

The centrepiece of colonial Queensland's celebration and commemoration of Royalty and Empire – Government House, Brisbane.

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'Her Majesty's birthday was right royally celebrated last evening by his Excellency the Governor on the occasion of the annual birthday ball at government house.'¹

'Royalty' and 'Empire' were, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, of supreme significance to all the Australian colonies. While each colony was well integrated within the Imperial framework they remained largely reliant on the economic and geopolitical management of the British Empire. Though different colonial/national identities developed in Australia, their economic, military and diplomatic dependence on Britain strongly orientated them towards the Queen and 'home'.² Colonial governors served as the vital link between the colonies and both the Imperial government and the Queen of the British Empire. Appointed by Britain and entrusted with the same rights, powers and privileges as the Queen, the role of governor was one of great influence and authority.

Collectively, the men who occupied the vice-regal post in the Australian colonies were an intriguingly dissimilar group. Their social standing varied from middle class to aristocracy, their ages varied widely as did their careers; from civil service appointments to military or political backgrounds. But within the colonial arena, they were all the appointed representative of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and were accorded the status and reverence of royalty.³ With ten thousand miles separating the colonies and Britain, a vice-regal encounter - whether simply as a member of a crowd as the Governor's carriage passed by or as an invited guest to a function attended or given by the governor - was for many a momentous occasion and for most colonists the closest they would come to the unlikely event of seeing or meeting a member of the royal family. Yet, despite the reverence accorded to a Governor, his relationship with his 'subjects' was one that required maintenance.

In addition to a Governor's key economic and political functions, he was also charged with significant social duties. As the head of colonial 'society' he was compelled to discharge certain public functions and this principally centred on the 'dispensing of hospitalities' through the hosting of balls, levees, dinners and garden parties at his vice-regal residence. These social displays by Governors and their wives were of great import, for they served to set the tone of colonial society while at the same time keeping the British presence, royalty

and empire symbolically powerful.⁴ 'Our London Correspondent' declared, in a February 1889 article published in the *Brisbane Courier*, that

In every colony Government House is – or ought to be – the head and front in all social matters....I would add...that a governor should be in the possession of a first rate chef, and be by no means chary of giving his colonial subjects ample opportunities of judging his merits. A governor with such surroundings cannot fail – even in Queensland!⁵

This article examines the establishment of an important social link between the Governor, his vice-regal residence, entertaining and the celebration and commemoration of royalty and empire within the colonial realm of Queensland. From its establishment as a separate colony in December 1859, Queensland had an extraordinary perception of its place within the empire and a fervent loyalty to the Queen. Two related events will be outlined that contributed to the new colony's perception of itself and its fervency: first, the accomplishment of separation and second, the origins of the name given to the new colony. For these events provide the springboard to explain the process and the sentiment behind why a new colony 'small in numbers and poor in circumstance' placed such economic priority on establishing the social means to celebrate and commemorate royalty and empire.⁶ While the social functions are discussed within the scope of the article the social etiquette at these functions is not a focus.

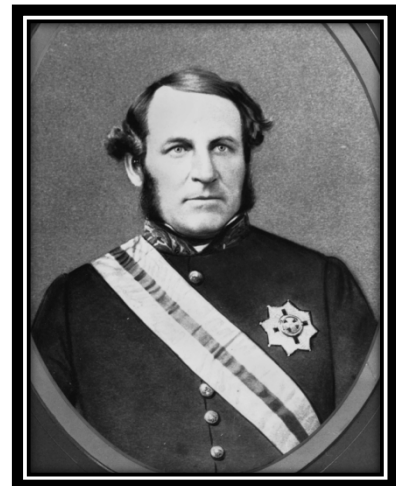
On 10 July 1859, the normal peace of Sunday afternoon in Brisbane was shattered by the boom of cannon and ringing bells. Thousands gathered near the wharf to see what all the commotion was about. As the steamer *Clarence* drew closer jubilant cheers rang out for painted on its side in large letters was SEPARATION HURRAH FOR THE NEW COLONY.⁷ After a protracted and often bitter campaign for territorial separation the *Clarence* had brought the 'glorious news' that Her Majesty's government had at last granted Moreton Bay the right to govern their own affairs. The new northern colony, the London *Morning Chronicle* reported: 'Is to take the name of Queensland: and now that it has its own seat of government, and is able to look closely after its own interests, it will, without doubt, take its place amongst the most flourishing branches of our great colonial empire.'⁸ Sir George Ferguson Bowen had been selected to fill the post of Queensland's first Governor. In the weeks that followed the announcement of separation each detail pertaining to the creation of the new colony was reported in *Moreton Bay Courier*. These ranged from the presentation of Sir George Bowen to Queen Victoria on the 15 May, the signing by Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace on 6 June of the letters patent, which established the colony to the anticipated dates for Bowen's arrival to take up his new appointment in Queensland. A variously expressed but recurrent feature in these articles was the colonists' 'heartfelt gratitude to our beloved Queen' for liberating them 'from the galling position of being a mere dependency of a dependency'.⁹ The distinguished name given to the new colony further reinforced their gratitude and loyalty.

The London paper the *Empire* had suggested that 'the Moreton [Bay]colonists will probably not object to the substitution of the Queen's name for that of Captain Cook's.'¹⁰ And they certainly did not, for in an 'Editorial' on 20 July 1859 a case was made for the renaming of Moreton Bay and Brisbane on the basis of the colony's name:

Our idea is simply that as we borrowed our starting name from a past Governor, and the name of our Bay from a navigator; and that, as the Colonial Office has been pleased to call our colony by the euphonious name of Queensland, that we should endeavour to harmonise the names, and make a similarity to prevent misunderstanding. We therefore propose with all modesty, that the name of the Bay be Queensbay, and the name of the capital be Queenstown or Queensburgh, whichever it may please the people to assent to; but that in no wise should we permit the capital of Queensland to retain the name it at present bears.¹¹

Beyond the expression of loyalty to Queen Victoria, this re-naming proposal demonstrated that there was an appreciation that the colony's name was a manifest mark of distinction for the new colony. The generally held belief was that the Colonial Office had selected the name for the new colony; however, this was corrected by His Excellency Sir George Bowen on his arrival in Brisbane.

On 10 December 1859, an estimated 4000 people lined the streets to welcome 'amongst us the first representative of royalty...and never was welcome given with heartier zest'.¹² Great cheers went up as the vice-regal carriage made its way from the Botanic Gardens to the temporary Government House in Adelaide Street.



Sir George Ferguson Bowen,
Queensland's first Governor.
Image courtesy of the John Oxley
Library, SLQ.

On the first floor balcony Governor Bowen took his oath of office and Mr Abram Moriarty, the Governor's Acting Private Secretary read the proclamation; thus the Colony of Queensland formally came into being. The following day Governor Bowen in his address in reply outlined the distinguished origins of the colony's name:

It will indeed be a pleasing and honourable duty for me to convey to the Queen, my August Mistress, your loyal expressions of heartfelt gratitude, love and devotion....And here, gentlemen, let me announce a fact which I know you will all hear with delight - Queensland, the name selected for the New Colony, was entirely the happy thought and inspiration of Her Majesty herself. Other designations had been suggested to Her; but the Queen spontaneously determined to confer Her own Royal Title on this new province of Her Empire. It should assuredly, then, be the constant aim of us all, to show ourselves not undeserving of this signal mark of favour and sympathy of our Sovereign, and (to quote your own well chosen phrase) 'to render the Colony of Queensland not only prosperous and happy in itself, but at the same time worthy of its Queen and Mother Country.'¹³

In the context of mid-nineteenth century colonial Australia the report of Queen Victoria's personal involvement in the establishment and naming of the colony would have readily been seen as an enormous honour for Queensland. Bowen therefore reported on 19 December 1859 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle, that the announcement of the Queen's role was received 'with an emotion rarely witnessed in so large a concourse; it was received with tears of joy, and shouts of God Save the Queen!'¹⁴ While it motivated the colonists 'to prove ourselves worthy of the privileges ceded to us' the announcement also ensured that royalty and empire were symbolically powerful within the new colony.¹⁵ Adding to this prestigious beginning was the granting of self-government, which provided Queensland with the parliamentary means 'to manage their own affairs in their own way'.¹⁶ Queensland was the only Australian colony to start with its own parliament without first being a British controlled Crown Colony. Set against this auspicious start was the rather stark reality of Queensland's financial, physical and social situation.

'The youngest offspring of Great Britain' began with almost no revenue and a widely scattered population of just 25,000.¹⁷ The nature of settlement remained rudimentary throughout. Queensland's emerging capital Brisbane was a small and 'very odd' frontier town.¹⁸ The customs and costs associated with 'Society' were almost unknown – 'no balls, concerts...or other attractive and expensive amusements' had been held 'to break the monotony of existence.'¹⁹ There also existed little practical knowledge of legislative duties. A southern newspaper discordantly claimed that 'Queensland will be the first country in the world of so limited a population, to try the experiment of governing by Parliamentary majorities.'²⁰ Yet, in the face of these social, economic, and political realities, there was unbounded optimism, accompanied by an ardour to show themselves deserving of the Queen's 'signal mark of favour'.²¹ Queensland, as Bowen reported, was 'poor in circumstance', yet there emerged two financially related priorities in regard to him as Her Majesty's representative.²² The first was the necessity to increase the Governor's salary and the second was the new colony's 'obligation' to furnish him with a more suitable vice-regal residence.

The first session of Queensland's inaugural parliament was held on 22 May 1860.²³ In the second week of sitting Mr. St George Gore moved that the salary of the governor be increased from £2,500 to £4,000. The principal basis for this increase was the expense associated with vice-regal hospitality, which was expected of a Governor and from 'which so much good resulted.'²⁴ Gore claimed that the first Ball in honour of the Queen's birthday, which became the most prestigious social event of the year, had cost the governor £250, a figure which constituted 10 per cent of His Excellency's salary. The colony, he believed, could afford the £1,500 increase as he noted that £23,000 had already been allocated for public works and 'no public work...was of greater importance than that of raising the Governor's salary, and placing him in such a position as his office required.'²⁵ That there was an 'almost unanimous expression' in favour of the resolution was the extent to which

the *Moreton Bay Courier's* commented on the issue. The *Melbourne Herald* by contrast wrote that :

The only real bit of business...transacted was voting an increase £1500 a-year to the Governor's salary, - with the clear stipulation attached that his Excellency should render back a full equivalent to the joyous public in first-rate "spreads" and picnics. To which His Excellency, - like a right good jolly fellow as he is, - responds, that he accepts the increase and the stipulation, and pledges himself to let the Queenslanders see hospitality of a kind that might fairly raise the envy of an old Irish King!²⁶

The absence of any real debate or comment in Queensland on the 'Act to Provide for the Augmentation of the Governor's Salary,' demonstrated the exalted position held by the 'representative of Royalty'; moreover, it clarified that vice-regal hospitalities were a fundamental expectation of Queenslanders - or more specifically, of those who endeavoured to derive the social prestige associated with attending a vice-regal function. The arrival of the Bowens, it was later recounted did 'mark the genesis of social life in Queensland.'²⁷ The Governor, it was resolved, was to be provided with ample means to ensure the continuation of vice-regal social events. Granted the financial means for 'hospitality' the other component was the necessity for a suitable venue to host these events.

A two-storey house owned by Dr Hobbs in Adelaide Street (now known as the Deanery) had been leased, renovated and furnished as a temporary residence for Sir George and Lady Bowen. Although it was considered one of Brisbane's grandest homes, it was publicly acknowledged that it was 'a very humble residence' for the Queen's representative 'in the land called by her Majesty's title'.²⁸ More particularly, the house was deemed unsuitable as a venue for vice-regal social functions, as it was 'very deficient...[in] the ordinary accommodation provided for visitors'.²⁹ To overcome the house's lack of space, Governor Bowen hosted, on 1 June 1860, the first ball 'in commemoration of the Birthday of her Majesty', off site in two buildings in Queen Street.³⁰ 'Unfortunately' the supper room was too small and guests had to have supper in two sittings. The formalities of the evening began after supper and the toast to 'the health of her Majesty' proposed by 'his Excellency the Governor' was 'most enthusiastically received'.³¹ Dancing resumed and was maintained 'with animation till the small hours of the morning'.³² Though it was evident that the first major social event held in Brisbane under the auspices of the Governor was much enjoyed, it was noted that the festivities were 'conducted on a humbler scale than is wont to be the case'.³³ The first 'Birthday Ball', as it became known, solidified the necessity for a permanent and more fitting vice-regal residence. The 'obligation of the colony' was to erect a government house, and it was for parliament to facilitate it.³⁴

On 21 June 1860, Colonial Treasurer Robert Mackenzie moved in the Legislative Assembly that 'a sum of £10,000 be granted towards the erection of a new Government House'.³⁵ After a short debate, the motion passed 14 votes to 7.³⁶ The key objection related not to the

house itself but to it being built in Brisbane when the question of where the capital of the new colony would be was yet to be settled. This question was set aside in the debate on the decision that if the capital was moved from Brisbane then the house could be sold. Cost had been another matter for discussion. Mr. Watts proposed that £5,000 was sufficient for the service proposed. Mr Gore in response argued that 'those honourable members who thought £5,000 sufficient to build a vice-regal residence must have been accustomed to derive their ideas entirely from slab-huts.'³⁷ The allocation of £10,000 when set against the estimated revenue for Queensland in 1860 - which was £180,000 - did constitute an extraordinary outlay for the new colony. Arguably, it demonstrated the pervasiveness of the 'obligation' to erect a new Government House.³⁸



Once the funds were voted by parliament, the design and tendering phases advanced rapidly. Charles Tiffin, the newly appointed Government Architect was instructed on 4 July 'to proceed to prepare necessary plans for Government House for the Governor's approval'.³⁹ Ten days later, Tiffin's final design was almost complete and tenders were called for the construction of the house.⁴⁰ Joshua Jeays tender of £10,500

was accepted in late August and construction commenced in October 1860 on a 'delightful' rise of ground adjacent to the Botanic Gardens in the reserved Government Domain which commanded 'a splendid view of the river'.⁴¹

The construction phase of the 'magnificent palace for the accommodation of his Excellency the 'Governor' and Queensland's first public building was closely watched by the general public.⁴² The *Queensland Daily Guardian* reported each significant stage: the April 1861 completion of the walls in the main part of the house, the July start to the service wing at the rear of the building and the September completion of the house's two-story sandstone exterior.⁴³ By October, the Director of the Botanical Gardens, Walter Hill, was laying out the garden.⁴⁴ The internal plastering and much of the interior decoration had been finished by December. John Petrie's work on the stables, guard house and entrance gates provided for by an additional vote of £7,000, was nearing completion.⁴⁵ Such was the anticipation surrounding the new Government House 'which will comprise all the accommodation supposed to be necessary for *our* vice-regal purposes' that its imminent completion was prematurely declared.⁴⁶ The *Moreton Bay Courier* expressed its hope in April 1861 that the building would be sufficiently advanced for the Birthday Ball to take place in the house.⁴⁷ The final fit-out of the house with local and imported furniture, imported marble mantelpieces, chandeliers and carpets took place in March 1862 and the house was completed in April.⁴⁸ The local newspapers variously described the new Government House

as 'very handsome' and 'a distinguished edifice'. The 'elegance of its design', the *Courier's* editor proudly boasted, took 'the eye of the visitor at once.' The house, it was declared, was a 'structure... highly creditable to the Colony'.⁴⁹

In May 1862 Governor Bowen and his family and suite moved in. Bowen's appreciation for his new residence was unmistakable in his despatch dated 14 May to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle:

I have this month entered into occupation of the handsome and commodious official residence....The new Government House is beautifully situated on a promontory surrounded on three sides by the River Brisbane.... Besides *good public reception rooms*, and private apartments for the Governor and his family, the Government House contains also the Executive Council Chambers, and offices for the Private Secretary etc.⁵⁰

Lauded by the Governor and by the general public, Queensland's Government House had cost £17,000 to construct and £1,700 to furnish. Tiffin's design had been an astute and accurate articulation of the social and economic aspirations of the young colony. While Tiffin later remarked that the house was 'the most economical vice-regal residence in the Australian Colonies' the outlay in the context of the newly established colony was momentous and demonstrated the great import the colonists placed on rendering themselves deserving of the Queen's 'signal mark of favour and sympathy'.⁵¹



Government House, ca. 1869. Image courtesy of John Oxley Library.

There was 'no doubt', the *Courier* declared, that the 'facilities and conveniences offered by the new building will be highly appreciated both by the vice-regal residents and his guests' at the annual ball 'in commemoration of the Birthday of her Majesty'.⁵² The first ball to be held in the house was postponed until 16 June 1862, in order that the six month mourning period for Prince Albert had elapsed.⁵³ Attended by 400 guests, the event 'passed off with great *éclat*.'⁵⁴ The ground floor suite of 'apartments' were thrown open for the occasion. The 'three principal rooms' on the ground floor were 'used for dancing'; the private drawing room served as 'a card and conversation room', light refreshments were served in the vestibule and the covered courtyard became the supper room.⁵⁵

The brilliancy of the lights, the gay and tasteful costumes of the ladies, and the sprinkling of uniforms...presented a very pleasing *coup d'oeil* (look-over) such as has never before been witnessed in this colony....The music which was excellent and gave great satisfaction to the dancers, who 'chased the flying hours with glowing feet,' until about four o'clock this morning.⁵⁶

At its basis the ball was a celebration and commemoration of the Queen, royalty and empire and attendance was 'an outward visible sign of loyalty to the Queen', which was further reinforced through the 'usual' loyal speeches and toasts.⁵⁷ In 1862, the boisterous cheering that followed the toasts was set aside out of respect for the recent death of the Prince Consort; however: 'Every voice in the room' though it was declared repeated the Governors toast of "The Queen! God bless her!'. Following toasts to the rest of the 'Royal Family', Bowen expressed himself much gratified for

being able to receive his guests in the excellent and commodious house which the liberal loyalty of Parliament had provided for the representative of the Queen. He trusted that, so long as her Majesty would be pleased to continue his poor services in this colony, each year would be marked by an increase of mutual esteem and good-will between them.⁵⁸

The new Government House was sanctioned as an excellent venue for vice-regal functions, for it had 'enabled the Governor to exercise his hospitality without restriction.'⁵⁹ As the centrepiece of Queensland's celebration and commemoration of royalty and empire the house was the setting for many brilliant balls, receptions and garden parties which were accorded the highest social prestige. It was the focal point of social life in Brisbane and symbolised British standards, culture and formality.



Sir George Bowen and Lady Diamantina Bowen were renowned for their 'generous hospitality' in Brisbane and in all of Sir George's subsequent posting.

Images courtesy of the John Oxley Library, SLQ.

In 1870, Governor Blackall, Queensland's second Governor, chose not to hold a ball but rather a less formal reception 'in celebration of the birthday of Her Majesty Queen Victoria'.⁶⁰ His reasoning for this Blackall outlined in his speech after the loyal toasts:

Upon coming to the colony he did not know the people....He did not well know how best to enable them to show respect to Her Majesty....There were three modes...holding a levee, giving a ball, or a reception. Now a levee would have compelled gentlemen to appear in evening dress, and alone, at an early hour of the day, when they would have to pass before him and bow – and would appear as cheerful as if at a funeral. A ball would have necessitated the issue of special invitations, and would have most likely have caused the difficulty which it was desirable to avoid....A reception ensured the object aimed at – the entertainment of all his guests who had a right to present themselves at Government House, and who could attend. This had, also, the advantage of being in consonance with the example set by Her Majesty, whose representative he was in Queensland, and whose Drawing-room on her Birthday, was open to anyone who had been previously presented at Court.⁶¹

Formality was still a characteristic feature of the evening. Governor Blackall, seated at the foot of the staircase, received his five hundred guests in the central hall. At 8.30 p.m. guests having cards of *entree* were presented and those without at 9 p.m. At 10 p.m., when all the presentations were completed, dancing was commenced and was well kept up till midnight, when supper was announced. After the 'elegant repast' had had 'ample justice done to it',

the loyal toasts were proposed to the health of “The Queen’ by the His Excellency. At the conclusion of the speeches and ‘without delay, the company dispersed to the saloon, where dancing was resumed, and kept up till an early hour this morning.’⁶² Though this event was less formal than a ball, there were distinct prescriptive elements in place or expected at vice-regal functions. First, guests were presented to the Governor; second, there was dancing; next, the provision of supper, and finally, the making of loyal toasts. Any deviation led to disapproval.

In 1879, a public debate took place in the newspaper, which had been triggered by Governor Kennedy not serving supper to his guests at the annual Birthday Ball. This, it was reported, had caused ‘a general feeling of injury’ by those who had attended the ball and called into question ‘the liberality of the Governor’.⁶³ In defence of the Governor, it was argued that no supper was provided because there was insufficient space to serve 600 people. The government, it was explained, had failed to erect a temporary supper-room. But within this debate it was claimed that the ‘usual ball’, had ‘acquired by a sort of prescription a semi-official character’, and that yearly there were ‘increasing numbers [who] have a sort of title to an invitation to this annual ball’.⁶⁴ The counter argument was that ‘there was no obligation whatever upon the Governor to give a ball’.⁶⁵ The letter writer, ‘Y’, found this ‘objectionable’ and declared ‘it has been the *custom* in Queensland, since the days of Sir George Bowen.’⁶⁶ While the debate confirmed the weight of responsibility was on the Governor to maintain the link, established during Queensland’s formative years, between himself, his vice-regal house, the dispensing of hospitalities and the celebration and commemoration of royalty and empire, it also marked a shift away from Government House’s ranking as a first-rate venue for vice-regal functions.



A Cotillon Ball at Government House, circa 1880. Old Government House image.

As Queensland's population had grown, so too had the number of guests who were invited to attend vice-regal 'hospitalities'.⁶⁷ In 1879, Governor Kennedy had issued 1,318 invitations, and it was argued that 'when the dimensions of Government House are considered...it is obvious that dancing or even standing room is insufficient.'⁶⁸ The size of the house, and in particular the absence of a ballroom, increasingly made the hosting of these large-scale events difficult. Governor Musgrave tried to overcome space limitations by shifting the 1884 ball to the Exhibition Building. By 1887, there was a decisive change of opinion, with Government House described as:

pretty, but exceedingly small; indeed, from the cliff, on the opposite side of the river, it looks quite insignificant. As a matter of fact, the extensive hospitality demanded from it has on several interesting occasions of late years caused the erection of marquees and annexes.⁶⁹

From 1888, there were repeated demands that the situation required 'a new Governor's residence erected elsewhere'.⁷⁰ The line of argument in 1888 matched that of the original 1860 debate on the new colony's 'obligation' to furnish the governor with a more suitable vice-regal residence - in essence, that the expense incurred by a Governor in erecting temporary buildings so as to fulfil his social duties was an 'expense greater than we have a right to expect' and the causative issue of the spatial inadequacies of the house.⁷¹ Though a new Government House was designed in 1909, the new building did not proceed beyond the laying of the foundation stone.

In 1862, Sir George Bowen hosted the first Birthday Ball at the new Government House and established a strong and important link between the Governor, his vice-regal residence, entertaining and the celebration and commemoration of royalty and empire in the young colony of Queensland. In accordance with the status and prestige of his office as the representative of royalty, the new colony had, through the 'liberality of parliament', increased Bowen's salary based primarily on the expenses incurred in fulfilling his social duties. Further, a larger more suitable vice-regal residence was designed and constructed - one which contained 'all the accommodation supposed to be necessary for *our* vice-regal purposes'. In recognition of these services, many Queenslanders seemingly believed they had 'a sort of title to an invitation' to vice-regal functions. The 'generous hospitality' that characterised Bowen's Governorship during Queensland's formative years had set the tone of colonial society while at the same time it had kept the British presence, royalty and empire symbolically powerful.⁷² Finally, it had established a social 'custom' for future Governors to maintain. As the centrepiece of Queensland's celebration of royalty and empire, Government House was for almost twenty years an excellent venue for vice-regal functions until its lack of space made the hosting of large-scale events a difficult and expensive undertaking. It was such a nice house, Lady Lamington declared in 1899 'except for entertaining'.⁷³

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- ¹ 'Birthday Ball,' *Brisbane Courier*, 30 May 1868.
- ² Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: creating national identities in the United States and Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 27-29.
- ³ Marguerite Hancock, *Colonial Consorts: The Wives of Victoria's Governors 1839-1900*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001:2-3.
- ⁴ Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration*: 28.
- ⁵ 'Our London Correspondent,' 'Sir Henry Blake', *Brisbane Courier*, 9 February 1889.
- ⁶ Sir George Bowen to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, 6 March 1860 cited in 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 1*. London: Longmans, Green and co, 1889:106-112.
- ⁷ 'Editorial', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 July 1859
- ⁸ 'Separation: From the Morning Chronicle,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 20 July 1859.
- ⁹ 'Queensland', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 5 November 1859.
- ¹⁰ 'Separation: From the Empire,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 20 July 1859.
- ¹¹ 'Editorial', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 20 July 1859.
- ¹² 'Arrival & Reception of His Excellency Sir G.F. Bowen, First Governor of Queensland', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ 'Copy of a Despatch from Governor G.F. Bowen to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, 19 December 1859', *Papers relative to the Affairs of Queensland. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty August 1861*. London: Printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswood, Printers to the Queen Most Excellent Majesty. For Her Majesty's Stationary Office. 1861:4.
- ¹⁵ 'Arrival & Reception of His Excellency Sir G.F. Bowen', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.
- ¹⁶ Sir George Bowen to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, 6 March 1860 cited in 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 1*. London: Longmans, Green and co, 1889:106-112.
- ¹⁷ 'Arrival & Reception of His Excellency Sir G.F. Bowen, First Governor of Queensland', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.
- ¹⁸ Robert Atkin, Letter to his Mother, 14 May 1861: TR1786 Robert and Mary Atkin family Papers, John Oxley Library.
- ¹⁹ Mark Gosling, 'Thomas Dowse – 'the Samuel Pepys of early Brisbane'', web- published article, <http://usersbigpond.net.au/james.elizabeth.goodsell/DowseOldTomHistoryPortrait.htm>.
- ²⁰ *Goulburn Chronicle* cited in 'News and Notes By a Sydney Man,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.
- ²¹ 'Arrival & Reception of His Excellency Sir G.F. Bowen, First Governor of Queensland', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.
- ²² Sir George Bowen to Lord Lytton, 6 March 1860 cited in Lane-Poole, (ed.), *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*:106-112.
- ²³ Under Queensland's franchise arrangement there were 4,790 eligible voters and of these approximately 2500 voted in Queensland's first general election held in 1860. Charles Bernays, *Queensland Politics During Sixty (1859-1919) Years*. Brisbane: A.J. Cumming, Government Printer, 1919:285.
- ²⁴ 'Governor's Salary. Queensland Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Wednesday June 13,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 June 1860.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ 'A Prosperous Colony. From the *Melbourne Herald*, June 29,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 10 July 1860.
- ²⁷ Etta Young ('Vesta'), 'The Woman's Part,' *The Queenslander Jubilee Number*, 7 August 1909:29, 49.
- ²⁸ 'The Queen's Birthday,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 2 June 1860.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*; 'Queensland Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Thursday June 21,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 23 June 1860.
- ³⁰ *Ibid*; 'Queensland Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Thursday June 21,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 23 June 1860.
- ³¹ 'The Queen's Birthday,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 2 June 1860.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ 'Queensland Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Thursday June 21,' *Moreton Bay Courier*, 23 June 1860.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*

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- ³⁹ A.O. Moriarty, Under Colonial Secretary letter to the Colonial Architect, 4 July 1860, Queensland State Archives Item ID861035, Miscellaneous Letterbooks, Colonial Secretary's Office.
- ⁴⁰ The acknowledgement during the debate on the vote that £10,000 had been the figure submitted by the Colonial Architect as the amount of expenditure required indicated that Tiffin had been working on a design for the house prior to parliament allocating the funds. Tiffin himself declared on 11 July 1860 in his testimony to the Select Committee on Government Departments, that he had 'been working for sometime on the plans, from half past nine in the morning to five in the evening'. Charles Tiffin, 'Select Committee on Government Departments, 1860', *Votes and Proceedings*, 1860: 382-385.
- ⁴¹ *Votes and Proceedings*, 1860:991.
- ⁴² 'Public Works and Improvements', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 7 July 1860.
- ⁴³ The sandstone was quarried at Jeays' Goodna Quarry and punted down river and the service wing was built of porphyry from the O'Connell Town quarry now known as Windsor. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 13 April and 17 July 1861.
- ⁴⁴ *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 12 October 1861.
- ⁴⁵ *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 18 December 1861.
- ⁴⁶ 'Public Works and Improvements', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 October 1860.
- ⁴⁷ 'Local Intelligence', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 20 April 1861.
- ⁴⁸ *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 15 March 1862.
- ⁴⁹ *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 6 May 1862
- ⁵⁰ Sir George Bowen to Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 14 May 1862, Queensland State Archives Item ID17671, Letterbook of despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Volume 2:184-185.
- ⁵¹ Colonial Architect Charles Tiffin to Colonial Secretary, ? November 1867 Letter no. 67/1042, WOR/A67 General Correspondence. Queensland State Archives; 'Arrival & Reception of His Excellency Sir G.F. Bowen', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 13 December 1859.
- ⁵² 'Local Intelligence', *Courier*, 16 June 1862.
- ⁵³ 'The Birthday Ball', *Courier*, 18 June 1862.
- ⁵⁴ 'Weekly Epitome', *Courier*, 21 June 1862.
- ⁵⁵ 'The Birthday Ball', *Courier*, 18 June 1862.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ 'Odd Notes', *Brisbane Courier*, 24 May 1875; 'The Birthday Ball', *Courier*, 18 June 1862.
- ⁵⁸ 'The Birthday Ball', *Courier*, 18 June 1862.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ 'Reception at Government House', *Brisbane Courier*, 27 May 1870
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 31 May 1879; 'The Birthday Ball', *Brisbane Courier*, 2 June 1879.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ 'The Birthday Ball. To the Editor of the Brisbane Courier' by 'X', *Brisbane Courier*, 2 June 1879.
- ⁶⁶ 'To the Editor of the Brisbane Courier by Y', *Brisbane Courier*, 3 June 1879.
- ⁶⁷ By the 1880s, Queensland's population had grown from 25,000 to 200,000.
- ⁶⁸ 'The Birthday Ball. To the Editor of the Brisbane Courier' by 'X', *Brisbane Courier*, 2 June 1879.
- ⁶⁹ G.W. Power, 'Brisbane', *Cassell's Picturesque Australasia*. Volume 1, Brisbane, 1887.
- ⁷⁰ 'Editorial', *Brisbane Courier*, 16 October 1888.
- ⁷¹ 'Some Dresses at the Birthday Ball', *Brisbane Courier*, 16 June 1880.
- ⁷² 'Complementary Banquet to Mr Plunkett', *Brisbane Courier*, 18 July 1865.
- ⁷³ Lady Lamington to the Dowager Lady Lamington, 14 June 1899 cited in Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Cochrane-Baillie (1860-1940) 2nd Baron Lamington Papers TD 1029.