

Sir George Ferguson Bowen's 'place in the grateful memories of...Queensland'.¹

Katie McConnel²



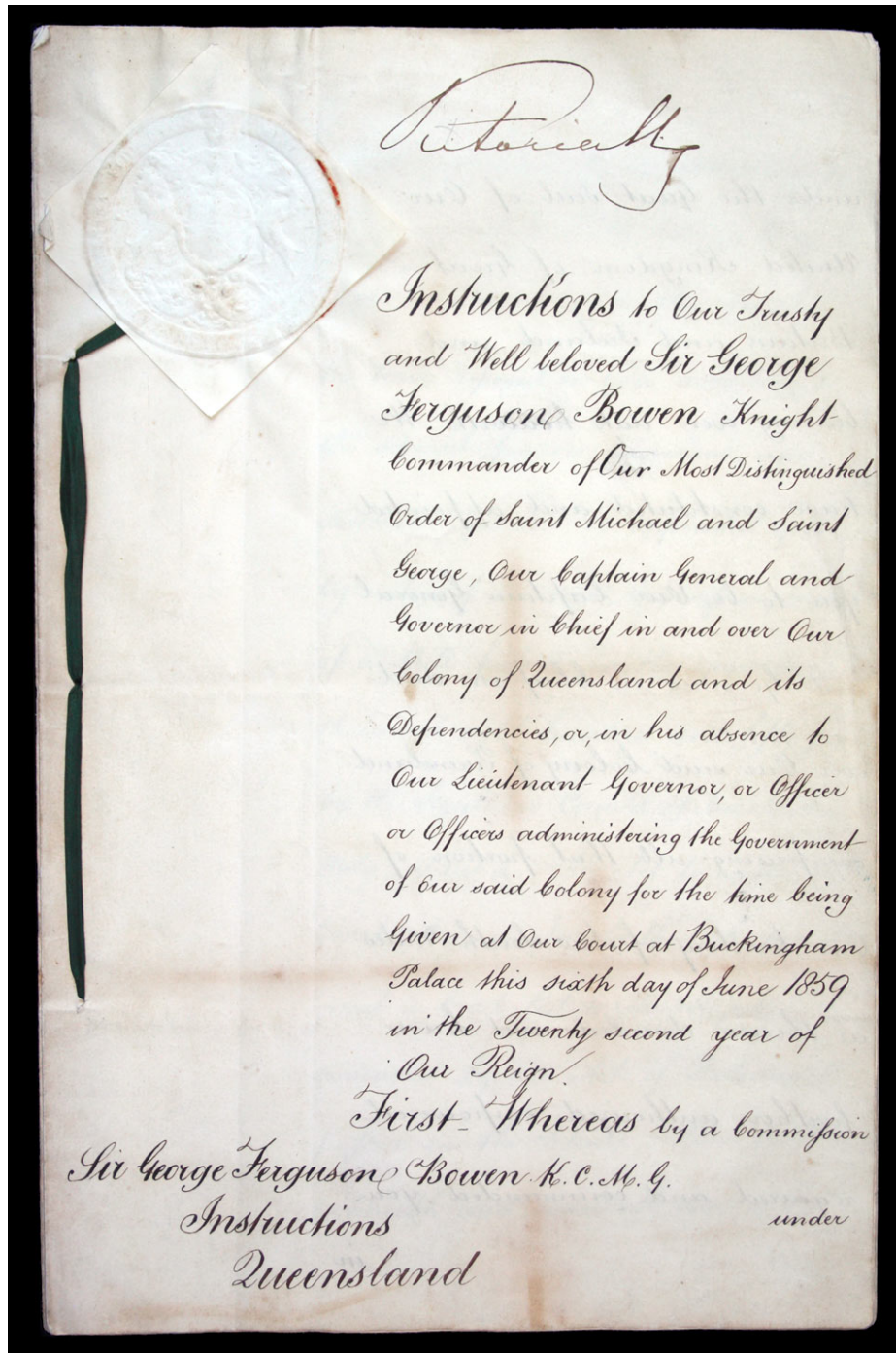
Sir George and Lady Diamantina Bowen, 1867.
Image courtesy of Hume Family Collection, Fryer Library UQ.

As Queensland's first and longest serving nineteenth century governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen rightly holds a prominent place in Queensland's historical record. This seemingly incontrovertible point was one that was contemporarily acknowledged. In December 1867, on the eve of Bowen's departure from Queensland, to take up the post of Governor of New Zealand, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Brisbane presented Bowen with a farewell address. In this address they declared that 'during your term of office you have been so intimately associated with the onward course of the colony, that your name must ever remain inseparably connected with the early history of Queensland.'³

Beyond the historical account of Bowen's governorship of the new colony there is tangible proof that Sir George Bowen maintains a particularly significant and unique position in Queensland. Principally, this proof lies in the extent and variety of Bowen's official and personal papers and objects that are held within a number of repositories in Brisbane alone. For although Bowen advanced to the more exalted positions of Governor of New Zealand, Victoria and Hong Kong it is within his first vice-regal posting of Queensland that his memorabilia has so purposely been collected. At the State Library of Queensland, at 'Fernberg' Government House and at the Queensland Women's Historical Association's house museum 'Miegunyah' an extraordinary collection of items are held. These include Bowen's ceremonial sword, several of his personal letters, a pastel portrait of Bowen when Governor of Hong Kong, the sash and regalia associated with his award of Knight Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George and original and key documents signed by Queen Victoria, including Queen Victoria's Instructions for his governorship of Queensland.



Sir George Bowen's Ceremonial Sword held at the State Library of Queensland



Sir George Bowen's Instructions signed by Queen Victoria 6th June 1859, held at Government House.

In addition to this array of items owned or associated with Bowen held in Queensland, there are a multitude of places and streets that bear Bowen's name. It therefore seems beyond doubt that, as was declared in December 1867, Bowen and his name has remained 'inseparably connected' with Queensland.⁴

Yet while recently researching Queensland governors it became quite apparent that Bowen's lauded place in our historic account was neither assured nor unanimous. Considerable variance existed in contemporary opinion of Bowen and his governorship. In December 1867, Theophilus Pugh, Member for Brisbane declared in parliament that, 'His Excellency had made a mess of the colony.'⁵ Alternatively, the editor of the *Brisbane Courier* professed at the same time that Bowen had 'done a vast deal to forward the colony'.⁶ But in the *Brisbane Courier's* December 1869 commemorative overview of Queensland's first decade a particularly disparaging account of Bowen and his administration was presented. Particular emphasis was placed on the distinct difference between the enthusiastic public welcome given to Bowen in December 1859 and his farewell in January 1868. The difference, it was claimed

was sufficiently marked to afford food for comment to the most unthinking mind. Not all the flunkeyism of which Brisbane can boast...not all the hired *claquers* of the civil service;...not all the cheers of simulating friends, could secure anything like the enthusiasm which would have been so gratifying for his vanity....He left the colony *unregretted*, notwithstanding the hearty welcome which greeted his advent.⁷

Against this backdrop it seems valid to ask as 'An Old Colonist' did in January 1868, 'what are the claims of Sir George Bowen to a place in the grateful memories of us Queensland colonists.'⁸ This paper will overview Bowen's eight year administration of Queensland, his personality and the timing of his governorship to determine how it was that Bowen who reportedly departed 'unregretted' attained and continues to be such a prominent figure in Queensland's historical record.

On the 10 July 1859, after a protracted and often bitter campaign for territorial separation, the Moreton Bay district of New South Wales received the 'glorious news' that Her Majesty's government had at last granted them the right to govern their own affairs.⁹ Sir George Ferguson Bowen, it was announced, had been selected to fill the post of Queensland's first

governor. Bowen was unknown and thus the Moreton Bay residents eagerly sought out any information about the man who was to be their governor. The enquiring editor of the *Moreton Bay Courier* reported on the 13 July that Bowen was,

in the prime of his life – about thirty-five years of age, and was lately on diplomatic service in the Ionian Islands, as Secretary or something of the kind....He is a civilian, said to be clever, and it is conjectured that he will in all probability make a very good Governor.¹⁰

Bowen's early career was as a scholar. He graduated from Oxford University in 1844 with a Bachelor of Arts with first class honours in Classics and a Masters degree in 1846. In 1847 he became President of the University of Corfu a position he held until 1851, when he joined the colonial service as Political Secretary to the government of the Ionian Islands. Bowen travelled widely among the islands and wrote several political pamphlets and three books on the area.¹¹ In 1856 he married Contessa Diamantina Roma, the daughter of Count Candiano di Roma, President of the Senate of the Ionian Islands. In the same year he was made K.C.M.G. an advancement he was 'excessively pleased' about.¹² Though Bowen's knighthood was primarily in recognition of his colonial service there was another contributing factor and this related to his new wife.

Sir Robert Young, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, noted in his recommendation of Bowen for the honour, that 'by marrying a man without title the Contessa Diamantina would, according to Greek custom, lose her title, and it was well that she should become "Lady Bowen".'¹³ Bowen's marriage into an elite Ionian Islands family also prompted concerns over whether he could remain an objective British public servant. In outlining these concerns to Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Robert Young provided one of the earliest personal descriptions of Bowen in January 1857. Young described Bowen as

a man of wonderful memory and great acquirements, writes fluently – is good hearted and affectionate – (therefore more in the hands of those who get about him) – quick and impulsive in his feelings, a great talker, and as devoid of tact as can well be imagined.¹⁴

In June 1859, at the age of 38, Bowen was officially appointed Queensland's first governor. His arrival in Brisbane on 10 December 1859 was cause for much celebration for it marked 'the great event in our history' the proclamation of the new colony of Queensland.¹⁵ The circumstances under which Bowen assumed his role were declared to be the 'most favourable to a popular and prosperous administration.'¹⁶ All in the new colony 'were buoyant with the most sanguine hopes of progress which should thenceforth surpass all their previous experience.'¹⁷ Bowen's welcome, the editor of the *Moreton Bay Courier* declared, was

no noisy tribute of lip-service, but a manifestation that comes from the heart, and cannot fail to appeal to his own....When the time comes for Sir George Bowen to bid farewell to Moreton Bay, it will only be through the influence of evil advisers in the meantime if we do not part with as much regret as we now meet with pleasure.'¹⁸

Once the festivities surrounding Bowen's arrival and Queensland's proclamation had concluded the practical reality of establishing a new colony emerged. Despite the rudimentary nature of settlement, Queensland had been granted the great honour of commencing its career as a self-governing colony. Bowen had consequently found the new colony in December 1859 to be

small in numbers, poor in circumstances and its inhabitants only unanimous in their strong desire to have a Government and Governor of their own and to manage their own affairs in their own way, coupled moreover with a high notion of their capabilities as legislators, all the stronger because unaccompanied by any practical knowledge of legislative duties.¹⁹

In the face of these political, economic and geographical realities Bowen's position, as Queensland's first governor, was an onerous yet influential one. For the first six months, until general elections could be held, Bowen was the sole authority in the colony. His principal task was to swiftly bring the 'unfamiliar machinery of constitutional government into proper working order.'²⁰ Assisted by an Executive Council whose members Bowen had personally nominated²¹, 'every department of the public service' was by necessity established and vigilantly controlled and supervised.²² Queensland's first general elections were held in May 1860 and on the 22 May Bowen officially opened Queensland's first parliament and thus

commenced representative government in Queensland. Though enthusiastic, Queensland's new politicians were inexperienced, with only three out of the twenty-six new members having had any previous political experience. More critically, they were contemporarily described as being 'woefully barren of statesmanship' and 'generally lacking in knowledge or ability' and whose 'strange ideas...would astonish those who think and read.'²³ In this context Bowen not surprisingly adopted an active and firm role rather than retire as a '*roi faineant*' (idle monarch).²⁴

Assisted by Robert Herbert,²⁵ Queensland's first premier, Bowen exercised 'a most commanding influence' in guiding and encouraging the new parliament to pass laws in the important areas of land settlement, immigration and education.²⁶ Though there was some criticism directed at Bowen for 'interfering too much in colonial politics' and for privately using 'his influence to carry out his own views' these were charges only 'insinuated, and never made in direct terms.'²⁷ Bowen's administration was characterised by 'great energy, unswerving integrity and a lofty purpose to serve his Queen' and prominent Queenslanders were loud in their praise of his active role and influence.²⁸ At a July 1865 banquet attended by 50 gentlemen Colonel Maurice O'Connell, President of the Legislative Council declared

that this is a toast which needs no argument from me to aid it in the observations with which I preface it. It would be difficult, I am sure, to assemble within this city so many persons who have an intimate and personal knowledge of what this colony owes to Sir George Bowen. (Cheers) Most of you have been members of the legislature from the commencement and all watchful observers of the passing public events, and...observed and recognised all that Queensland owes to the great personalability and to the earnest and continuous zeal of her first Governor. (Cheers)²⁹

Her Majesty's Government concurred with this local opinion and Bowen's own appraisal of his active role in Queensland's 'rapid but solid progress' and rewarded him.³⁰ In 1860, he was promoted to the Grand Cross of St Michael and St George in 'approval of the manner in which he had organised the new colony.'³¹ In 1865 Bowen was given the 'rare honour' of

having the usual term of a governor's appointment extended from six to eight years.³² Further his 1867 appointment to the governorship of New Zealand, ranked as the second highest appointment in Australasia, was locally recognised as a promotion 'so flattering of Sir George Bowen's service in this colony' and furthermore one that reflected 'the high estimation' in which Bowen was held by the 'Home Government'.³³ But in Queensland the estimation was not so high.

Bowen's popularity had plummeted after his intervention in the financial crisis of 1866 when he disapproved of the government's crisis measure of issuing paper currency. Bowen's action was deemed to be an 'unconstitutional interference with his constitutional advisers' and he consequently was loathed by his executive, attacked in Parliament and in the press, and at public meetings it was claimed he was absurdly 'arrogant' and a 'dictator'.³⁴ On 18 July 1866, Robert Herbert's cousin Algernon Lempriere reported to his Aunt (Herbert's Mother) that

The Papers...are mad against Sir George, and the Ministry fling their abuse at him, stating that he is the root of the evil...He is of course much annoyed at the storm and is very sensitive of abuse.³⁵

Such was the ill-feeling towards Bowen that a petition was sent to the Queen asking her to recall him. He never regained his earlier popularity; the most striking example of the adverse feeling towards Bowen at the end of his term was 'the public insult to and painful humiliation of the Governor' that was prompted by a debate in parliament.³⁶

On the 6 December 1867 the Member for Ipswich and former premier Arthur Macalister laid before the Legislative Assembly a motion for a full length portrait of Bowen to be commissioned before his departure and later to be paid for from public revenues. On completion the portrait was to be hung in the new Houses of Parliament. This, Macalister

outlined was 'to preserve the history of the colony' and further was 'the practice in all the Australian colonies since the inauguration of responsible Government.'³⁷ This seemingly innocuous motion prompted a heated debate that vented both the 'very great differences of opinion' that existed on Bowen's governorship and moreover a critique of Bowen's personal traits.³⁸ The nature of the debate resulted in the motion being withdrawn for it was argued that 'it could hardly be accepted as a compliment by His Excellency' unless the motion was passed unanimously or by an overwhelming majority.³⁹ Further efforts were made to suppress the publication of the debate in the press and in Hansard and though it was claimed that 'worse things;' had been said of Bowen it did reveal that Bowen's personality did influence opinions of him.⁴⁰

As Craig Proctor astutely claimed 'a significant element in the total picture' of Bowen's administration, 'rested on the nature of the man himself.'⁴¹ That Bowen was self-opinionated, vain, temperamental, obstinate and long-winded are recurrent elements in much of the commentary on him. Edward Herbert (Robert Herbert's cousin) wrote of his first meeting with Bowen in September 1859 that 'I of course saw Sir G.B. and liked him which was perhaps not to be expected; but he seemed to be really a very agreeable man.'⁴² An appendage to this note added that

This was always the impression made by Sir G.B. at first. He was very clever and agreeable until he had had time to repeat himself and become a bore, and his manner was full of bonhomie, perfectly genuine as far as it went, but shallow rather than superficial.⁴³

Of Bowen, Sir Charles Nicholson, later first President of Queensland's Legislative Council, informed James MacArthur in November 1859:

He is a most outspoken man but a little deficient I am afraid on that prudential virtue which will be so helpful a quality in one occupying the office he is about to take .⁴⁴

Bowen's lack of discretion in constantly promoting himself in his despatches to the Colonial Office drew criticism. A minute made by an official remarked that 'It is difficult to retain a

just state of mind towards an officer who is always obtruding and exaggerating his own merits and claims.’⁴⁵

His longwindedness was a much noted trait. The *Brisbane Courier*’s editor declared in July 1866 that ‘the possession of reticence is not one of Sir George Bowen’s virtues; he is a most inveterate chatterbox’.⁴⁶ Not unexpectedly then the reviewer of Bowen’s biographical work *Thirty Years of Colonial Government* claimed that ‘it is well nigh impossible to lay down Sir George Bowen’s book without feeling that its two volumes might with propriety have been reduced into one volume.’⁴⁷

In his letters home, Robert Herbert, Bowen’s principal minister and a personal friend to both



Sir Robert George Wyndham Herbert,
Queensland’s first Premier, 1860-1866.
Image courtesy of State Library of Queensland

Bowen and his family, often provided candid observations of Bowen’s temperament. In December 1865 to his sister Jane Herbert he wrote ‘His Excellency is beginning to feel the hot weather which acts prejudicially on his temper. In fact he is not at all times exactly sane’.⁴⁸ In June 1866 he informed his Mother that ‘Sir George Bowen’s lucid intervals are rarer than they used to be.’⁴⁹ Further, Bowen was ‘anxious’ for a new appointment and astonished’ that he had not already been promoted to a higher posting.⁵⁰ Bowen’s

anxiousness to leave Queensland would have undoubtedly been exacerbated by the events surrounding the financial crisis in July 1866 when ‘indignation’ meetings suggested that

Bowen should be stoned or deposed and that Government House should be burnt down.⁵¹

With the ruinous effects of the depression persisting until 1871 it is not surprising that the *Brisbane Courier's* review of Queensland's first decade in December 1869 presented a particularly harsh account of Bowen:

When the smoke of the artillery salute which greeted Sir George Bowen's arrival had died away, and matters had assumed their every day style, people began to think of their new Governor, and find out "what manner of man he was."....Ambitious in the extreme; capable of being "all things to all men," without at the same time being gifted with the power of hiding the fault; arrogant in the confines of absurdity; educated, but vulgar; bounceable, though faint-hearted; and quite equal to the task of looking after self at the expense of the colony.⁵²

The *Brisbane Courier* went on to claim that the contrast between Bowen's arrival and the low key nature of his departure was symbolic of his public fall from grace. This belies the fact that the timing of Bowen's departure, in early January 1868, was while Queensland was in the midst of an 'extreme depression' which had keenly affected 'the great mass of the people' and it was therefore unlikely that his departure would have the same celebratory character as his arrival. This the *Darling Downs Gazette* perceptibly observed:

Sir George Bowen has certainly been unfortunate as regards both the period when he arrived here and the time at which he leaves us. When he first came, the people were in a great state of excitement at having received the boon of self-government, and the new Governor was welcomed as enthusiastically as though Separation had been achieved entirely by his exertions....When His Excellency embarks on Saturday for his new sphere of labour, he may not hear the same cheers from a thoughtless mob that greeted his arrival eight years ago; but he will carry with him the respect and regard of very many whose good opinion he has acquired by the faithful performance of his duties; and as time rolls on, and when the cloud of adversity that now darkens the colony has passed away, he will be regarded in a clearer and more impartial light than now is possible, and all will agree in rendering justice to the character and career of the first Governor of Queensland.⁵³

The need for time 'to judge the merits and demerits of His Excellency as a Governor' primarily to permit 'their minds...to cool down' was a recurrent element in the discussions at the end of Bowen's administration.⁵⁴ The enormous task and difficulties that Bowen faced on his arrival was contemporarily acknowledged:

It must not be forgotten that the first Governor of a colony, and particularly of a colony like Queensland, had a great deal of work to do....Sir George Bowen had everything to inaugurate; the colony in point of fact, had to be made.⁵⁵

With the distance of time Queensland historians have paid tribute to Bowen's great industry and his extraordinary contribution to Queensland. In his 1919 *History of Queensland. Its People and Industries* Matt Fox concluded that Bowen possessed a 'high degree of competence'.⁵⁶ Roger Joyce maintained that Bowen's 'role was particularly important in Queensland where his alliance with Herbert shaped colonial legislation and his influence ensured the operation of effective parliamentary government.'⁵⁷ Charles Bernays justly claimed that Bowen's

career in this State marked him out as a man of exceptional talent and well fitted as the Sovereign's representative in a dominion then only in its swaddling clothes. Our first governor was not only a student of books but also of men, in those early days a strong man was needed to guide the destinies of the young colony, and to exercise a restraining influence on the impulsive and somewhat headstrong leading politicians of the period....Constitutionally he was sound beyond all doubt, but those were the days when a Governor's responsibilities were greater than they are today – a period when foundations were being laid and precedents created and when leading public men were new to the art of self-government....he brought to our baby colony a keen intellect and a mature experience, and he set a high standard in the conduct of public affairs.⁵⁸

Sir George Bowen's administrative abilities and his contribution to Queensland as the colony's first and longest serving colonial governor greatly outweigh the professed errors of judgement and the personal idiosyncrasies of the man which so coloured opinions of Bowen at the time of his departure in January 1868. For apart

from all personal feelings to Sir George...for let opinions differ as they may, the name and actions of the man who has been our Viceroy during the first eight years of our independent existence must ever form an important part of our history'.⁵⁹

With the authority and the task of establishing the colony economically, politically and socially Bowen's position was an onerous one. That he threw 'himself so earnestly into the discharge of his official duties' was universally acknowledged as was the fact that there were few men capable of acquitting themselves 'more creditably under all the circumstances than he has done'.⁶⁰ As Queensland's first governor, Sir George Bowen's influence in and over Queensland was far reaching in both distance and in time. Such was his claim to the grateful

memory of the editor of the *Brisbane Courier* in December 1867 that it was declared our public duty,

When his noble spirit departs to realms of bliss...to cause all that remains of him to be skilfully embalmed, and placed in a niche in our future chamber of representatives, so that his fair presence may be always with us.⁶¹

Fortunately, we have settled on the purposeful collection of Sir George Bowen's official and personal papers and effects as a tribute to his decisive role in Queensland's formative years and to preserve his prominent place in our historical record and in our grateful memories.

¹ 'His Excellency The Governor', Letter to the Editor of The Brisbane Courier, *Brisbane Courier*, 3 January 1868.

² This paper was presented at the joint Royal Historical Society of Queensland and Brisbane History Group Conference. "Queensland in 1859", held at the Commissariat Store, Brisbane 8 August 2009.

³ 'Farewell Address to the Governor', *Brisbane Courier*, 28 January 1868.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Theophilus Pugh, 'Parliament: Legislative Assembly, Friday, December 6, Portrait of His Excellency the Governor', *Brisbane Courier*, 7 December 1867.

⁶ Editorial, *Brisbane Courier*, 29 November 1867.

⁷ 'Our First Decade', *Brisbane Courier*, 23 December 1869.

⁸ 'His Excellency The Governor', Letter to the Editor of The Brisbane Courier, *Brisbane Courier*, 3 January 1868.

⁹ 'Editorial', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 July 1859.

¹⁰ 'Separation of Moreton Bay. Moreton Bay has been erected into an Independent colony. Sir George Ferguson has been appointed Governor', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 July 1859.

¹¹ Bowen's three publications: - *Ithaca in 1850*, (1851); *Mt Athos, Thessaly and Epirus*, (1852) and *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece*, (1854). R.B. Joyce, 'Sir George Ferguson Bowen (1821-1899)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography – Online Edition*, <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030192b.htm?hilit=george%3BBowen>

¹² Bruce Knox, 'The British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1847-1859, and the dispersion of a foreign elite', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, vol.10 (200), Nos 1&2, pp.107-124.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.115.

¹⁴ Sir Robert Young to Henry Labouchere, 28 January 1857 cited in Knox, 'The British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1847-1859', pp.116-7.

¹⁵ 'Arrival & Reception of His Excellency Sir G.F. Bowen, First Governor of Queensland', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.

¹⁶ 'Editorial', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 6 December 1859.

¹⁷ W.H. Traill, 'Historical Sketch of Queensland', Andrew Garran (ed.), *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Sydney, Picturesque Atlas Publishing Company, 1886, p.63.

¹⁸ 'Editorial', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 6 December 1859.

¹⁹ The population of Queensland at separation was 25,000 and though the treasury purportedly contained only 7½d, the estimated revenue for the first financial year was £180,000. This, Bowen informed Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, positioned Queensland twelfth amongst the forty-eight British colonies. Charles Bernays, Queensland's political biographer notes that under Queensland's franchise arrangement there were 4,790 eligible voters and of these approximately 2500 voted and returned 26 members in Queensland's first election in 1860. Bowen to Lytton, 6 March 1860, Stanley Lane-Poole, (ed.), *Thirty Years of Colonial Government: A Selection from the*

Despatches and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G. Volume I. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1889, pp. 106-12; *Guardian*, 31 October 1865 cited in Patricia Kelly, 'Sir George Bowen, Governor of Queensland, 1859-1868', Unpublished BA Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1952: pp.18-19; Charles Arrowsmith Bernays, *Queensland Politics During Sixty (1859-1919) Years*. Brisbane: A.J. Cumming, Govt. Printer, 1919, p. 285.

²⁰ 'Sir George Bowen' *Brisbane Courier*, 23 February 1899.

²¹ The soundness of Bowen's selection of Robert Herbert, as Colonial Secretary, Ratcliffe Pring, Attorney General, Robert McKenzie, Colonial Treasurer and St George Richard Gore, Secretary for Lands and Works was later confirmed when all were elected Members of Parliament at Queensland's first general election in May 1860 and formed the first Ministry, which held office longer than any ministry that succeeded it.

²² Sir George Bowen to Duke of Newcastle, 7 April 1860, Lane-Poole, (ed.), *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, p.23.

²³ Arthur Francis quote cited in Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p.79.

²⁴ Evans, *A History of Queensland*, p.79; Craig Proctor, 'The Office of Governor: Governors 1859-1920', Kay Cohen and Kenneth Wiltshire (eds), *People, Places and Policies: Aspects of Queensland Government Administration 1859-1920*, St Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland Press, 1995, pp.1-17.

²⁵ Robert Herbert had come to Queensland as Governor Bowen's private secretary and was chosen by Bowen to be Queensland's first colonial secretary because he was 'independent of local influences.' In Queensland's first elections Herbert was formally elected to the position he had occupied for six months. R. B. Joyce, 'George Ferguson Bowen and Robert George Wyndham Herbert: The Imported Openers,' Denis Murphy, Roger Joyce, and Margaret Cribb, (eds.), *The Premiers of Queensland*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1990, pp. 9-43.

²⁶ Sir George Bowen to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, 19 August 1862, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton Papers AJCP M1177.

²⁷ 'Sir George Bowen', *Darling Downs Gazette*, 2 January 1868.

²⁸ Traill, 'Historical Sketch of Queensland', p.63; W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine History of Queensland*, Sydney, The Aldine Publishing Company, 1888, p.164.

²⁹ 'Complimentary Banquet to Mr Plunkett', *Brisbane Courier*, 8 July 1865.

³⁰ Sir George Bowen to Mr Richard Cobden 19 January 1864, OM70-16 Sir George Ferguson Bowen Papers, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

³¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, (ed.), *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, p.30.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 19 October 1867; 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 29 November 1867.

³⁴ 'Weekly Epitome', *Brisbane Courier*, 11 August 1866; 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 19 July 1866..

³⁵ In August 1866, on the departure key members of Bowen's personal staff Lempriere was appointed Bowen's Private Secretary and Aide-de-Camp. Algernon Lempriere to Aunt (Robert Herbert's Mother) 18 July 1866, Herbert Collection Box 3 Bundle L Society of Genealogists, London.

³⁶ 'The Conduct of the Governor', *Brisbane Courier*, 10 August 1866; 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 9 December 1867.

³⁷ 'Parliament', *Brisbane Courier*, 7 December 1867.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 9 December 1867.

⁴⁰ 'The Debate on the Governor's Portrait', *Brisbane Courier*, 12 December 1867.

⁴¹ Craig Proctor, 'The Office of Governor: Governors 1859-1920', Kay Cohen and Kenneth Wiltshire (eds), *People, Places and Policies: Aspects of Queensland Government Administration 1859-1920*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1995, p.5.

⁴² Edward Herbert to Aunt (Robert Herbert's Mother), 13 September 1859, Herbert Collection Box 3 Bundle L Society of Genealogists, London.

⁴³ Edward Herbert to Aunt (Robert Herbert's Mother), 13 September 1859, Herbert Collection Box 3 Bundle L Society of Genealogists, London.

⁴⁴ Sir Charles Nicholson to James MacArthur, 10 November 1859, Sir Charles Nicholson Papers A2924 Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

⁴⁵ Quote cited in Peter and Shelia Forrest, *All for Queensland: The Governors and the People*, Darwin, N.T., Shady Tree, 2009, p.63.

⁴⁶ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 19 July 1866.

⁴⁷ W.P. Trent, 'Reviews', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.5, No.2 (June 1890), pp. 344-47.

⁴⁸ Robert Herbert to Jane Herbert, 18 December 1865, Sir Robert George Wyndham Herbert Papers OM65-12, Packet 2, John Oxley Library State Library of Queensland.

-
- ⁴⁹ Robert Herbert to Mrs Herbert, 16 June 1866, Sir Robert George Wyndham Herbert Papers OM65-12, Packet 2, John Oxley Library State Library of Queensland.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ Evans, *A History of Queensland*, p.85.
- ⁵² 'Our First Decade', *Brisbane Courier*, 23 December 1869.
- ⁵³ 'Sir George Bowen', *Darling Downs Gazette*, 2 January 1868.
- ⁵⁴ Charles Lilley, 'Parliament: Legislative Assembly, Friday, December 6, 'Portrait of His Excellency the Governor', *Brisbane Courier*, 7 December 1867.
- ⁵⁵ Arthur Macalister, debate on the Portrait of His Excellency the Governor, 'Parliament,' *Brisbane Courier*, 7 December 1867.
- ⁵⁶ Matt Fox, *The History of Queensland: Its People and Industries*. Volume 1. Brisbane, State Publishing Company, 1919, p.135.
- ⁵⁷ Joyce, 'Sir George Ferguson Bowen (1821-1899)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography – Online Edition*.
- ⁵⁸ Bernays cited in Craig Proctor, 'The Office of Governor: Governors 1859-1920', Kay Cohen and Kenneth Wiltshire (eds), *People, Places and Policies: Aspects of Queensland Government Administration 1859-1920*, St Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland Press, 1995, pp.4-6.
- ⁵⁹ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 9 December 1867.
- ⁶⁰ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 29 November 1867
- ⁶¹ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 9 December 1867.