the 1890's.
25. ATCJ 9.7.1888.
26. Unidentified newsclipping — 1880's (NEHRC).
27. Waterson op.cit. p.76.
28. AE 19.5.1891.
29. AE 24.5.1892.
30. Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, second Report p.20.
31. *ibid* p.22.
32. AE 3.5.1892.
33. AE 27.5.1892.
34. AE 13.4.1894.

35. Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 1897 Report p.8.
36. *ibid* p.136.
37. *ibid* p.114.
38. *ibid* p.77.
39. *ibid* p.75.
40. *ibid* p.58.
41. Article by E. and P. Moxham "Tide of Time" 1973.
42. See footnote 2.
43. IT 18.11.1899.
44. IT 30.11.1901 from which most of this account is taken.
45. *ibid*.
46. IT 20.11.1901.
47. S. Mail 7.12.1901.
48. *ibid*.
49. IT 9.6.1900.
50. IA 12.9.1902.
51. Parliamentary Committee report, 1903 p.96.
52. IT 9.9.1901.
53. S. Mail 21.3.1906 p.759.
54. IT 14.3.1906.
55. *ibid*.
56. IT 17.5.1907.
57. IT 3.9.1907.
58. Parliamentary Committee report 1903.
59. IT 18.1.1902.
60. 1903 report, p.11.
61. See chap 14 (Closer Settlement).
62. Parliamentary Committee reports, 1916 and 1924.

Chapter 12

1. Also called Bengonover. One of many legends about the origin of this name relates how it was the explanation given by the aborigines for some cattle being missing in the early days of settlement. Boggy Camp received its name in the early squatting days, when it was part of The Grove Station. Every year the squatters whose runs adjoined in the Bengonaway valley used to meet to sort out the wild cattle. The cattle had a natural camp on the edge of a swamp. A mob of quiet cattle was left at the camp, while the men went into the mountains and ran the wild cattle into the tame ones. The stockmen called it the Boggy Camp.
2. Major sources for the history of diamond mining:-
 - (a) "Mining for Diamonds, Sapphires and Emeralds in Northern New South Wales," New England Univ. Coll. Regional Research Monograph No 2, by J.P. Belshaw, and L. Jackson, 1950
 - (b) My research in the files of the Dept. of Mines, Sydney and the Annual Reports of the Dept. of Mines.
 - (c) E.F. Pittman "The Mineral Resources of New South Wales," 1901, p.389.
 - (d) Articles by George Dasey in "Tide of Time," 1973.
 - (e) G. Rose Gemstones, No 18 of the Minerals of New South Wales, Dept. of Mines, Geol. Survey of NSW 1960
 - (f) C.W. Carpenter, The Mines of New South Wales, 1897, G. Robertson and Co. p.234.
 - (g) Article by H.M. Porter in Transactions of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, London, Vol. VI, 1898, p.273.
3. The most quoted candidates for the honour of discoverer were L.N. Kennedy and W. Brown (the latter of Keera Stn.). Diamonds had been found at Bingara in 1867, but the Copeton field produced more and better quality diamonds over a longer period, which is why it is referred to as the "greatest".
 4. AE 15.2.1873.
 5. AE 1.2.1873.
 6. ATCJ 29.11.1873, p.686-7.
 7. IA 29.7.1902, IT 5.10.1901
 8. IT 28.9.1973.
 9. IT 9.10.1953.
 10. IT 7.3.1945.
 11. IT 12.5.1950
 12. IT 2.4.1904.
13. For example The Boggy Camp, Tingha and Bora Creek Miner, 19.8.1899.
14. Diamond production, as shown in the Annual Reports of the Dept. of Mines, is so incomplete that it is not worth quoting.
15. ATCJ 14.9.1889 p.30.
16. IT 26.2.1968 p.18.
17. B.C.T. and B.C. Miner, *op.cit.* 26.8.1899.
18. IT 12.5.1950 (this account contains some inaccuracies).
19. Australian Mining Standard, 30.10.1889 p.14
20. IA 14.11.1902
21. Based on records in the Dept. of Mines, Sydney.
22. IT 29.3.1899 (editorial).
23. IT 10.5.1899.
24. The Empire. Central, Federal and Railway Hotels.
25. IT 16.8.1899 (editorial).
26. IT 19.4.1899.
27. There is a very slim volume containing issues of 1899 in the State Library of NSW.
28. B.C.T. and B.C. Miner, 23.9.1899.
29. 1901 Census. All were Europeans. There is no record of any Chinese ever working on the diamond field.
30. IT 22.2.1902, 3.10.1907.
31. IT 9.10.1953.
32. IT 12.5.1950.
33. IT 15.10.1954.
34. IT 21.2.1962.
35. IT 3.10.1907.
36. IT 28.3.1911.
37. IT 24.5.1921.
38. Major sources for the section on Bora Creek:-
 - (a) E.F. Pittman, "The Mineral Resources of New South Wales," Syd. Govt. Printer 1901 p.121.
 - (b) Annual Reports of the NSW Dept. of Mines.
 - (c) Menzies, I.A. The Conrad Mines, Howell, typescript, Dept. of Mines, 1967.
 - (d) Articles in IT 17.4.1953, 24.2.1958, 22.4.1899.
 - (e) S. Mail 27.4.1901.
 - (f) SMH 23.9.1899.
 - (g) Article by Richard Coad in "Tide of Time", 1973.
 - (h) E.C. Sommerlad "Twixt Tableland and Plain", 1917.
39. AE 4.12.1891.
40. E.F. Pittman *op.cit.* p.123
41. IT 30.5.1900.
42. IT 21.5.1956.
43. Reminiscences of C.E. Blomfield, p.16 (NEHRC).
44. IT 20.11.1914 Interview with Mr Besley.
45. Reminiscences of C.E. Blomfield p.16.
46. IT 13.8.1907.
47. IT 2.10.1953, 7.3.1912 and 19.5.1922. Financial reasons were also given for the closure.
48. IT 20.11.1914.
49. This description of the town is based on numerous references in The Inverell Times 1899-1902, and later reminiscences in the issues of 2.10.1953, 21.9.1955, 2.5.56, 25.1.1971. A manuscript by M.H. Bridge (MLMSS 819) provides a further description.
50. 1901 Census.
51. IT 17.4.1953, 21.12.1955, 29.11.1957

Chapter 13

1. 1911 Census — Bannockburn and Macintyre shires — does not include most of the mining population.
2. My thesis (UNEBA) E.G. Campbell, "A History of Mining in the Inverell District 1871-1914 and its effects on the development of the town and district."
3. Unacknowledged information from a multitude of small references in The Inverell Times of the day.
4. Electricity references: Reminiscences of S.R. Turnbull (HSR) IT 1.8.1919, 29.6.1938 (Reminiscences of J.F. Cullen), 10.12.1934.
5. Municipal Council Minutes, and IT 30.8.1968.
6. IT 7.9.1901, IA 11.7.1902.

7. IT 30.9.1919.
8. IT 14.11.1900 (letter by James McIlveen).
9. Account based on IT 23.4.1902, IA 22.4.1902, AE 25.4.1902.
10. IT 17.1.1958, "Golden Horizons," and many IT references.
11. IT 9.7.1954.
12. Undated newsclipping from "The Storekeeper" c.1913 (HSR).
13. IT 28.1.1955.
14. Coe, T.B. "The Northern Districts of New South Wales", Syd. 1907.
15. IT 19.4.1907, 18.5.1956, 5.2.1958.
16. The story of Hong Yuen has been told in some detail to illustrate the role, largely forgotten, of the Chinese in the commercial life of towns like Inverell, and also because, unlike the other stores mentioned in this chapter, Hong Yuen is still in business, run by the same family. Sources: IT 24.4.1944, 30.3.1960, 17.7.1973, 18.7.1973.
17. Municipal Minutes and S. Mail 3.11.1909.
18. All this information from Municipal Minutes.
19. Municipal Council Infectious Diseases Register.
20. IT 20.10.1914.
21. Main reference: IT 17.4.1964.
22. Municipal Minutes and IT 14.10.1929.
23. IT 12.2.1902.
24. IA 28.7.1903.
25. Quoted in IT 21.9.1934.
26. IT 8.7.1964.
27. IT 5.8.1945.
28. IT 27.5.1959.
29. All this information from many references in The Inverell Times.
30. IT 3.10.1956.
31. IT 17.11.1969.
32. IT 29.4.1960.
33. Main references — IT 27.9.1971, 30.1.1914.
34. IT 31.5.1935, 26.4.1939, 17.1.1958, 16.1.1979.
35. IT 4.3.1955.
36. IT 23.3.1901.
37. Private school references: Jane Lawry's article in "Tide of Time", 1972 and IT 6.6.1900, 26.6.1901, 15.9.1900, 1.1.1902, 17.12.1902, 11.6.1904, 6.2.1904, 22.11.1905, 17.1.1906, 16.9.1910, 21.12.1909, 5.3.1912.
38. IT 16.12.1913, 11.12.1914.
39. IT 28.1.1955, 23.6.1958.
40. IT 9.2.1923, 27.9.1929, 19.2.1968.
41. IT 30.4.1941.
42. IT 28.6.1927, 19.12.1975 and E.C. Sommerlad, "Mightier Than the Sword", p.105.
43. IT 12.3.1904.
44. IT 6.10.1922, 9.12.1929.
45. IT 12.4.1899.
46. IT 12.12.1919 and J. Rydon, "A Biographical Register of the Commonwealth Parliament," 1901-72, ANU 1975.
47. IT 4.7.1901, 6.5.1902 and H. Radi, P. Spearritt, E. Hinton, "Biographical Register of the New South Wales Parliament", 1901-70, ANU 1979.
48. IT 4.6.1902, 10.5.1902, IA 3.6.1902. Biog. in Radietal, op.cit.
49. Voting figures from C.A. Hughes and B.D. Graham, "Voting for the Australian House of Representatives, 1901-1964", ANU, 1974 and same authors "Voting for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly 1890-1964," ANU, 1975. And IT 25.11.1903, 19.3.1904, 27.4.1904, 10.8.1904, 14.12.1906, 13.9.1907, 18.10.1910, 12.12.1913, 27.3.1917, 12.12.1919.
6. References for the section on rabbits: chiefly The Inverell Times, in particular 22.2.02, 1.3.02, 30.7.02, 27.4.04, 23.5.04, 9.9.05, 14.4.05, 10.6.19, 9.2.23 (Freezing works), 22.9.25, 11.9.1936 (PP Board), IA 21.7.195. Eric Rolls, "They All Ran Wild"; "Pastoral Homes of Australia," 1911, Pastoralists Review, Wallangra section. Many conversations with farmers and landowners.
7. Reminiscences of Robert Lundie (HSR).
8. A typical share-farming agreement was that made between Margaret McIntyre and David Callenan in 1878. He was to cultivate Braemar Paddock on halves (i.e. they received half of the produce each). Mrs McIntyre undertook to provide a barn or shed for the crop, a dwelling house, and grazing for Callenan's horses. They shared the expense of seed, reaping, threshing and carting to the barn. (Papers of Mrs Margaret McIntyre, ML).
9. The Myall Creek subdivision is well covered in C.J. King, "An Outline of Closer Settlement in NSW"; Evidence and Reports — Myall Creek Closer Settlement Case — NSW State Archives, Sydney Mail 20.1.1904; SMH 7.2.1906.
10. N.C. Rogers "A History of the Myall Creek Area" (typescript). When E.M. Young died his two sons took over the property until the death of one of them Captain Young.
11. SMH 7.2.1906.
12. *ibid.*
13. IT 29.9.1906.
14. Information from numerous references in The Inverell Times of the day and section in E.C. Sommerlad, "Twixt Tableland and Plain".
15. A serious fire had destroyed five guildings in 1914. The old hotel, with another storey, was burned down in 1955.
16. Information on Little Plain collected from directories, reminiscences and references in The Inverell Times.
17. Much of this information from an interview with a son and daughter of original Bannockburn Settler A.H. Woods — Mrs G. McCarthy and Mr O. Woods.
18. A.E. Cosh "Jumping Kangaroos", Inverell, 1978.
19. IT 11.10.1905.
20. This and all other unacknowledged information is from The Inverell Times of the day.
21. Australian Country Life, 2.11.1908.
22. IT 2.7.1962.
23. R.J. Doolin autobiography — "A Boy from the Bush goes to town," Toowoomba, 1973, 'Trucks' refers, of course to railway trucks.
24. IT 7.9.1945.
25. A.T. Hapgood's evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works: Glen Innes — Inverell Railway, 1916.
26. ATCJ 27.7.1907.
27. A.E. Sweaney, IT 15.1.1934 "It has always been maintained that where maize and lucerne can be successfully grown it is a dairyman's paradise".
28. Major references for dairying: Inverell Times of the day, evidence presented to railway committees, esp. 1916, evidence presented in Myall Creek investigation (State Archives, see note 9), SMH 27.2.1904 and 3.3.1904, Australian Country Life 2.11.1908, Inverell Times — major articles 6.10.1922; 23.2.1959; 5.9.1952; 4.9.1953; 23.11.1956, Souvenir of the Municipal Jubilee, 1922, "Twixt Tableland and Plain", Brig. Wyndham, "Bukkulla Station" (Cardale's cheese factory), Arrawatta — IT 16.9.1942, 27.6.1979.
29. Statistics from successive volumes of NSW Statistical Register.
30. IT 15.3.1918.
31. IT 29.8.1922.
32. G.J. Penberthy, "Early History of the Elsmore District" (HSR) and Municipal Souvenir, 1922.
33. E.C. Sommerlad "Twixt Tableland and Plain: Inverell, the rise of a Magnificent District", Inv. 1917. Description of district exhibit, p.132ff. Quotation p.7.

Chapter 14

1. This account is built up almost entirely from a close reading of The Inverell Times and The Inverell Argus of these years.
2. From a letter to The Inverell Argus, 1903.
3. NSW Statistical Register.
4. Obit. John Swan IT 27.8.1948.
5. IA 6.6.1902.

Chapter 15

1. Maps in William Gardner "Productions and Resources of Northern and Western New South Wales," 1854.
2. Map by Surveyor Galloway 1851 AO N 67/1306.
3. Ashford Post Office history given in "Ashford 1868-1968" (School Centenary booklet, 1968).
4. AO map 1242.
5. Information about the sixties and seventies from numerous references in the Armidale Express of the time.
6. IT 1.4.1919. In later years this innovation was attributed to long-serving postmaster Edward Naughten.
7. Ashford Police History (copy seen in NEHRC).
8. AE 5.9.1868.
9. IT 23.11.1962 and "Ashford 1868-1968" op.cit.
10. AE 7.3.1874.
11. AO map N 67/1306.
12. NSW Legislative Assembly Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works — Report 1916 on Proposed Railway from Glen Innes to Inverell, and Evidence taken in 1925 on Proposed Ashford-Inverell Railway (the latter reported in the Inverell Times 13.1.1925 and 16.1.1925).
13. NSW Statistical Register.
14. IT 5.6.1931.
15. IT 31.7.1931.
16. IT 23.2.1959. "Ashford 1868-1968" op.cit., 1916 Railway Report op.cit.
17. IA 25.4.1902.
18. References to Ashford in the early 20th century all from The Inverell Times of the time.
19. 1921 Census. Other information in this paragraph from 1925 Railway evidence op.cit.
20. Yetman references: IT 27.3.1929, 15.4.1929; interviews with Mrs D. Hallam and members of the Dight families; the Yetman School Centenary booklet, 1967; and almanacs and directories of NSW.
21. AE 7.3.1874.
22. IT 23.5.1919.
23. AE 16.1.1869.

Chapter 16

1. "Inverell 1872-1922. Souvenir of Municipal Jubilee" (no author or page numbers).
2. IT 30.1.28 p.4.
3. IT 11.8.1914.
4. IT 24.8.1915.
5. ibid.
6. IT 9.11.1915.
7. IT 5.11.1915.
8. IT 11.2.1916 (letter written 4.12.1915).
9. "Inverell 1872-1922. Souvenir of Municipal Jubilee"
10. Municipal Council Minutes, August 1919.
11. IT 14.1.1916.
12. ibid and 6.10.22.
13. IT 22.12.1916.
14. IT 19.9.1916.
15. IT 26.9.1916.
16. IT 15.12.1916.
17. IT 10.4.1917.
18. IT 31.10.1916.
19. IT 13.2.1917.
20. IT 10.8.1920.
21. Municipal Council Minutes, 21 May, 1918.
22. IT 9.5.1980.
23. IT 9.1.1920.
24. IT 25.3.1919.
25. IT 18.11.1919.
26. IT 25.9.1917.
27. IT 6.7.1917. Three wounded soldiers were listed too.
28. IT 25.9.1917.
29. IT 6.1.1965.
30. IT 20.5.1919.
31. "This England", Winter, 1979
32. John Atchison in "Armidale and District Historical Society Journal," No 24 p.5.
33. IT 12.11.1918.



Miner's cottage near Tingha, 1890