

# Early Settlement

## Escaped Convicts

Runaway convicts were the first white people to live in the Logan City area. On their exploration through Logan in 1828, Cunningham, Fraser and Patrick Logan noticed a grave in the region of modern-day Larapinta and conjectured that it was that of an escaped convict. Later, they found a steel axe head among Aboriginal belongings. In the rather frustrating way of explorers' journals, no further information is given.

In general, relations between escaped convicts and Aboriginal people were poor. This was in marked contrast to the very early days in Queensland when lost white people were treated kindly. Castaways Pamphlet and Finnegan, for example, lived with Aborigines around Moreton Bay for more than six months in 1823.

This easy relationship did not last long after the penal settlement was established at Brisbane. Escapes from the settlement were common, particularly after Patrick Logan began his brutal regime – 126 prisoners absconded in one 12-month period.

Governor Brisbane had instructed the first commandant to give presents to the Aborigines if they returned escaped convicts to the settlement and Logan continued this practice. This built up a resentment among the convicts who sometimes responded with brutality against the Aboriginal people. Those escaped convicts who were accepted by Aboriginal people incited their benefactors to hate the white people in the settlement.

## The Convict Settlement Closes and the Logan Region is Mapped

In 1839, the convict settlement at Brisbane closed. Surveyors Robert Dixon and two assistants Warner and Stapleton arrived in March to begin surveys to prepare for the arrival of free settlers.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Dixon was a good surveyor, although he had a propensity for attracting trouble. Born in England around 1800, he emigrated to Tasmania in 1821 and joined the NSW government two years later as assistant to John Oxley. His early work was in the areas around Sydney. He asked for leave to visit England in 1836 and while he was there, precipitated his first clash with authorities: he published his own map of New South Wales and earned the displeasure of Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell.

Returning to New South Wales, he refused the first post offered to him in the Murrumbidgee but agreed to go to Moreton Bay. He completed the first survey of central Brisbane and carried out surveys in the Logan district, naming the Albert River. After another clash, this time with Commandant Gorman, he settled in the Albert River valley for a time.

In 1842, he published his own map of the Logan-Albert area – the first accurate map of the region.

## Squatters and selectors

While the convict settlement at Brisbane was operating, a ban on entry was enforced as a security measure: all Europeans were forbidden to approach within 50 miles (80 km) without special permission. Logan City was within this zone and could not be settled; it could not even be visited by Europeans except those connected with the convict settlement.

By the late 1830s, there was a movement of squatters from the settled areas of New South Wales. These were men who had flocks of sheep, but owned no land. They were allowed to occupy large areas

of land which were called runs or stations, as long as they paid an annual fee or rental of £10 to the government in Sydney. They often moved on to seek better land, selling the licence for their old run to another squatter. As part of this outwards movement, squatters reached the Darling Downs by 1840.

At this time, Governor Gipps was preparing to close the Moreton Bay penal settlement and allow free settlement. As a preliminary, he had sent surveyors to the Moreton area in 1838 to make maps of the land. In 1842, when free settlement was finally allowed, squatters quickly moved over the Main Range from the Darling Downs and took up the whole of the Moreton area.

However, to allow for the future expansion of the towns and for small food-producing farms close to the towns, squatters were still prevented from taking up large runs close to Brisbane or Ipswich. Logan City again came within the restricted area.

Land from Beaudesert southwards was taken up in squatting runs, including Bromelton, Beaudesert, Jimboomba, Tamborine and Telemon. Each of these runs covered thousands of hectares of leased land.

North of Beaudesert, the area could be leased in small sections, usually in lots of 640 acres (one mile square) with the leases renewed at first every six months, then later annually. However their tenure was not very secure. In 1842, the Commissioner of Crown lands Stephen Simpson had warned squatters that “if they settle down so near Brisbane, they must expect to be sold out at an early period.”<sup>2</sup>

While there were no large-scale resident squatters, the Logan region was already exploited. Ships which brought goods to Brisbane frequently returned to Sydney with cargoes of cedar and other timber from the Logan River.<sup>3</sup>

## **Fitzgerald, Norris and Jackson**

In 1849, the first leases of land were taken up on the Logan River by James Fitzgerald, William Norris and Peter Jackson.<sup>4</sup> The three men continued to extend their leases until 1861.

Little is known about Norris or Jackson, but Fitzgerald was a larger-than life personality and it is sometimes hard to separate truth from legend. He was said to have been a great hunter who kept real bloodhounds and used to hunt over the neighbourhood. When game was scarce, he paid local farmers to turn out their pigs.

He is also said to have built Tygum House, later owned by Henry Jordan. A building subsequently used as a fowlhouse seems to have been the kennels or stables and was described as “a great building with a yard surrounding it, divided into many compartments”.<sup>5</sup>

The *Logan Witness* contributed to the gossip in 1880 when it declared that Fitzgerald had died before he could sign his will, but that his executors held his dead hand to forge a signature.<sup>6</sup>

In 1853, the annual lessees in the general Logan region included John Cameron, Wlm Robins, Wlm Norris, Sampson Beardmore, John Rankin, Charles Pitt and James England.<sup>8</sup> Later that year, Alfred William Compigne leased 640 acres “Near the Logan River”.<sup>9</sup> In August 1855 the same man leased nine sections of land “on the Logan”, while dozens of other blocks were leased “between Cleveland and the Logan River”. Compigne was later a member of parliament.<sup>10</sup>

### **Leases in the Logan region for 6 months from 1 July 1851 included:<sup>7</sup>**

James Fitzgerald (1920 acres)  
Peter Jackson (2200)  
Wlm Robins (1130)  
Stephen Simpson (8320)  
Darby McGrath (12800)  
John Sutherland (7360)  
James Warner  
Geo Poole  
James Orr  
Thos Boyland

## Slack and Markwell

While the main wave of settlement was along the Logan River, other watercourses were also attractive to new arrivals.

The Slack family were the first to take up land along the creek which now bears their name. John Slack's death certificate indicates that he died at property named "Mungaree" on the Logan River in May 1861. John's son William appears to have leased the land at Slack's Creek which appears on old maps as "Slack's Cattle Station". William slaughtered cattle for butchers and also took them for sale in Brisbane along a track which later became Logan Road.

William appears to have had financial difficulties as he relinquished part of his lease in 1865 and more in 1867. The land containing the slaughter yard and holding paddock was then purchased by Samuel Markwell on 17 August 1865, a block of about 34 acres.<sup>12</sup> The Markwells continued to use the name Mungaree for the property.

## The Establishment of Agricultural Reserves

When Queensland was separated from New South Wales in December 1859, the new government was faced with a difficult situation. It had a huge area to administer and defend, roads and bridges to build and services such as police to provide, but it had a very small population and little money. It sought to solve some of the problems by encouraging immigrants to come to Queensland and giving them a Land Order to take up some of the vacant land. This aimed to increase the population and increase food production.

Many of those who took advantage of this offer were the poor of Ireland and Germany. These two countries were experiencing grave conditions, with people who had worked for large landholders forced to leave the land and move to cities. They could never hope to own even a few hectares of land in their native lands, so they were prepared to travel around the world in the hope of making a better life for their children. Other migrants came from England.

However there were some logistical problems with this proposal. There was little land already surveyed into small farms, so there were delays for those wanting land. There were only a few surveyors who could not keep up with demands to survey land in many different areas. As a solution, the government set aside Agricultural Reserves in fertile areas, where the whole area was surveyed into small blocks, ready for sale at any time. Two of these Reserves were at Eight Mile Plains and on the Logan River.

The 1860 Land Act set the basic price of land at one pound per acre, either bought at auction or selected in the Agricultural Reserves. Selectors were required to occupy, improve and cultivate their land within six months. The government tried to encourage a small farmer class like England, not realising that in Australia, farms had to be bigger to survive.

The Eight Mile Plains Agricultural Reserve was a large, almost rectangular block in the suburb which still bears that name. The Logan Agricultural Reserve was a large L shaped block from Chambers Flat in the south to Tanah Merah in the north, and west almost to Kingston. It also extended along the south bank of the Logan River from Logan Village to Eagleby.

Provision of the Logan Reserve was largely at the expense of the colourful Mr Fitzgerald. The Executive Council gave the necessary authority and land was withdrawn from its present holders to create the reserve.<sup>13</sup>

Selection began in the Agricultural Reserves in 1862. Within a year, 21 blocks had been selected at Eight Mile Plains by 10 different selectors; on the Logan Reserve, 68 blocks were selected by 27 selectors; at Redcliffe, 45 blocks were selected by 15 selectors; and at Ipswich 25 were selected by 12

people. This suggests that the Logan Reserve was the most popular, perhaps because it was on a major river and the land was very fertile. This preference for the Logan Reserve continued into the mid 1860s.

Overall, however, the number of selectors was not large; the government passed the 1863 Agricultural Reserves Act, followed by the 1866 Leasing Act to try to encourage more selection.<sup>14</sup> For the first time, it was possible to lease land for seven years at 2 shilling 6 pence per acre, after which the selector owned the land – that is, it was a way of paying off the land over time, rather than having to buy it at full price at the beginning. It also reduced the price of land from 20 shillings to a total of 17 shillings 6 pence per acre. (As a comparison, the average daily pay for a carpenter in the 1860s was around 12 shillings.<sup>15</sup>) There were some conditions on this form of selection – one sixth of the land had to be cleared and cultivated (growing a crop) within one year, and some of it had to be fenced. While this might seem reasonable, there were constant comments by the Land Commissioner that the selectors found it too difficult to fulfill these conditions, thus endangering their right to get their title deeds. Also, more selection was taking place outside the Agricultural Reserves.

Though the new laws were designed to make selection easier, this was not the case. The Surveyor General reported in 1865 that “owing to the great stringency of the Act of 1863, a large proportion of the leased allotments have been forfeited; and if the existing laws were enforced, at least half of the selections by purchase would have forfeited their allotments through inability to comply with the conditions of fencing and cultivation during the first year of occupancy”.<sup>17</sup>

This problem continued throughout the 1860s, with selectors constantly complaining that they could not meet the requirements of the selection acts, and the Surveyor General reporting the same thing.<sup>18</sup> Despite this, more land was selected all the time, especially after the new 1868 Land Act came into force, lowering the price of land again, and allowing selection virtually anywhere. Those who had already selected and paid off their farms at 20 shillings per acre were angry that newcomers could buy land more cheaply. Those still paying off their land complained that “the conditions were found to be so burdensome, and operate so prejudicially by absorbing an undue proportion of their capital, as to disable many of them from improving their lands to such an extent as would render them reproductive and thereby enable them to meet the annual payments of rent”.<sup>19</sup>



*“Hazelbank” at Logan Village, the home of Isabella and William Kirk, was probably typical of many early dwellings. This photograph was taken c1870 (Source: John Oxley Library Neg No 65106*

## Report of the Government botanist Walter Hill, 1864<sup>16</sup>

I inspected the present Logan Reserve on both sides of the River and found that nearly all the farms fronting the river on each bank have been taken up. Most of the land on the surveyed portions of the Reserve was of a very good quality but it is heavily timbered and on the eastern side of the river there are about 150 acres of scrub and on the western side about 500 acres of scrub. The cost of clearing will be thus rather expensive but the land is of sufficient good to ultimately reward the occupier.

The back farms on this reserve would no doubt meet with more rapid occupation where it not for the paucity of government roads provided to serve as outlets by which the farmer occupying these blocks would have greater facilities than at present to reach the river. This is a defect in the survey of several reserves, to which I direct your attention, especially in my report upon the Maryborough Agricultural Reserve. These unoccupied portions contain much good land. The unsurveyed part of the Reserve is generally composed of inferior land and is also heavily timbered. I therefore cannot recommend that it be surveyed at present as part of the Reserve.

There has not been up to the present time any large amount of land brought under cultivation as the settlers have been engaged on the preliminary work of fencing and clearing, but I have no doubt that there will be established here eventually a very prosperous agricultural community. The crops at present being cultivated are potatoes, maize, oats, arrowroot, with a small quantity of sugarcane etc. The main road from the lower portion of the Reserve (viz by Slack's Station and Eight Miles Plains) is in so bad a state as to prevent farmers making use of it for conveyance of their produce. The fact of course militates against the occupation of land in the locality.

I would recommend as a further extension of this Reserve a tract of land on the western side of the River containing about 5,000 acres and situated at the northern boundary of the present reserve on that side. I have marked on the accompanying tracing (A) the portion of land referred to – indicated by the following points of boundary, viz Slack's station, and the Cotton Company's plantation. There is some excellent land, well watered in this block and it appears not to be so heavily timbered as other portions of the reserve.

## Irish Immigrants

In the 1840s severe famine affected Ireland and in the 1860s many impoverished tenants were evicted by landlords, leaving families homeless. This coincided with the period of the American Civil War and Irish people wishing to leave their homeland were forced to look to countries other than America. Australia was the next choice.<sup>20</sup>

Queensland at this time was underpopulated and experiencing labour shortages. In an attempt to solve these problems, a number of immigration societies were set up shortly after Separation. According to Section 20 of The Alienation of Crown lands Act (1860), a land order to the value of £18 was payable to any person who had paid his own passage to the colony, or failing that, to the individual or body which had paid the passage for them. By taking advantage of these Land Orders, the immigration societies were able to fund large-scale immigration to Queensland.

The first of these, the Cooksland Immigration Scheme, quickly foundered but the idea was picked up by James Quinn, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane. In 1861, Quinn set up what was to become the most successful of all the immigration schemes of that era – the Queensland Immigration Society.



*Logan Store, James Macmillan 1871 (Source: John Oxley Library Neg No 20283)*

Quinn had two motives in setting up the scheme. Firstly, it was a genuine attempt to relieve the very real suffering in Ireland at this time and at the same time, benefit Queensland. However it has also been suggested that in doing so, he was also attempting to bolster the numbers in his own congregation of Irish immigrants. Government attempts to limit the number of Irish immigrants in the past had taken their toll and hardship in their native country meant that a large number of people were always anxious to emigrate. Irish Catholics were generally too poor to pay their own passage to Australia.

Quinn's scheme was technically not restricted to Catholics but inevitably, these were the main people who took advantage of it. This fact, coupled with an unfortunate remark by the Bishop that the colony might yet become "Quinn's Land", caused great hostility amongst Protestants who were afraid the colony would be turned into what John Dunmore Lang referred to as a "Province of Popery". Sectarian opposition ultimately led to the demise of the Society in 1864. Given that Lang's stated aims in his own immigration program included bringing worthy Protestants to Queensland, his opposition is hard to defend.

Quinn began his campaign by circulating highly emotional literature, designed to draw attention to the plight of the Irish people:

From Mizen Head to Benmore – from Eagle Island to the Skerries, there is but one cry ringing through the land, and that a wail of fear, for famine impends in Ireland...it is said nothing will be done to avert [it]; and as the world rolls through day and night, its hours as they revolve, crush out the remnants of the lives of our people, God pity them today, for the Government will not.

One of the people who read these stirring words was Father Patrick Dunne who had served as chaplain on emigrant ships in the past. His career as a priest in Australia was notable for his violent arguments with the Catholic establishment in new South Wales. Dunne was at this stage living in County Meath. Always enthusiastic, he was fired by the possibilities offered by the Society. Working in conjunction with Quinn's brother Matthew, Dunne assembled a shipload of emigrants, mostly people evicted from a local estate named "Geashill".

People who contributed money to the scheme were promised an optimistic 100% profit on their investment and a rich Catholic woman obligingly donated funds towards chartering a ship. This ship, the *Erin-Go-Bragh*, departed from Waterford, sailing via Liverpool and Queenstown (listed in archives

as its port of origin), with master Captain George Borlaise. On board were 431 immigrants, many of whom were to become settlers on the Logan River.

The first journey of the *Erin-Go-Bragh* was plagued with difficulties. After spending two weeks crossing from Ireland to Liverpool, the ship took twice as long as usual to make the journey to Australia and was nicknamed the *Erin-Go-Slow*.

Then, four days out of Queenstown, typhoid fever broke out on ship, followed by scarlatina, a mild form of scarlet fever. By the time the ship reached Queensland, 54 of the original 431 immigrants had died. There was a shortage of water on the voyage and frustrated passengers attempted to drill holes in the bottom of the ship. The bilges leaked, requiring constant pumping, and there were brawls among the ship's crew.

When the ship finally reached Moreton Bay in July 1862, it was quarantined at St Helena Island. The passengers were instructed to wash their underclothes and it was suggested they be put ashore to allow the ship to be fumigated. This was done, but a telegraph transmission from the Captain complained that the disembarking passengers had to "wade on their knees through mud and water" and claimed they preferred to stay on board with the typhoid fever. Fortunately, no further cases of typhoid were reported, although a woman died following childbirth and was buried on St Helena.

The surviving immigrants were granted Land Orders by the Government and took up £10 worth of land, settling just north of the Logan River near Waterford which appears to have been named after their point of departure. They included James Deeran, Simon and Charles Corcoran, John Horan and John Rafter, all of whom settled in the Logan Agricultural Reserve.

Father Dunne returned to Ireland to recruit more immigrants and in all, 10 ships including the Chatsworth and Fiery Star followed the *Erin-Go-Bragh* to Queensland, bringing a total of 6000 immigrants. Many of the Irish people from Waterford later moved on to the Beaudesert district.



*Waterford Post Office, cnr Albert St and Schneider Rd Waterford. Bertha Emilie Schneider and her husband who operated the Post Office are outside, centre and right. The man on the horse is unidentified. (Source: Keith Schmidt)*



*Eadie Fels and Charles Homburg and guests at their wedding 1905. The men of the bridal party wear sashes over their shoulder, a typical German custom. (Photo Joan Starr, Logan City Council Collection)*

## German Immigrants

In January 1864, 410 German passengers arrived in Brisbane on the ship *Susanne Godeffroy*. Twelve families from the Uckermark district of Brandenburg chartered the steamer *Diamond* for £45 and landed on the banks of the Logan near Waterford on 23 February. They had been assisted by Brisbane businessman J.C. Heussler who had promoted immigration of German people, and by Pastor J. G. Haussmann.

Their reasons for coming were mainly economic. Uckermark was a very poor area and the people were looking for a better life and the prospect of owning their own farm – this was possible with the generous land orders for immigrants in Queensland but was an impossibility in their own country. The religious persecution which had prompted earlier German immigration to Australia was past, but some now wished to escape the increasing Prussian militarism and the threat of a three-year military draft for young men.<sup>21</sup>

On the Logan, their neighbours were the Irish immigrants who had arrived only a little earlier and one in particular, John Hinchcliffe, was very willing to help the new immigrants. He let it be known that he was willing to teach English to anyone willing to learn, and several people including the Kleinschmidt children took advantage of his offer.<sup>22</sup>

Another group of German families settled at Carbrook, initially naming it Gramzow after a village in Prussia. The first German settler in this district was Herman Meissner who took up his selection on 20 April 1868 and was followed by many others including Wilhelm Collin, Carl Haberman and August Fischer.<sup>23</sup>

Like the Irish, the German immigrants were used to farming and were not deterred by the state of their heavily-forested blocks. Their general pattern was first to build a rough house and a stockyard, so they would have milk and butter, as well as shelter. They then cleared a few acres and planted potatoes and maize. The woman and children tended the crops while the men cleared more land or, if their money was exhausted, obtained a job for a time off the farm.<sup>24</sup> By this type of hard work, thrift and perseverance, they made a success of their farms and earned the respect of other residents.

In 1866, a correspondent in the *Brisbane Courier* commented:

It cannot be otherwise than gratifying to witness the daily progress of the German settlement on the lower part of this river. Nearly every day, we are receiving fresh people, either from newly-arrived vessels or from the bush. Somehow or other, the Germans seem soon to have made enough money to settle upon the land, although they land with little or nothing. A few, and but a few things apparently, are needful and they can start. What would entirely puzzle an Englishman, outwit the Scot and leave the Irish completely in the shade, the German can, by his natural plodding habits, by his economical style of living and by the general adaptability of his outgoings to his incomings, accomplish with perfect ease. They soon get started and they are very industrious as well as careful. Then the Germans, like other successful people, can talk of it.

It is only two years since, this last week, that the first batch of German settlers arrived on the Logan and now they are all just emerging out of their first difficulty and are highly satisfied. The consequence of this prosperity has been that a great number of letters have been sent to their fatherland; and I am given to understand that in one province in Prussia – I think it is Uckermark – there is great excitement about the German settlement on the Logan, and it is believed that ere long, we shall be receiving immigrants with some capital from Germany.<sup>25</sup>

Writing his recollections of Waterford in the 1870s many years later, Robert Inman-Jones commented: “The German settlers were intensely industrious, clean living and wholly desirable as colonists, and once their confidence gained, truly hospitable. The proof of their industry was yearly more and more visible, and families who at first went to church in wagons or on sleds with 6 inch or 8 inch hardwood runners, drawn by a single horse in a cloud of dust, in a couple of years drove their two-horse buggies, the horses always in the peak of condition.”<sup>26</sup>

A characteristic of the German immigrants was that they tended to form close-knit communities, partly due to the problems of language, partly for mutual assistance and partly because of their Lutheran religion – as in most country areas, social life often revolved around the church. According to a *Courier* correspondent, they created villages with their own church, graveyard, school house, blacksmith and



*Group at the Golden Wedding celebrations of Johann Gottlieb and Bertha (nee Schneider) in 1910. The Schneiders arrived with first group of German settlers and settled at Bethania. (Source - Joan Starr, Logan City Council Collection)*

wheelwright shop, brick kiln and joiners shop. Each community had its own German schoolteacher, pastor and a “veritable burgomaster” – someone the community looked to for leadership<sup>27</sup>.

The use of a German-speaking teacher and their own school system delayed assimilation into the main community, and there were many arguments about whether the children would be better off in the German school or a regular government school. (see section on Education)

Another factor which reduced assimilation was that the German people tended to marry other Germans, sometimes from other German communities within Queensland. In the 1890s, for example, Johannes Wendt of Beenleigh married Anne Buch of Minden.<sup>28</sup>

Some young men looked to their homeland for a bride. A mutual friend introduced Ferdinand Kleinschmidt - by letter - to a young Berlin woman Dores Wendt. After corresponding for some time and exchanging photographs, Ferdinand sent a ticket and some money to Berlin to allow Dores to sail out to join him. They were married in 1881 and lived very happily until her early death.<sup>29</sup>

Although they mainly tended to remain within their community for marriage, church and friendship, the German people were not exclusive or unfriendly. At the opening of the Waterford Bridge in 1876, the Germans joined in enthusiastically and learned to sing “God Save the Queen” in English for the occasion, also singing hymns in German. Henry Jordan’s daughter recalled visiting the German village for a festival and that a number of German people “came to breakfast with us and afterwards gave us the most wonderful concert, rendering, to my mother’s delight, much of her favourite music.”<sup>30</sup>

The Divisional Boards established in 1879 included several German people. Up until World War I, there were few signs of racial friction.

The economic importance of the local German community is demonstrated by an advertisement by a Beenleigh draper in the Logan Witness in 1887. Hoping to woo German customers, the ad was partly in the German language.<sup>31</sup>

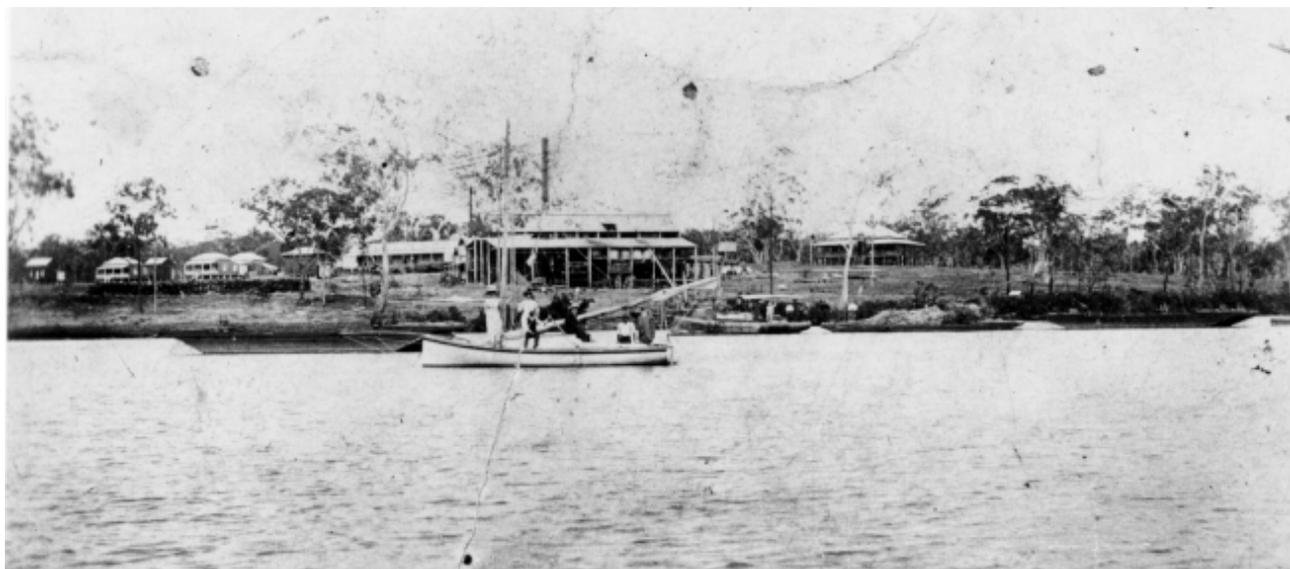
In the 1921 census, Beenleigh Shire reported 72% of properties were entirely free of debt and Waterford Shire was 68% debt-free. It has been suggested that these unusually high proportions were probably partly attributable to the industriousness and thrift of the many German farmers of the area.<sup>32</sup>



*A farewell to Emma Holzappel - centre - who was about to visit Germany in the 1930s. On her return, she told the family of her fear that there would be another war. (Source: Armstrong family)*

## References

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- <sup>2</sup> Letter 12 Feb 1843 to Captain Wickham, from Gerry Langevad editor *The Simpson Letterbook* University Printery 1979
- <sup>3</sup> *Brisbane Town News*, SMH 17 June, 25 July, 12 Oct 1843, 12 Feb, 20 May, 3 June, 24 Sept, 25 Oct 1844, etc.
- <sup>4</sup> See eg Return of Leases of Crown Land renewed in 1856 QSA SUR/2 and NSWGG 1851 p2027
- <sup>5</sup> Recollections of Mrs Annie Dunn (daughter of Henry Jordan) . Undated typescript, Logan Local Studies Centre
- <sup>6</sup> Logan Witness 20.3.1880
- <sup>7</sup> NSW Govt Gazette, 1851, p. 2027.
- <sup>8</sup> NSW Govt Gazette, 1853, p. 1283.
- <sup>9</sup> Return of sales of leases of Crown Land, Brisbane, 20 September 1853, SUR/2, QSA.
- <sup>10</sup> DB Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament 1860-1929*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1972, p. 35.
- <sup>11</sup> Renewal of leases for 1860, CLO-18, QSA.
- <sup>12</sup> Titles office records, quoted in Joan Starr *Logan The Man the River and the City* 1988
- <sup>13</sup> Qld State Archives COL/A10 60/2417
- <sup>14</sup> Beverley Kingston *The search for an alternative to free selection in Queensland 1859-66*, *Queensland Heritage*, Vol I, no. 5, Nov 1966, pp. 3-9
- <sup>15</sup> Wages information from Blue Book 1862
- <sup>16</sup> Report by Walter Hill, 23 September 1864, LWO/A15, No. 2077, QSA.]
- <sup>17</sup> Surveyor General annual report, QVP, 1865, p. 1187.
- <sup>18</sup> Surveyor General annual report, QVP, 1866, p. 1377, 1867, vol. 2, p. 783.
- <sup>19</sup> Petition from selectors under 1866 Leasing Act, QVP, 1870, p. 639.
- <sup>20</sup> Information on Irish immigration largely from Natalie Prior's Local Studies Information Sheet
- <sup>21</sup> Frank Snars *German Settlement in the Rosewood Scrub* Rosewood Scrub Historical Society 1997
- <sup>22</sup> Glen Williams *The Diary of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt 1876-92* (Thesis, Dept German 1967) Fryer Library UQ
- <sup>23</sup> Logan Local Studies Information Sheet
- <sup>24</sup> Brisbane Courier (BC) 7.9.1866
- <sup>25</sup> BC11.3.1866
- <sup>26</sup> Robert W. Inman-Jones *Early Waterford Jacks Cutting Book No 2* JOL
- <sup>27</sup> BC 7.9.1866
- <sup>28</sup> Frank Snars *German Settlement in the Rosewood Scrub* Rosewood Scrub Historical Society 1997
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- <sup>30</sup> Recollections of Mrs Annie Dunn. Undated typescript Logan Studies Collection
- <sup>31</sup> Logan Witness 3.12.1887
- <sup>32</sup> Quoted in Margaret Jenner "Our German Friends are Doing Well" RHSQ Vol XIV No 5 Dec 1990



*Carbrook c1908 (Source: John Oxley Library Neg 67876)*