



Season 2 - Episode 6

The Mark's Murders

The Initial Murders

Greg: [00:04](#) From 'Today's Stories' - this is 'The Mark's Murders' – a story of murder and mayhem told one episode at a time by myself, Greg and by Peter.

If you haven't listened to this series from Episode 1, we suggest that you stop listening now and go back to the very beginning.

Also, a warning. This series of podcasts discusses the murders of indigenous and non-indigenous people. It contains the names of Aboriginal people who have died. Whilst quoting original historical material, this series also contains:

- racist language,
- some language that would be seen as inappropriate today, and
- historical ideas that are offensive.

Peter: [01:01](#) Previously on the "Mark's Murders" It's 1847 – about 50 km north-west of modern-day Goondiwindi.

John Watts: [01:12](#) *"Marks was a splendid shot, and the blacks were very much afraid of him, and from information I obtained from the Beebo people, they had long been watching to kill him. They stole up and killed the boy, and having done so cut him to pieces with their tomahawks and placed the remains all along the log where he had been seated."*¹

Eric Rolls: [01:39](#) *"It was rare for a white man to be killed by unknowns. When a shepherd in a lonely hut was speared, if he saw the man who threw it, he knew him by name. And, when stockmen rode out to shoot Aborigines in retaliation, they counted the dead by name."*²

Denise: [01:59](#) *Young described Marks's frenzied response, calling him 'a hater of all Aborigines', 'shooting every native in sight'.*³

Tinker Campbell: [02:10](#) *"I have always thought that much depended upon the impression made upon the blacks by the first white men they met, and that the ancient*

stock-keepers and hut-keepers were far too ready to use their fire-arms rather than try to conciliate them.”⁴

Peter: [02:30](#) The murder of Mark’s son and the subsequent murder of Aboriginal people started in 1847, around modern-day Goondiwindi. We know the bare bones of the story from the *Personal Reminiscences* of John Watts, an early squatter on the Darling Downs, and from other historical accounts. But these accounts don’t provide any context as to why the murders occurred, what actually happened, and the aftermath. We want to tell the truth of what happened. In previous episodes, we’ve told the backstory of James Mark and his family, the backstory of Jonathan and Margaret Young and the story of squatting in Australia, and in particular, the experiences of three squatters on the McIntyre – John Browne, Captain Scott and Tinker Campbell. We are now able to look into the murders with some insight.

Greg: [03:26](#) OK. In the first episode, we posed a lot of questions about the murders and the first question being around the murder of Mark’s son. Did this really happen and did the Aboriginal people mutilated the body as stated by John Watts? There’ve been lots of reports of Aboriginal men spearing shepherds and hut-keepers but no reports of killing children, and specifically no reports of cutting bodies to pieces. There is something particularly vicious about this event! So, what did really happen?

Peter: [03:55](#) Well, we’ve heard John Watts’ account already – but he must have got that account second-hand – either from Mark himself or from the *Beebo* people – but Margaret Young, who lived on a nearby property, provides another account⁵: Margaret writes:-

Margaret: [04:15](#) *“They waited and watched Mr Mark’s home day and night, always hiding, using their bushcraft. One day Mr Mark’s two sons went out with a mob of sheep, giving the natives their long-awaited opportunity; they killed the two boys and their horses, ruthlessly cutting up the two bodies, putting the severed head and limbs into hollow logs and stumps along the McIntyre River. This tragic happening sickened us all.”*

Peter: [04:43](#) We do know from the previous episode that James Mark had two sons at Goodar – William and John. But we also known from Episode 4 that there were some issues with Margaret’s journal. She has made an error here – only one son was killed. It was John or Johnny as he’s sometimes referred to.

Greg: [05:03](#) OK. Are there any other accounts?

Peter: [05:06](#) Yes – and this is a more contemporaneous record. Soon after the murder of young John, a neighbouring squatter – Edward White – wrote to Commissioner Bligh at Warialda. Bligh then wrote to his superior. In that letter – dated 30 September 1847, he writes:

Richard Bligh: [05:27](#) *“I do myself the honor to repeat that information has this day reached me of another most atrocious murder committed by the Aborigines of the Macintyre River on the 16th instant at Mr Mark’s station “Goodar”. The victim was a son of Mr Mark, a boy about ten years old who was employed in shepherding a flock of ewes in the immediate neighbourhood of Mark’s hut. The Blacks it appears took away both the boy and the sheep and upon search being made for them the upper half of the boy’s body was discovered hanging among the branches of a tree. The lower portion of the body*

seems to have been carried away and has not yet been discovered. This information has reached me through the medium of a letter written by Mr Edward White of Broomfield to the Bench of Magistrates at this place and also through the verbal statement of a constable who has just returned from the Macintyre River."

Peter: [06:28](#) Also, there is a Register of Coroners' Inquests in New South Wales. In that register, I found that an inquest was held into the death of John Mark. It's Inquest No 4016 dated 23 October 1847 and done by Richard Bligh.⁶ The cause of death is noted as "murder by Aborigines". Unfortunately, the full inquest has been lost so, apart from Bligh's letter, there is no official record of the murder or the treatment of the boy's body. But - there is no doubt that James Mark's son, John, was murdered by Aboriginal people and that his body was mutilated.

4003	Kemaroo	13 Oct.	Infant unknown	Wimmer & M	22 nd Oct 1847	found dead on the bank
4	Warrhead		Margaret McQuire	Coroner	25	Intoxication
5	Blanco Hill		Edward Williams	do	25	Found drowned
6	Merton	6	Isaac Lawrence	H Gilbie & M	25	Natural causes
7	Shatta	23	William Macarossa	Coroner	26	do do
8	Southern	21	Mary Ann Metiden	do	26	Accidentally burned
9	Wadswor	12	Thomas Soper	do	27	do killed
10	Hollingsby	25	Nicholas Bateman	C. S. Smith & M	28	Natural causes
11	Binalong	10 Sep.	William Sherman	L. Becher & M	3 Nov.	do do
12	Angleton	20 Oct.	Mary Ann Hill (inf)	M Fleming & M	3	do do
13	Southern	1 Nov.	Catherine Smith	Coroner	6	Overeaten of food
14	Warrhead	4	Samuel Lee	do	6	Natural causes
15	Maneroo	Oct	James Spear	H. Hobson & M	8	Accidentally killed
16	Maraldu	23	John Mark	H. Bligh & M	10	Murder by Aborigines

Record of Coroner's Inquest into the murder of John Mark – No 4016

Greg: [07:09](#) Well good. That's one question answered! But how do we know why the Bigambul people wanted to kill John Mark?

Peter: [07:16](#) Well, an obvious motive is that the Bigambul were attacking the squatters who were moving into their country for a second time. But this isn't a sufficient answer. We already know that the Bigambul and the Kamilaroi strategically killed the squatter's livestock, rather than people, to try to get them to leave. Even the Youngs had experienced that. We will never know what was in the minds of the Aboriginal people who murdered and mutilated young John, but we can note some information that might provide a motive for the murder of the boy. John Watts had spoken with the "Beebo people". They said that the Aboriginal people – and I quote - "had long been watching to kill him". Why – and for how long? It is speculation, but John Watts had said that James Mark "had taken up a station, which he called Yelleroy, was attacked by the blacks, lost some of his shepherds and sheep, and was obliged to abandon his station". Perhaps, Mark did more than just abandon his station there. Perhaps he killed some Aboriginal people there and they were looking for revenge. We'll never know. But Margaret Young provides another motive. In her journal, she writes:

Margaret: [08:33](#) “One day Mr Morrison on an adjoining station, killed a beast and sent three of his native boys over with fresh meat to the old man. Just what these boys did to upset Mr Marks was never disclosed, but on their return to Mr Morrison’s property, they were followed by Mr Marks and his stockmen on horseback, and they shot two of the boys dead and kicked their bodies into hollow logs out of sight, so he thought. This left one boy, who escaped and lived to tell the tale to his own tribe; he did not return to Mr Morrison. This event put all the white settlers in danger as the natives became very hostile and out for revenge, as they always do.”

Peter: [09:19](#) Again, there are some issues with Margaret’s account. Firstly, there was no Mr Morrison – but there was Augustus Morris on nearby *Callandoon* and it is known that Morris primarily used Aboriginal labour on *Callandoon*. John Watts says the murder of John Mark happened – and I quote - “about a month after him being at this station”. So, the fresh meat that was delivered by the boys might well have been a “welcome to the neighbourhood” gift from Augustus Morris to James Mark. Again, we’ll never know.

Greg: [09:56](#) Of course, one thing comes to mind that we use the term - *boys* - but they could well have been men. That was the language of the time. But have you been able to corroborate Margaret’s story?

Peter: [10:08](#) Well, apparently, there is a letter⁷ subsequently written by Commissioner Bligh in January 1849 where he discusses – and I quote - a “messenger boy” killed by James Mark but I haven’t been able to find the original. But there is another motive that I have come across!

Greg: [10:26](#) Oh, good. What’s that?

Peter: [10:28](#) Well, before we talk about that, we need a quick chat about the various stations that we refer to and their owners. Some understanding of their proximity is important.

So, just briefly – Jonathan and Margaret Young were on *Umbercollie*.⁸ The head station was about 30 km north-west of modern-day Goondiwindi – Now Gundy⁹ obviously did not exist in 1847 but nevertheless.

To the south west of *Umbercollie* was Augustus Morris on *Callandoon* – he’s a very important player in subsequent events.

To the west of *Umbercollie* and north of *Callandoon* was Edward White on *Broomfield*.¹⁰ Edward was the person who described the mutilated body of John Mark in the letter to Commissioner Bligh.

To the north of *Umbercollie* was *Ellangabba*¹¹. In a previous episode, we noted that Tinker Campbell and his partner, Smith, had claimed this run in about 1840. Since then, Tinker had moved on to *Westbrook* and then to Brisbane. He’d subsequently gone broke and *Ellangabba*, as well as *Beebo*, was now in the hands of the Bank of Australasia. The bank had appointed a manager of both properties – a Mr Henderson – and Henderson had employed ticket-of-leave convicts as stockmen on these properties. In the south-west corner of *Ellangabba* was an out-station – *Minimee* – a very important location in this story.

To the north of *Broomfield* and north-west of *Umbercollie* and *Ellangabba* was *Goodar*¹² – the station taken over by James Mark after Captain Scott had left.

To give some idea of the proximity, the head stations on adjacent runs were something like 15 km apart. What's interesting is that, although these events happened over 170 years ago, these properties remain today – although they have been cut up into some smaller properties. Today, there is a road called Goodar Road that leaves the Barwon Highway about 5 km west of modern-day Goondiwindi and heads north-west. About 10 km along Goodar Road is *Umbercollie*. A further 20 km along Goodar Road is *Minima South*, which I think is *Minimee*. *Goodar* is a further 5 km north of *Minima South*. This means that *Goodar* is about 25 km north west of *Umbercollie*. Jonathan Young's *Umbercollie* ran down to Goondiwindi but the homestead was probably about 15 km north-west of the town. We're not quite sure where it was. Augustus Morris' *Callandoon* ran down to current-day Goondiwindi as well but that homestead was about 20 km west of the town on the Barwon Highway.

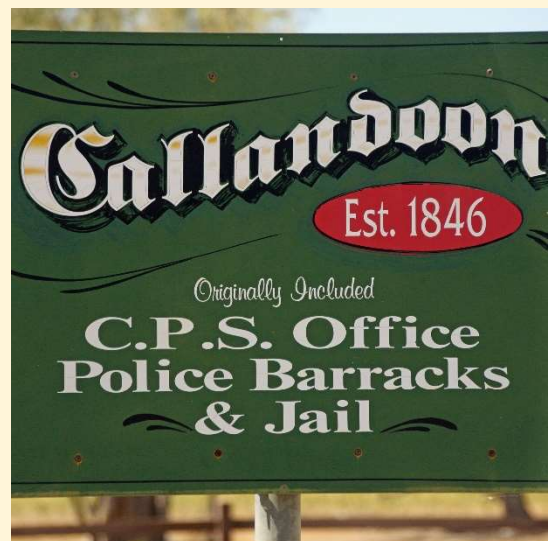
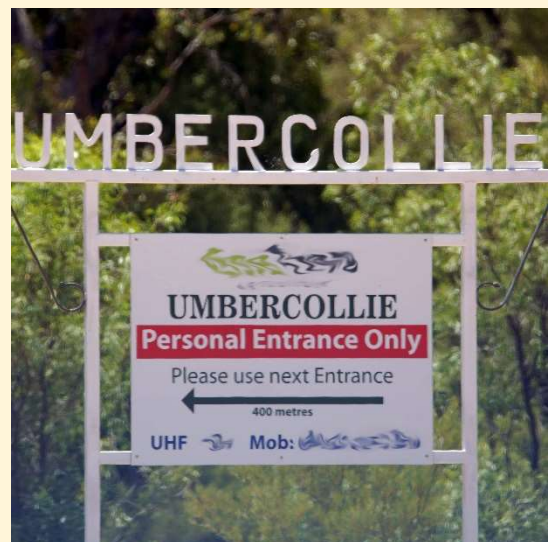
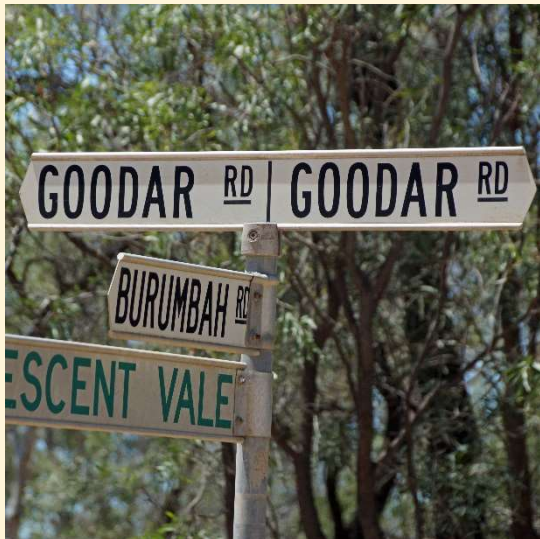
Greg: [13:19](#) OK – So we're talking about an area that extends about 40 km north and west of Gundy - but back to the motive for the murder of Mark's son. You'd said that you had found something else.

Peter: [13:29](#) Yes. In Bligh's letter reporting Edward White's description of the murder and mutilation of Johnny Mark, Bligh also refers to an earlier couple of murders. Bligh writes:

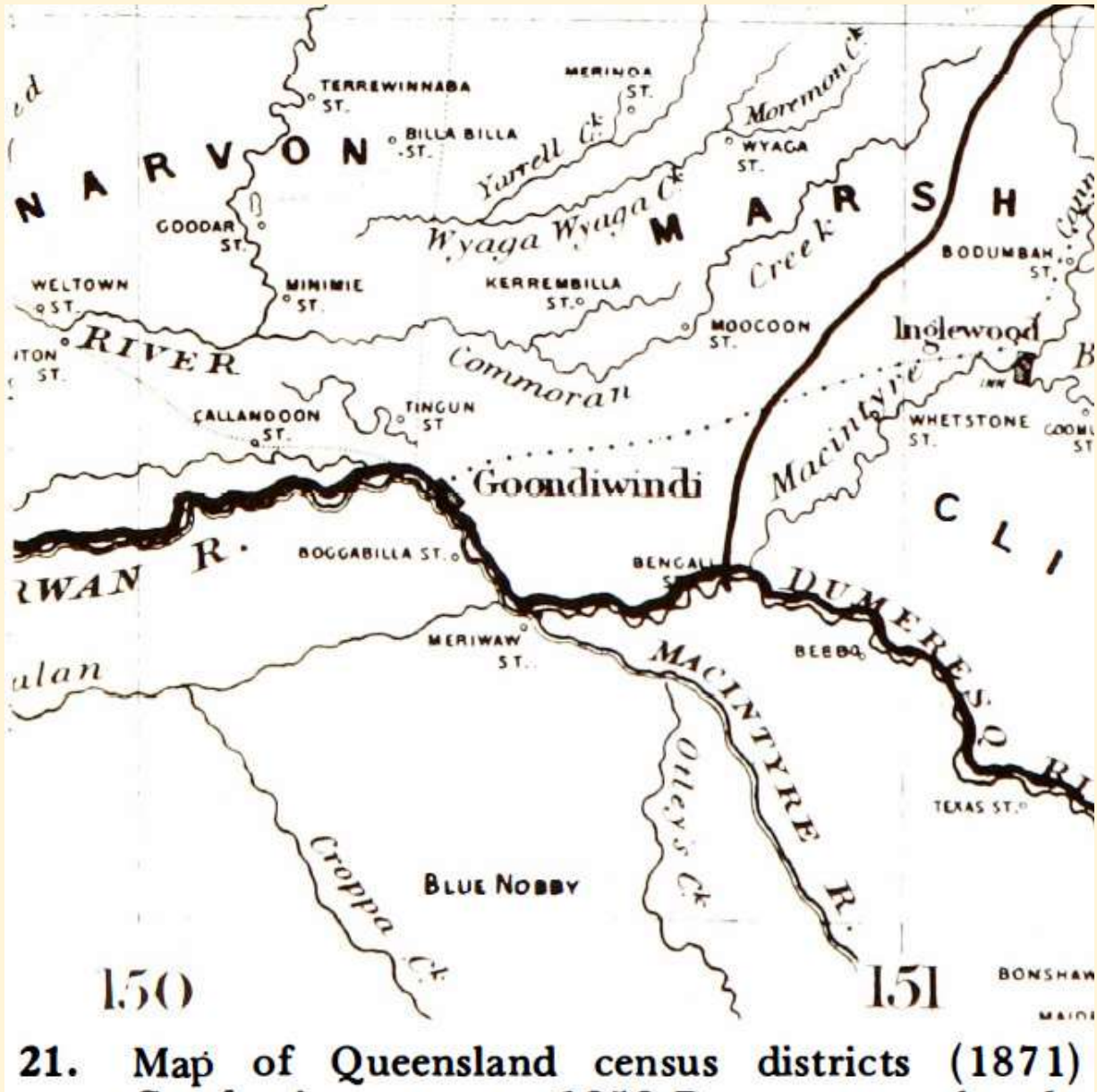
Richard Bligh: [13:42](#) *"You are, I believe, aware that one of the Aborigines ('Tinker') accused of the recent murder of Messrs Campbell and Smith's hut-keeper having been captured by the settlers was slain in a struggle which took place between him and the two men who had him in custody. Upon that subject I sometime ago held an enquiry the result of which the names of the slayers has been by me transmitted to the Attorney-General."*

Peter: [14:11](#) Bligh notes that the murderers of "Tinker" were John Reardon and John Ferrell¹³. Remember that name – John Reardon. So, Campbell and Smith's property must have been *Ellangabba* and the Aboriginal man, who killed the hut-keeper and was subsequently killed by Reardon, had to be named after Tinker Campbell. Tinker - the Aboriginal's killing happened on 3 August 1847 – just a few weeks before the murder of Mark's son. It could be that the murder of Mark's son was – partly – revenge by the Bigambul for the killing of Tinker.

Greg: [14:47](#) OK. We've heard Eric Rolls comments in the introduction about Europeans and Aboriginal men knowing each other individually when killings occurred. Did James know who murdered his son?



Current Property and other signs north and west of Goondiwindi



Locality Map from 1871 showing Stations

<u>Station Name</u>	<u>Owner / Manager (1847)</u>
Texas	Howe – Dight Family
Beebo	Tinker Campbell
Bengalla	Captain Scott
Meriwaw (Merawa)	Howe – Dight Family ¹⁴
Boggabilla	Yeomans and Baldwin ¹⁵
Tingun (Umbercollie)	Jonathan & Margaret Young
Callandoon	Augustus Morris
Minimie	Part of <i>Ellangabba</i>
Goodar	James Mark

Peter: [14:59](#) I found another letter in the NSW State Archive. It is dated 17 November 1847. It says:

Richard Bligh: [15:05](#) *"Sir, I have the honor to return herewith the enclosed letter from Commissioner Mitchell, containing one from Commissioner Bligh reporting the murder on the 16th September last by the Blacks, of a son of Mr Marks on the station called Goodar belonging to the latter and referred for my report with your letter of the 15th ultimo. I beg to inform you that I have now received the depositions taken by Commissioner Bligh on an inquiry respecting the death of John Mark; and I regret to find there is no identity of any of the Aboriginal natives who committed the murder, nor is it likely they can ever be identified."*

Peter: [15:54](#) But, despite the official view that no one knew who killed the boy, the locals claimed to know the perpetrator. As we'll see soon, he was known as *Gibber*.

Greg: [16:05](#) So, what happened after the murder of James' son?

Peter: [16:08](#) Well, John Watts notes:

John Watts: [16:10](#) *"For a time, the father did not discover the remains of his son, and when he did one cannot wonder his vowing vengeance against every black he came across. In a few days, he managed to get up a party to follow on the tracks, but before this he had managed to recover his sheep which the blacks had found it difficult to move. They followed the tracks with the assistance of a black tracker, and on the third evening came across them at Callandoon, not far from Goondiwindi, which station was owned by Mr. Morris".*

Peter: [16:47](#) Margaret Young also addresses this. She says:

Margaret: [16:52](#) *"This tragic happening sickened us all. Mr Marks became a sad case, demented with rage, and out for revenge. He went all over the district asking all hands to join his shooting every native on sight. Jonathon flatly refused to take part in this organised massacre as he considered Mr Marks had brought this tragedy upon himself, by his own ruthless shooting."*

Greg: [17:17](#) Do we know who was in James' gang?

Peter: [17:20](#) Yes. There is good documentation of who these men were. The eight were: James Mark from *Goodar*, Richard Knight, working for Mark on *Goodar*, Bill Jones – alias "Monday" – a stockkeeper at *Minimee*, Daniel McLean – alias "Scotchie" – also a stockkeeper at *Minimee*, John Reardon - alias "Jack the Headsman" - then herding cattle at *Minimee*. You'll remember John Reardon was the one who killed the Aboriginal called Tinker. Martin Cummins – a bullock-driver for Messrs. Chapman and Welch. Stephen Holden – alias Steevie – a stockman on the same property as Cummins, Billy - an Aboriginal, a native of Port Macquarie. Now, I can't exactly work out where the "Chapman and Welch" property was. It may have been a part of *Ellangabba* or was a separate run just north of *Goodar*. On *Minimee*, both Cummins and Holden were ticket-of-leave convicts. So, it is interesting to note that none of these men – except James Mark – were actually squatters. They were all workers and some have a criminal past – and there is no information on how Billy, the Aboriginal man from Port Macquarie – came to be at *Goodar*.

- Greg: [18:42](#) Okay, so what did the James gang do?
- Peter: [18:48](#) According to one source¹⁶, a week later, James Mark and his gang rode south to *Boonal Station*¹⁷ on the MacIntyre River where they found about forty Aboriginal people camped in the bed of the river. It appears they shot them all and then burnt their bodies in the campsite. There is no indication that the Aboriginal group was involved in the killing of James' son. Documentation on this attack is poor and I am a bit curious about this source. We'll discuss this later, but this is an event that happened in June 1848 that is well documented.
- Greg: [19:25](#) And what was that event?
- Peter: [19:26](#) On the evening of 10 June 1848, the eight men that we've just discussed, gathered and prepared to attack a camp of Aboriginal people on Jonathan Young's station, *Umbercollie*. Margaret Young's description of what happened after Mark's gang was formed follows:
- Margaret: [19:47](#) *"Shortly after, Mr Marks and a team of men he had gathered arrived at our home, also Callandoon, shooting every native in sight, even our station Aboriginals, even my house gins¹⁸, one of which was my faithful Maimie, my loyal friend, who had shared so many experiences with me, in the first hard years at Umbercollie. As these two gins were unarmed, and one was blind, they both had no chance of escape. Maimie dropped beside the house, and the other girl ran to the river and dived in, staying there all night, dying from cold as well as wounds. We were helpless to help, as the natives were now in a frenzy, as well as the Mark's men still shooting. After a while there was silence, and the Mark's men had gone. When Jonathon looked out, he was horrified to see the natives who had escaped, putting all their possessions, including blankets on a bonfire, in case they intended to burn us all too. He called out for them to stop and they all ran into the bush. It was then midnight, and all our help had gone into hiding, we were alone in this terrible drama and danger."*
- Peter: [21:05](#) Margaret was sure that she and her children would be murdered. She clutched her Bible and stayed awake all night. Then she describes the next morning.
- Margaret: [21:16](#) *"At daylight Jonathon went outside to get our two dead girls and bury them, as already wild pigs were eating Maimie's body, this was a frightful sight right beside our house. Jonathon had to dig these graves himself, close to our home, as it was not safe to venture far. After this shooting, all our native shepherds had gone bush from fright; Jonathon had to let each mob of sheep out of the yards to feed for a short time, minding them on horseback, with a loaded gun and watchful eye. I kept a loaded gun beside me and the children, fearing the natives would return and attack. However, at midday, one of our natives returned creeping back, saying they would return and not to shoot, as they would not harm any of us. They knew Jonathon had not taken part in this massacre."*
- Peter: [22:12](#) Margaret was aware of the importance of the Aboriginal people to the station. She commented:
- Margaret: [22:19](#) *"Native shepherds played a big part in these early days, when sheep paddocks were unknown. They cared for sheep day and night. These men assisted the*

early pioneers to develop this hostile country. There were many fine natives amongst them; they taught the white men a lot about the Australian bush and how to survive."

Peter: [22:42](#) But apart from their general usefulness on the station, Margaret was particularly upset by the murder of her friend. Oddly, she remembers her name as Maimie although, in Bligh's depositions and all other reporting on the incident, she is known as Bootha. The events of that night are best described in the words of one of the party, Daniel McLean. McLean said that he and Jones went on the 9th of June to Chapman and Welch's station for four head of cattle, calling at *Goodar* as they passed. At Mark's request, they brought Steevie back with them, and Martin and Billy also accompanied them to *Goodar*. While there, Jones remarked that there were a "good many blacks" at White's place, and Mark replied that they would go there, asking Jones if he would go. Jones agreed. Steevie and Martin volunteered to go also, taking Billy. This was on the afternoon of the 10th. In the end, they didn't go to Edward White's station but they went to *Umbercollie*. It's clear that they didn't specifically choose Young's run. They simply wanted to kill some Aboriginal people and particularly, Aboriginal people living on stations who were easy targets. McLean then described what happened when they got to the Aboriginal camp on *Umbercollie*.

Daniel McLean: [24:05](#) *"After riding on some distance, on a suggestion of Jones's, we went to Jonathan Young's station instead of to White's, and on reaching it, passed by at some little distance from the hut; it was then about nine o'clock, and it was bright moonlight, and it was agreed to wait for some time, as the blacks were moving about in their camp, and the black boys playing. We then rode some distance up the creek, made a fire, and stopped there until the moon went down. We then returned to the station and dismounted in a scrub near the paddock in which the blacks' fires were burning. Knight was the last person with the horses, and I did not observe him leave them with the rest of the party. We then went to the rails of the paddock and could see the place where the blacks were lying, and we fired two or three shots upon the blacks. Mark, Steevie, Reardon, Martin, Jones and Billy then jumped over the rails and rushed the camp, and I killed some dog or puppy; Billy was looking about and found a gin concealed by the fence, and he pulled her out. She escaped from his grasp and ran. Someone called out "shoot her," and the whole party fired at her, and she fell by the slip panel. Martin then struck her once or twice on the head with a pistol he carried. We then put the nets, cloaks, and spears on the fire, and left the camp. As we left, we saw Mr. Young standing in his shirt at a distance, and heard him call out "who's there," but none of us answered. When we returned to the horses, Knight was with them, and I could not remember having seen Knight while we were firing or in the camp. We then mounted and rode back to Minimee, avoiding the direct road. I got home last and found the rest of the party there waiting for some meat which Harris was cooking for us. This was about nine o'clock in the morning."*

Greg: [26:04](#) Gosh! That's a bit gruesome! So, on 11 June 1848, James and his gang attacked the Aboriginal people on Jonathon Young's property. This is nine months after the murder of Mark's son in September 1847. It seems that James' anger and vengeance continued on for a long time.

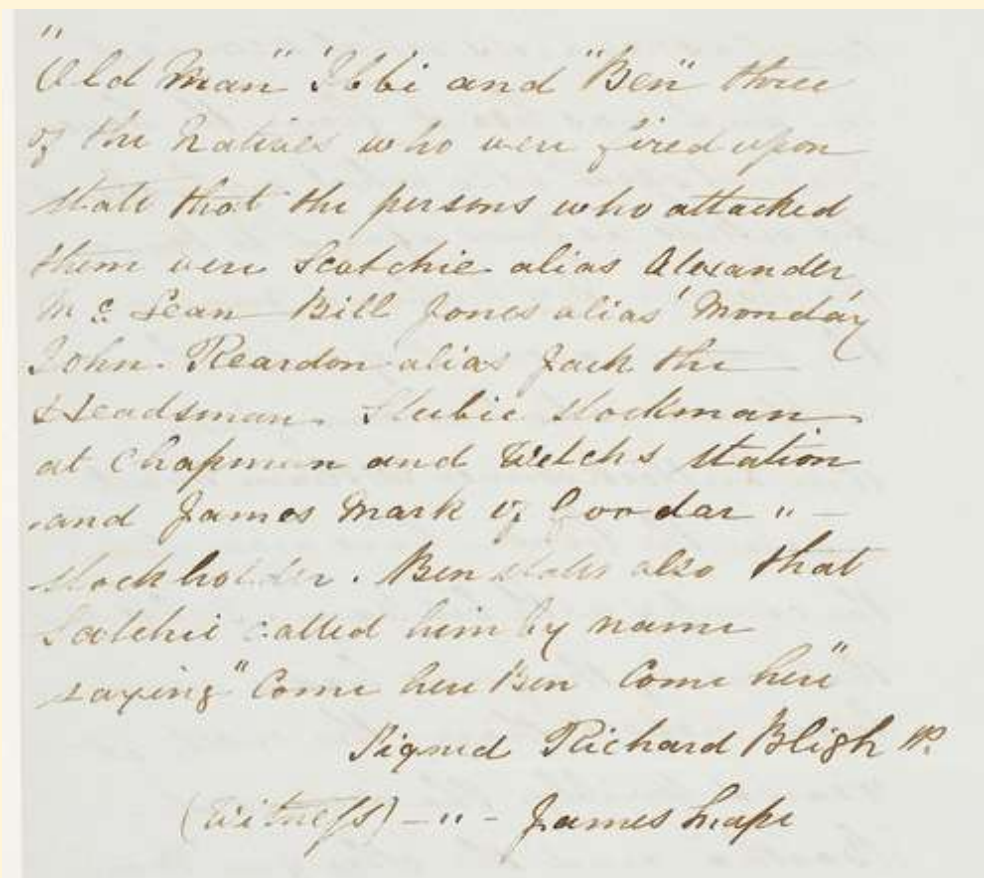
Peter: [26:23](#) Yes – Mark's rampage was long and bitter. We know the information about Mark's gang because, after the *Umbercollie* attack, Commissioner Bligh was informed. He came up to *Umbercollie* with some of his Border Police to investigate the attack. He

took the depositions¹⁹ we've just heard. Some of the gang were arrested but not James Mark. We will discuss the law and order response in later episodes.

Greg: [26:50](#) It's very useful having those depositions from Bligh. Is there anything else in there of interest?

Peter: [26:56](#) There is one section in the depositions that I think's quite interesting. Bligh talked to some of the Aboriginal men on *Umbercollie* there. He records:

Richard Bligh: [27:04](#) *"Old Man', 'Ibbi' and 'Ben' - three of the Natives who were fired upon - state that the persons who attacked them were Scotchie alias Alexander McLean, Bill, Jones alias 'Monday', John Reardon alias "Jack the Headsman", Holden - a stockman at Chapman and Welch's station and James Mark of Goodar stockholder. Ben states also that Scotchie called him by name saying "Come here Ben, Come here".*²⁰



"Old Man" "Ibbi" and "Ben" three of the Natives who were fired upon state that the persons who attacked them were Scotchie alias Alexander McLean, Bill Jones alias "Monday" John Reardon alias Jack the Headsman, Scotchie Stockman at Chapman and Welch's station and James Mark of Goodar stockholder. Ben states also that Scotchie called him by name saying "Come here Ben, Come here"
Signed Richard Bligh
(Witness) - " - James Mark

Section of Bligh's Depositions with comments from Aboriginal people.

Peter: [27:40](#) These comments reinforce Eric Rolls statement about the Europeans and Aboriginal men knowing each other by name. Scotchie – that's Daniel McLean – knew Ben personally and Ben knew him. These are not random murders of unknown people.

Greg: [27:57](#) That's very disturbing. Did the killing end when Bligh left?

Peter: [28:01](#) No – far from it! – More murders followed immediately, and we'll discuss them in our next episode.

Greg: [28:09](#) Fair enough. So, from May 1847 when the Aboriginal man – “Tinker” - killed a hut-keeper and was subsequently killed himself by John Reardon and his mate until June 1848 – when Bootha was killed on *Umbercollie* – James Mark and his gang had gone about killing Aboriginal people without any legal consequences. You’ve also said that Commissioner Bligh had then become involved but you’re saying that the murders continued. Now, in the second episode, we discussed the Myall Creek Massacre where Europeans were convicted and hanged following the murder of Aboriginal people. Did this happen here?

Peter: [28:47](#) Yes – and no. I previously noted that Commissioner Bligh conducted a coroner’s inquest into the murder of Mark’s son and he took depositions about the murder of Bootha. That led to legal action starting but that is a long and complicated story for another episode. Our next episode will cover the continuing murders.

Greg: [29:11](#) We would like your views on this topic. Do you have a similar story in your family tree? If so, please contact us on email or comment on our Facebook - contact details are on our webpage – www.todaysstories.com.au . Full details of this story are available on our website and please remember to subscribe to our podcast. Now for this podcast:

- Your hosts were Greg and Peter
- Research by Peter
- Voice actors were Mark, Barbara, Denise and Mick
- Original music and Sound Engineering by Pete Hill
- IT solutions by Shelly

Thank you for listening

John Watts, *Personal Reminiscences* - Download PDF version

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Today’s Stories from our Past

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Citations

- ¹ John Watts, *Personal Reminiscences*, Allendale, Wimborne, 1901. OM Box 10937, ACC 5823, John Oxley Library, Brisbane, p. 40.
- ² Eric C. Rolls (1984). *A million wild acres*. Victoria Penguin Books, p. 55.
- ³ Lydon, Jane, 1965- & Ryan, Lyndall, 1943- & EBSCOhost (2018). *Remembering the Myall Creek massacre*. Newsouth Publishing, Kensington, NSW, p.102.
- ⁴ Campbell, John & Wilks, William. *Raid of the Aborigines: a heroic poem* (1875). The early settlement of Queensland and other articles. Ipswich Observer Office, [Ipswich, Qld.]
- ⁵ A.E. Tonge (1980), *The Youngs' of Umbercollie: The First White Family in South-West Queensland*, (Mitchell Library, Sydney, M.L. MSS 3821 5-537C)
- ⁶ New South Wales, Australia, Registers of Coroners' Inquests, 1821-1937, State Archives NSW; Series: 2921; Item: 4/6613; Roll: 343
- ⁷ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Gwydir District 10 January 1849 (NSWA 2/7634)
- ⁸ CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 12). The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954), p. 4 (Extraordinary to the Sydney Morning Herald). Retrieved December 28, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12910894>
6.— BROWNE JOHN. Name of run, *Tingun*. Estimated area, 32,000 acres. Estimated grazing capabilities, 4000 sheep *Tingun* station, bounded on the north and west by Edward White, Esq, station, on the east by a brigoli brush; and on the south by *Gundiwindi* station.
- ⁹ Gundy is the name used by locals for Goondiwindi.
- ¹⁰ CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 16). The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (NSW: 1843 - 1893), p. 1 (Supplement to the Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Adve). Retrieved November 30, 2019, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article709122>
89. White Edward. Name of run, *Bromfield* Estimated area, 64,000 acres. Estimated grazing capabilities, 12,000 sheep. Bounded on the south by the Callandoon Creek, on the east by Dangar's and Young's stations, on a north line ten miles., on the north side (from the end of ten miles) by a westwardly line to a creek called Gither Gither; and on the west side by unappropriated country, on a southwardly line to Callandoon Creek.
- ¹¹ CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 12). The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954), p. 4 (Extraordinary to the Sydney Morning Herald). Retrieved December 28, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12910894> - Property description:- 18—CAMPBELL and SMITH. Name of run, *Elangaba*. Estimated area 64,000 acres. Estimated grazing capabilities.1000 cattle Bounded on the east by a north and south line crossing Callico Creek, being the western boundary of Mr I Mark's station, westerly in a direction parallel to the Creek and extending ten miles , on the west by a north and south line, crossing Cobbiott Creek, and on the south by a line running parallel to the northern boundary, and extending to the eastern boundary
- ¹² CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 26). The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954), p. 3. Retrieved November 30, 2019, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12914247>
120. Marks James. Name of run, *Goodar*. Estimated area, thirty-two thousand acres. Estimated grazing capabilities, nine thousand sheep. On the east by a north and south line cutting Collyeo Creek at a point five miles east of the centre of the waterhole known as Goodar, on the south by a line parallel to and two and a half miles distant from the said creek ; on the west by a north and south line cutting the said creek at a point five miles west of the waterhole afore-said ; and on the north by a line parallel to and distant two and a half miles northward from the said creek.
- ¹³ Warialda Letterbook C.F.S. Justices 1847-1855, 3 August 1847, (NSWA 4/5681)
- ¹⁴ CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 16). The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (NSW: 1843 - 1893), p. 1 (Supplement to the Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Adve). Retrieved November 30, 2019, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article709122>
52.—HOWE JAMES. Name of run, *Merawa* Estimated area 64,000 acres. Estimated grazing capabilities 2300 cattle. Eight miles frontage, on the south side of river by ten back, and ten miles frontage, on the north side by two back, and remainder being a thick scrub. The lines are supposed to run at right angles with the river, bounded on the east by the run of Messrs George and S B Dight, on the west by Mr G.

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- Yeoman's; and on the south by Mr John Browne, the lines between the two last mentioned persons were confirmed by Commissioner Mayne, in January, 1843.
- ¹⁵ CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 16). The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (NSW: 1843 - 1893), p. 1 (Supplement to the Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Adve). Retrieved November 30, 2019, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article709122>
92. Yeomans and Baldwin, per G. Yeomans. Name of run, *Boggabilla* or *Bugobilla*. Estimated area, 64,000 acres. Estimated grazing capabilities, 1200 cattle. A perfectly flat country, alternate brigalow and forest plains; nearly the whole of the river front is a belt of barren scrub; a back watercourse running nearly parallel with the river at about five miles distance; the westerly portion of the run very scrubby. Boundaries determined by Mr. Commissioner Mitchell, and subsequently by Mr. Bligh, as follows:— on the east a marked tree line commencing at a tree on the south bank of the McIntyre River, half a mile eastward of the Bugobilla Hut, and running thence by compass due south ; on the north by the McIntyre River from the said tree to a tree on the bank of the said river, marked Y, and distant from Bugobilla Hut about nine and a half miles westward ; and on the west a marked tree line running from the last mentioned tree due south by compass.
- ¹⁶ Telfer, William & Milliss, Roger, 1934- (1980). *The Wallabadah manuscript: the early history of the northern districts of New South Wales: recollections of the early days*. New South Wales University Press, Kensington, N.S.W., p.39.
- ¹⁷ CLAIMS TO LEASES OF CROWN LANDS BEYOND THE SETTLED DISTRICTS. (1848, September 12). The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954), p. 3. Retrieved November 30, 2019, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12910916>
- 34.—DIGHT GEORGE. Name of run, *Boonal*. Estimated area, 55,000 acres. Estimated grazing capabilities 1600 cattle. Commencing on the south side of the McIntyre, at the junction of the Severn, bounded by the run of Messrs. Howe, running upwards about nine miles to marked line bounding Captain Russell's run, and thence back taking in the springs; and on the northern side by a line adjoining Captain Russell's run, across to the Severn thence to it's confluence with the McIntyre; on the south side the front mixed country of forest land and plain, the back brigalow scrub , on the northern side between the rivers generally scrubby.
- ¹⁸ Gin - Offensive term for an Aboriginal woman. It is derived from the Dharuk word diyin, meaning woman, or wife, but it has come to be used as a highly derogatory term, often in connection with sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by whites. (Dharuk is an Aboriginal language of the area around Sydney, Australia, now extinct) <https://www.nosunlightsinging.com/glossary.html>
- ¹⁹ Enquiry touching the cause Macintyre River of Death of "Bootha" 26th August 1846 an Aboriginal Female of the "Tuchamboul" tribe Before Richard Bligh Esq. J.P. Acting Coroner, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sir William Dixson - documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853, Pages 167-177.
- ²⁰ Dixson, William, Sir. Documents Relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853 (1816). Web. p. 175.