

SURVEYOR GALLOWAY AND MORETON BAY

Brinkmanship and Final Honours

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On 16 August 1855 in Sydney a letter was written to John James Galloway by the Surveyor General, which was, in effect, the beginning of modern style closer land use for the former penal settlement at Moreton Bay and of correct surveying for the area which was to become southern Queensland. It read*:

No. 55/1100 Surveyor General's Office,
Sydney, 16th August 1855

To J. J. Galloway, Esq.

Sir,

I have to inform you that, as by the death of the late Mr. Surveyor Burnett you have become the Third Senior Surveyor, His Excellency the Governor General approves of your receiving the Salary attached to that position, viz. £350 per annum, to commence on the 26th of last month, the date of your return to the Colony.

I am, etc.
(Signed) T. L. Mitchell
Surveyor General

It was followed four days later (SG No. 55/1102) by the further formal intimation that Galloway would proceed to Moreton Bay 'to take charge' of the office 'at present temporarily filled by Mr. F. E. Roberts'.

The recipient of both these communications, John James Galloway (b. 18 February 1818 at Leith, Scotland) had returned to New South

* See Bibliography, etc. at the end of this article for explanation of all such references.

Wales after his long (and only period of) leave in England and Scotland, after sailing home from Sydney on the ship *Kimiera* on 25 January 1854. He had come to Australia first in 1837, probably on a ship to which his father, Thomas Galloway, was attached as surgeon and, after a period as a draftsman, had been appointed an Assistant Surveyor on 6 February 1838. Various other posts he had filled had included: Assistant Surveyor 1840 to New Zealand (a temporary posting); from 4 February 1842, Commissioner for Crown Lands within the Boundaries; in 1844, licensed surveyor; from 1847, back on full salary; on 3 November 1847 he had been told that he would 'be employed in the District of New England and Gwydir'; was appointed full surveyor, as the Surveyor General wrote to tell him on 15 September 1853 (SG No. 53/797); had appealed unsuccessfully against McCabe's displacing him then as Fourth Surveyor, despite the other's being 'my junior in the service by many years' (JJG to Dep. SG 28 September 1853); and had been pioneer and sole officer for considerable portions of the New England survey and had had responsible oversight of the Gwydir regional survey.

His return from leave came at a trying time for both Galloway and the whole department. He had revealed on his return that his health had been very indifferent and not at all cured by his time in England. As the Surveyor General had written on 11 August 1855 (SG 55/1053):

I am sorry that you should have to re-enter on your duties not feeling satisfied that you can do so without some danger to your health. I trust, however, that it will not suffer materially before arrangements I have in view for the reasonable comfort, as well as the efficiency of my Surveyors may take effect.

and as he had also written, some days before (SG 55/1025, 6 August):

I have to express the regret with which I learn – as you made no mention of your health when you presented yourself to me as returned from leave of absence to your duty – that you are not in a state of health to resume the surveys where you had formerly been employed.

2. . . . I cannot now countermand . . . I cannot sufficiently express to you with what reluctance I require you to resume surveying operations under circumstances which have long convinced me of the urgent necessity existing for the adoption of a change of System, circumstances which your own case, supported by Medical Certificates – serves more completely to shew the baneful effects of . . . But, at present, I do not feel myself at liberty to relax in the slightest degree from exacting a certain amount, without incurring the risk of personal blame, which I am sure you do not wish me to do. I can only add, to encourage your perseverance in continuing your long services for some

time longer that I hope to be permitted to make such arrangements as may not require a sacrifice of health such as even a voyage to England on leave of absence will not always repair.

I have, etc.
(Signed) T. L. Mitchell

These letters assist us to understand why the very talented and assiduous Galloway was, perhaps, less able to throw himself into the new Brisbane task when it was offered and why he was in no position to apply for the position of Surveyor General of Queensland when his friend, A. C. Gregory, a more flamboyant man, was appointed to that post on 23 December 1859. They also serve to somewhat mask the fact that Mitchell's long and deliberate policy of wearing down Galloway's nerves, by malicious carping and obstructionism, had contributed considerably to the latter's poor health.

The further matter which needs stress is, of course, the state of the whole department at this time. From as early as late January 1850 the Colonial Office had been officially critical of Mitchell, not least because of his preference for exploring expeditions rather than his official and regular duties, and from his prolonged absences in England.

All of these matters had led to Governor Denison's establishing on 4 July 1855 a Special Commission to enquire into the whole field of Mitchell's administration. The Royal Commission concluded its report on 11 August, but this was delayed in presentation – to the Legislative Assembly – until the November, Mitchell having died on 5 October preceding. Many of its criticisms were matters with which Galloway would have agreed, and indeed which he had been goaded into observing in some of the more tart of his despatches. But to return to Galloway's preparation for the work in the far north.

As the Colonial Secretary's correspondence with Mitchell makes clear, there had been uncertainty in the July as to whether to send Galloway back to New England or not (CS to SG 55/8982). Galloway was happily unaware of all these administrative and investigatory storms, having other duties to perform. His Monthly Progress Journal for August survives and gives us a clear picture of his activities (55/52); from it the following points may be excerpted:

- August 1 Received instructions to proceed to New England
- August 20 (Monday) Received instructions to proceed to
Moreton Bay
- August 24 Left Sydney by steamer
- August 27 Number of miles travelled on duty, 400 (Monday)
Arrived at Moreton Bay

August 28 Getting things from the vessel

August 29, 30, 31 Employed with Mr. Roberts looking through correspondence, six hours duty on each of these days.

The details of the men who worked with him, or were taken north for the purpose also survive: Wm. Somerset, Wm. Baldock, Thos. Hay, John Davis, N. S. Souter, Bernard Coffield.

On 4 September, Galloway wrote to inform the Surveyor General of the resignation (see QSA SG2, p. 178) of Mr. John Perry from his position as clerk and draftsman at the Moreton Bay Office and of the appointment of a successor (letter No. 55/61 at Brisbane; No. 55/50 at Sydney). The main body of the letter runs thus:

As Mr. Assistant Surveyor Roberts is now busily employed at Coopers Plains surveying a mass of small farms for sale I have not considered it advisable to bring him into the Office in the present emergency, to conduct the business, with which I am as yet very imperfectly acquainted but I have employed temporarily as a Clerk, Mr. Alex McClosking, at the recommendation of Captain Wickham, for the purpose of taking charge of the Office and conducting the clerical duties until an efficient and competent draughtsman arrive from Sydney.

I respectfully beg that in making this appointment a really steady effective person be selected. One who will be held responsible for the due performance of all the necessary office work during the occasional absence of the officer in charge.

I almost fear that one person will not be able to attend to all personal applications at this office – the clerical duties – the charting – and also to keep up the maps (as they require renovations) necessary for public information – all of which duties are increasing with the growing interests of the district – however, future experience only can determine that matter.

It is also noted that he can only retain the seconded McClosking for a fortnight and that he therefore hopes 'that an officer will have arrived by that time to conduct the usual business'.

NEED OF A FIRM HAND

Clearly Galloway had arrived in Brisbane at a time when the growth of settlement, distance from Sydney, and general inadequacy of *ad hoc* methods of official organization were in need of both a guiding hand and some firmness in the implementation of official policy. As his letter (55/66) makes clear, there had been no claim for postage – and very few communications out – from Assistant Surveyor Roberts between 1 January and 4 September 1855. That Galloway had been able to ascertain so much of the surveying malaise in seven days is an indic-

ation of his shrewdness, even as his reforming zeal, while long overdue, was likely to cause tensions amongst those who had become very happy in their muddling along.

A much more serious letter (No. 55/62) was also penned that day (4 September) to the Surveyor General, on the state of matters connected with the Department of the Survey. This somewhat breathless and complex document merits some analysis, not least since most of its bewildering details were to confront the inexperienced and cautious Colonel Barney when he succeeded Mitchell as Surveyor General a few weeks later. After a long and very experienced career in the department, Galloway was coming to an outlying area where conditions were still as confused as those in the County of Cumberland or the Illawarra more than twenty years before. Further, much of Burnett's time in the north had been taken up with 'features work' (i.e. tracing the Dividing Range, the Richmond River, the river system beyond the Upper Brisbane River, the Mary River) and relatively little with the 'fill-in' work of the sort which Galloway had already himself done so well in and around Sydney. The system of licensed (i.e. only partially salaried) surveyors was almost totally ineffectual because of low salary, lack of supervision, and as there was no provision for informing the Brisbane Office of work commissioned through these men, let alone of having it checked locally. Mr. Warner was never a very productive or efficient surveyor, and Assistant Surveyor Roberts was resentful of Galloway's coming and not particularly co-operative. Perry's excessive self-esteem and attempts to curry favour with those interested in land grants had been largely condoned by the inexperienced Captain Wickham and so were the harder for Galloway to correct.

Galloway had quickly observed the demand for suburban portions (para. 9) and was determined to fulfil it – a task doubly difficult as he was to find that many base lines were not laid down correctly (*v. infra*) and that one of the chains was not accurate, and that the outmoded circumferenter (para. 10) was still used almost universally. Indeed the general pattern of his letter is almost identical in its serious reservations with the Royal Commission Report which was then being formally drafted. As on earlier occasions in his career, Galloway said the responsible things, but not in person and rather in a catalogue-type despatch which lesser men were only too likely to pull to pieces. As was soon to occur again, there would be over-reaction from Galloway at a lack of response to his communication and then an unnecessary civil service threatening of one of the most loyal and talented officers of the department. James Warner, a Licensed Surveyor in Moreton Bay in 1855, who had been four places below Galloway in seniority in 1843, and on 1 January 1846 two places below him, had had charge of

Moreton Bay in the mid 1840's, when Burnett was otherwise engaged. Thus both he and Roberts in 1855 seemed to Galloway to have undue favour from Sydney, in view of their positions relative to his. Also, there seems little doubt that both were concerned to 'test' their new head, even as his decision to stay near the office doubtless horrified them after Burnett's relatively lax methods.

On 7 September, Galloway completed (55/67) the 'Return relating to Lands to be measured by Mr. Surveyor Galloway for August 1855' as follows:

Extent of lands ordered to be measured	Nil
Extent of lands returned as measured	Nil
Extent remaining unexecuted:	640 as area in country lots

Remarks: The number of acres in this Return are taken from such of your letters as the extent to be measured is definitely given. There are other letters of instruction in my possession to measure lands both suburban and town in which the quantities are not limited.

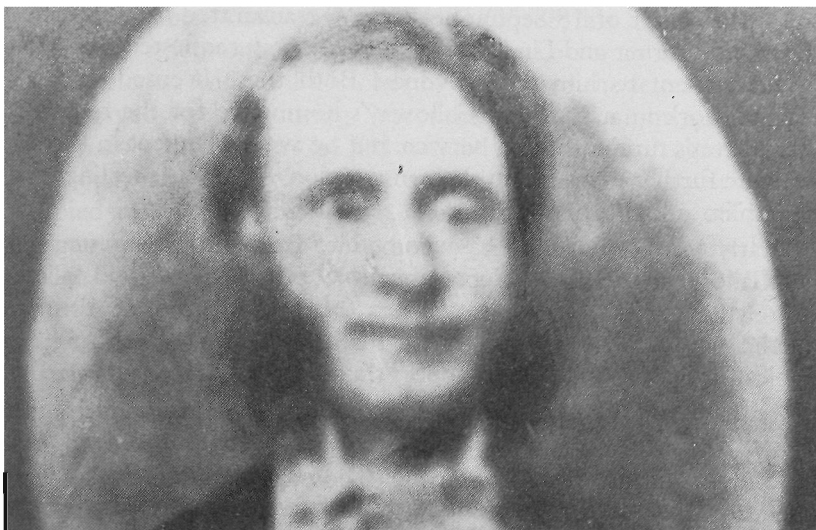
He also sent details of the first land selection, long delayed but now processed, under his regime, Samuel Thompson's selection of a block (No. 7) of the land sale held at Ipswich on the 10 November 1854, in the County of Churchill (No. 55/68), and also of John Smith's application to purchase land at Wivenhoe. The next letter that day (55/69) included Final Reports of:

- 1) the land sale held at Ipswich 1st August;
- 2) the sale of leases, held at Ipswich 1st July;
- 3) the sale of land held at Ipswich 1st July;

all of which had been forwarded by C. G. Gray Esq., 'to this office for record and for transmission to the Surveyor General'. He had also been in correspondence with the Police Magistrate at Ipswich (55/71) concerning the Police Paddock there.

On 23 August 1855, A. Cameron of Ipswich had written to 'The Principal Officer, Crown Survey Department, Brisbane', as he was desirous of purchasing, with his brother, '200 acres of Crown Land on the Bundamba Creek', which block he had pointed out to Mr. Warner, surveyor, the previous day, and which he trusted the latter could be ordered to mark out at the end of the month when he would again be in the area. That work Galloway immediately put in hand, but not quite as Cameron expected.

It is a proof of his dedication and zeal that Galloway, on 7 September, began his own survey in South Brisbane, using a theodolite and basing his lines on various marks in the 'Old Town', chaining, according to his Field Book, 1.2 miles and taking some 20 stations per mile (Monthly Progress Journal, 55/70).



J. J. Galloway, M.L.C.

His quick eye had taken in that, as in New England in 1848 and 1849, some of the portions requested were excessive for the type of land and likely to occasion difficulties for closer settlement. As to the Bundamba Creek application, Galloway's comment to Sydney (No. 55/74) on 8 September 1855 is formal, judicious and by no means as acquiescent as Cameron might have expected from the hitherto slack Brisbane office:

This is a larger portion than has hitherto been sold in this locality, and, moreover I am not aware whether I have authority to instruct Mr. Warner as requested by Mr. Cameron; but I take this opportunity of again bringing under your notice that the Survey of the district would be very much expedited, were the officer in charge made acquainted with all the surveys required throughout the district, and authorized to instruct the different Surveyors according to the locality and the requirements of the public, of which he would, from local experience, be able to judge.

Halloran's annotation on 20 September is illuminating and lets us see how valid were Galloway's protests at being by-passed and so kept in ignorance of the several surveyor's tasks. It reads:

Instructions have already been issued to Mr. Warner by 55/1131 of 21 August to lay out all this land according to a design shewing portions of from 50 to 80 acres.

Mitchell did not ever see this, and Thompson's comment to Halloran is 'Letter if you please accordingly'.

Another letter of 18 September (55/84) transmitted survey material by Messrs Warner and Lindo and again Galloway requested that copies should be sent to him from Sydney. Both these licensed surveyors were to work in and around Galloway's home area for the remainder of the latter's time of official service, but he was to be kept in the dark for some further period as to their instructions, plans and dealings with the public.

Clearly Mr. Warner must have come into Brisbane at some stage and met Galloway who on 26 September (No. 55/85) forwarded 'a letter from Mr. Licensed Surveyor Warner (No. 54/47) (sic) of this date together with a Plan for a Village at Fassifern'. Galloway again repeats his plea for Sydney's help and support thus:

I have the honor to beg that a copy of this Plan may be sent to this office for mapping and for public information.

But Sydney did not see things from Galloway's viewpoint. The notes appended read:

A copy will be sent when the design is completed.

I conclude there is nothing to warrant a copy now.

On 1 October

I should think not

was added by Mitchell (who would be dead in four days). Inform him as above, underlined (i.e. 'when the design is completed').

The active surveying exercises done in this month by Galloway are clear from the following summary for September 1855:

Hours in field 77; Miles traversed 48

Hours in office 63; Miles chained 10 miles nearly with
Theodolite

The Progress Journal also recorded that on 19, 20 September he 'surveyed old work' and that on 21st he was 'examining the old marks, Parish of South Brisbane'. Doubtless this was the background of his letter (No. 55/88) of 26 September concerning the incorrect description of land, as he had already indicated in his long letter of 4 September.

Head Office received the letter and the 'explanation' of a Mr. Adam reads thus:

The error in the numbering of the section occurred in the C. Secretary's Office and has been rectified by a re proclamation. The error in the name of the Parish originated in Captain Wickham's Report and it will perhaps be sufficient that he should be informed and explain it at the sale.

Thompson, who was acting as Surveyor General at this point notes: 'Mr. Halloran. Letters if you please to Mr. Galloway and Captain Wickham accordingly' (2 October).

On 3 October, Galloway forwarded (55/88) his 'Return of Lands measured for September' as: 'Area in Town Lots – about 50 acres', in 100 allotments. And on 1 October he had noted the letters of instruction received by him during September, some four in number, and none to do with business he had raised. His Monthly Progress Journal for September gave him three days in the field (almost entirely occupied in marking out Town allotments), nine in the office, two plotting and part of one 'at court about one of my men'. The Return of Men Employed for the same period indicates that Galloway had to dismiss two of those he had brought from Sydney, Souter on 15 September and Coffield on 18 September, both 'discharged for drunkenness' and that he had taken on A. Clerk from 24 September.

On 3 October Galloway had also sent (No. 55/87) a plan and descriptions of the allotments in certain Sections 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 39 and 40, of South Brisbane (charted later as B.50.1182). In addition to these allotments, about 36 perches each, he reported errors in previous surveys there and stated that no normal line had ever been laid down as a guide. He also makes the suggestion that all 'Designs for Towns' be at first marked on the ground and a normal line laid down. On 13 October (55/92), he wrote to clarify the South Brisbane plan.

Also on 13 October there was transmitted by Galloway (No. 55/93) a plan and descriptions of allotments in Sections 21, 23, 24 and 32, in Ipswich. Galloway notes that these have been measured and marked by Warner,

together with those portions in Section 31 of that Town, proposed to be appropriated as sites for a Presbyterian Church, School, and Parsonage, a plan, and descriptions of which are also transmitted.

and Warner's letters on the subject, 'numbered 55/49 and 55/50 of the 8th Instant'.

The same day he forwarded (No. 55/96) the accounts of the Contractor at Brisbane 'for Rations of Provisions supplied to my surveying party for the period from 26 August to 30 September' being £11.14.4, 'and to the keeper of this office from 1st July to 11th September 1855', viz: £4.5.2. On Thursday, 11 October he had not been able to work recording that he was 'very unwell'. Perhaps this was the last provocation leading to his unfortunate act of the following Saturday.

A FRANK DISPATCH

Then, with his desk clear, Galloway launched into a very long dispatch, the tone and contents of which probably precluded his further elevation in the service, alienated Denison the Governor, and may well have finally brought about his final breakdown of health and

premature retirement. There were reasons for it, both from Galloway's personality, his relatively successful appeal against McCabe which had won him the rank of Surveyor on Captain Perry's recommendation, and his sudden elevation on his return from England. He did not, however, appear to realize that the Governor was closely scrutinizing the Department and that his own promotion and transfer north had perhaps been allowed by a sick Mitchell as much to spite the Governor General, as to reward Galloway. Perhaps, too, the ignoring of the many suggestions he had made proved doubly exasperating after the many apparent successes his ideas had seemed to receive on his return from England. His friends Perry, Deputy Surveyor General from 1829-1853, and Thompson, Deputy from 1853 and now concerned not to impose his views on Mitchell's successor, Colonel Barney, – could not help him. The new Surveyor General, now aged 63 and determined to be very cautious in his last posting, had the Port Curtis fiasco (1847) to live down. Both in his last affair and from his friendship there with Surveyor McCabe, Barney was likely to be very hesitant in the face of so many suggestions from McCabe's enemy, Galloway.

The document is given in full, both as an indication of Galloway's temper and to illustrate the system which the new Moreton Bay officer was determined to change. Its heading as supplied by the writer was:

Mr. Surveyor Galloway to the Deputy Surveyor General, Enclosing a letter from Mr. Henry Mort and appealing to his Excellency the Governor General respecting his position in the Department.

Survey Office, Brisbane
13 October, 1855

The Deputy Surveyor General,
Sydney

Sir,

I do myself the honor to enclose a letter which I have received from Mr. Henry Mort of Franklyn Vale date the 6th Instant, in which he requests to be informed whether his application of the 30th June 1854 to purchase 640 acres of land on the Bremer River has been entertained by the Government.

2. This application was forwarded from this Office to the Surveyor General on the 25th September 1854, but as I have not been informed, as is usual in such departments, of the state or the extent of the Survey now carried on in this district of which I am supposed to be in charge, I have only been able to admit to Mr. Mort my unfortunate position of not being prepared to give him the simple information required.

3. Since I have been in this district, I have become daily more sensible of the degraded position in which I have been placed whether this has arisen intentionally from the Surveyor General, or whether it is owing to some misunderstanding on your part during his absence from Head Quarters or from some petty jealous undercurrent in the office, I am not aware; but at the present moment the most junior licensed Surveyor in this district is kept better informed of what Surveys are going on in the district than I am; in fact he is completely his own master and not a single check exists that I am aware of upon his work: indeed to shew the necessity of some personal supervision, I am already, with my short experience in this District, prepared to prove that some of the plans sent into the Sydney Office, which look quite correct upon paper, do not accord with the state of the ground and that a map compiled from such plans will not be a faithful representation of the various marked lines; to those who have never had *personal experience* in the field this perhaps may appear strange, but can be easily understood by a man of practical knowledge.

4. I have the honor to remind you that when Mr. Burnett was in charge of this district, all the work and necessary information passed through his hands, and the business was conducted with something like system; also that when I was conducting the survey of the New England and Gwydir Districts as a Senior Assistant the only other Assistant in those districts received his instructions from me, and I have not heard that the work was less effectively or less creditably informed; but now even with higher rank and greater experience I am placed in a more humbled position, one not at all conducive to the welfare of the Public Service or creditable to the Department.

5. Ever since I have been up here, you have, in the absence of the Surveyor General, again curtailed my supervision, by instructing that in future the examination of the work and accounts of the Licensed Surveyors of this district is not to be made in this office, in consequence, as you state, of some disagreement between Mr. Licensed Surveyor Warner and Mr. Assistant Surveyor Roberts, the late officer in charge; on enquiry I find that Mr. Roberts merely did his duty to the Government in pointing out errors in Mr. Warner's plans and accounts, and yet, because Mr. Warner makes it appear a personal matter, the licensed Surveyor is supported in preference to the Officer in charge who strictly did his duty; one would almost imagine, could it be possible that you permitted some one's friendship towards Mr. Warner to supersede a public duty; another reason for such a presumption is that

Mr. Licensed Surveyor Warner is permitted a privilege denied at present to the officer in charge of the district that is to hand over such instructions for measurements of lands as he pleases to Mr. Licensed Surveyor Lindo: this cannot be conducive to the welfare of the Public Service, and I beg to inform you that the Public here, together with the Government Resident have made many complaints to me, with great reason, of the want of information in this office as regards the state of the survey, which arises merely because the Licensed Surveyors are more favoured than the Senior Officer in charge of the district.

As various Sydney annotations make clear, this portion of the letter contained many false or unfortunate assumptions by Galloway:

(1) that he could safely comment on office jealousies; (2) that Barney had read all his earlier letters from Brisbane; and his lack of awareness that, officially, (1) 'Licensed Surveyors have received their instructions through Mr. Galloway'; and (2) that it was 'the accounts only that need not be audited by the local surveyor'. Although it was also not the case, one annotation reads:

Mr. Galloway has been informed that he will be placed in charge of the District as soon as necessary arrangements have been made.

Certainly it would seem that Galloway was not aware of the death of Mitchell on 5 October nor that Barney, his successor from 11 October, and not Thompson would read this fiery denunciation.

More testiness was to come, the further paragraphs running as follows:

6. I have had the honor of writing several letters to the Surveyor General on matters requiring early attention, but I have merely had the courtesy of the receipt acknowledged.

7. I have asked for a chair to sit upon in this Office, but no notice has been taken of my very necessary request; the most junior clerk in Sydney would consider this most monstrous treatment, and yet I, one of the Senior Officers of the Department, must submit to this inconvenience because I am struggling to do my duty – too far away from Head Quarters to make my personal complaints heard.

8. I have been here now nearly two months and yet neither horses nor boat, which are absolutely necessary, have been granted to me; and still I am expected to carry on my surveying duties.

9. I have asked to be permitted to retain the whole of my gold allowance and give up my personal ration; also to have a cash allowance for my personal horse; there are already precedents for both, yet more than two months have elapsed I am still kept in suspense as to whether I am to draw on the contractor or not.

10. I have alluded to the probability of some petty jealous under-current as existing in the Office towards the Senior Officers in the field; as a proof of this, I beg to inform you that on my return from Europe, I found to my surprise that the Chief Clerk Mr. Halloran had again placed his name before those of the four Surveyors, who, agreeably with the instructions from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, take rank next to the Deputy Surveyor General, according to their seniority. . .

His seventh paragraph was annotated: 'Mr. Galloway should not have put this requisition for a chair in a heavy official letter'; his ninth, 'referred to Col. Secy. 16 August 1855; decision deferred pending arrangements'; and his tenth, 'Vide printed Returns and Commissioners' Report'. Clearly bureaucracy and certain unfair assumptions that he had been aware of all the Sydney jockeyings of recent months are responsible for much of this formalism and carping.

In his eleventh paragraph he begged 'most implicitly to disclaim any intention of usurping one iota of the Surveyor General's authority' and in his twelfth made a like disclaimer 'of being personally offensive to anyone' particularly as he was now appealing for clarification and rein-statement to His Excellency the Governor General'.

While this letter was to create a considerable stir in Sydney, there was calm for a time, at least on the surface, although the letter went from department to department, and was almost certainly seen by the members of the Royal Commission, including the Professor Mathematics at the University of Sydney, Professor Pell.

Their final submitted criticisms, although completed on 11 August were only printed on 23 November, and included many of the points made by Galloway, namely:

- of the whole system of licensed surveyors;
- of the general lack of supervision;
- of the excessive and unproductive clerical labour;
- of the disorganization of the Department;
- of the want of that mutual goodfeeling and cordial co-operation between the Surveyor General and his officers; and
- of the presence of personal influence in almost all the aspects of the work of the Department.

There is, however, no documentary evidence to show that Galloway ever handled a copy of the report.

On 23 October (No. 55/100), Galloway forwarded a plan and descriptions of nine small farms in the parish of Jeebropilly, measured and marked out by Mr. Licensed Surveyor Lindo, together with the

other's letter. It was the last letter of a month in which Galloway's work return (55/88) gave:

Hours in field 111, Miles traversed 50
Hours in office 53 Miles measured 13.65

He described (in 55/101 of 1 November) his own work in October as concerned with measuring land, in suburban lots and about 200 acres through very scrubby hilly country. On the same day he forwarded (55/102) measurements of surveys by Mr. Warner and (55/103) a report of land near Ipswich. This last was followed by the 'Final Report' of the sale of land at Ipswich, 'forwarded' to him by C. G. Gray, the Police Magistrate, as he put it, 'to this office for record and for transmission to you' (No. 55/104).

On 5 November, being now appraised that Colonel Barney had become Surveyor General, Galloway decided to reply to him with a further statement (No. 55/105) of his grievances.

The work of the office continued through November, with a letter on 6 November (No. 55/106) respecting the making of Reserves in the Stanley area; with the transference of accounts (55/107) on 8 November; the wages of the labourers attached to Galloway's Surveying Party from 14 August to 31 October £56.7.7; vouchers for services performed to the department for £2.1.2; and 'articles supplied to the Service by me during the above period' £2.7.6. His covering letter concludes:

As these monies have actually been disbursed by me, I shall feel obliged if you will issue the necessary instructions that they may be refunded to me as soon as possible.

On 13 November he wrote (55/92/108) concerning the disposal of the coal lands at Ipswich, which report was transferred to the correspondence of the Surveyor General to the Colonial Secretary. On the same day, 19 November, on which Galloway's of 8 November (55/107) had reached the Surveyor General, there had been received from the Colonial Secretary's Office in Sydney a letter (55/7365) confirming the Governor General's approval of a Reserve at Beerowne 'in the vicinity of Gayndah for the use of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Wide Bay and Burnett Districts'. This was handled by Maclean but was not brought to Galloway's notice even for information.

On 26 November Galloway wrote to Sydney with a letter covering a survey report and plan of 29 small farms in the parish of Indropilly by Mr. Lindo. His letter contained a post script which suggested the need for much tighter control of the survey work being done in the general area. This dispatch appears to have been put aside for sometime in

Sydney, since all annotations are dated 1856. The most important, of 11 January 1856, is initialled G.B. (i.e. Colonel George Barney) and it reads:

The carelessness in the reference to corners as pointed out in Mr. Galloway's P.S. is highly reprehensible, and the introduction in the reference table of a letter with marked tree, etc. for which no corresponding letter is to be found on the plan throws a doubt over the accuracy of the whole representation of corner marks. . .

Mr. Lindo should perhaps be censured for his carelessness (through Mr. Galloway?) but as his survey appears to be otherwise correct it may be charted.

The descriptions were charted, no reproof was given, Galloway was not communicated with on the matter, and the report's contents were conveyed to the Colonial Secretary on 28 March 1856 (letter SG to CS 56/2013).

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S REPROOF

The Colonial Secretary's Office had written (55/11714) to the Surveyor General on the matter of Galloway's various complaints and charges on 23 November in the following terms:

Sir,

I have laid before the Governor General your letter of the 16th Instant (No. 55/984) forwarding certain letters from Mr. Surveyor Galloway, with a copy of your reply to one of them, respecting his position in the Survey Department.

2. His Excellency regrets that Mr. Galloway should have been so ill advised as not to have availed himself of this opportunity offered to him by you of withdrawing his original letter to the Deputy Surveyor General. In this letter there is much that is very objectionable and the tone and manner are not those which ought to characterise the communications from a subordinate to those of higher rank in the Department.

3. There is one paragraph in Mr. Galloway's letter of 13th October which is His Excellency considers most improper; it is as follows: "One would almost imagine could it be possible, that you permitted some one's friendship for Mr. Warner to supersede a public duty" – His Excellency will not permit a subordinate to make such disgraceful insinuations against his superior officer, and unless Mr. Galloway withdraws this paragraph and apologises for having written it, he will be obliged to suspend him from his office with a view to his ultimate dismissal.

4. With regard to the other matters alluded to by Mr. Galloway, viz: the position of the surveyors with reference to the licensed surveyors and to the Chief Clerk, His Excellency does not think it necessary to cause any observations to be made to you. The

Department is about to be reorganised and all these subjects will be considered and arranged.

The letter concluded with an observation that Mr. Galloway's 'claims to promotion have not been furthered by his exhibition of an inordinate disposition towards those placed over him', and a copy was forwarded to the Surveyor on 28 November (No. 55/1708). Galloway's letter of apology, 10 December (No. 55/125), indicates his 'very deep regret' (para. 2), and a glance at his own service

having borne the brunt of the privations of our Service, having toiled long and hard with zeal . . . and having always been most anxious as a subordinate to render attention and respect to those over me. . . (para. 3)

Its many Sydney annotations imply that it may well have been considered a withdrawal (so John Thompson noted) and the Governor himself added:

Mr. Galloway has acted wisely. I should have been sorry to have lost his services. W. Denison.

Meanwhile the painstaking reorganization was continuing in the north, and Galloway was proceeding as diligently as he could. He wrote on 24 November concerning the necessary purchase of a correct standard chain (55/111) which had belonged to Mr. Surveyor Burnett, to set it 'to the Sydney Office Standard and lodged in this office to test the various chains used in this District'. On the same day he transferred a tracing of a plan and details of allotments at South Brisbane which he himself had measured for A. I. Hockings and J. B. Stephens.

On 26 November Galloway wrote one of his meticulous and important letters of correction/clarification to the Surveyor General, concerning the remarking of Sections Nos. 20, 21, 22 and 23 in the Town of South Brisbane, as now remarked by Mr. Assistant Surveyor Roberts, and Galloway's reasons for concern, as well as his immediate action. The exhaustive Sydney checkings of all these measurements is a testimony to both the new post-Commission conscientiousness of the Head Office, and, it would seem, a desire to be scrupulously fair to Galloway, particularly after his recent and largely unnecessary collision with the authorities. And so Maclean wrote, on 15 January 1856,

Mr. Galloway may be considered as deserving of the thanks of the Surveyor General for the promptitude with which he has checked the onward progress of an increasing error in this case.

Barney concurred and this letter was sent the following day (SG to S 56/123).

He transmitted on 26 November also (55/113) 'a plan and descriptions of 29 small farms in the Parish of Jeebropilly marked out and left at this office by Mr. Licensed Surveyor Lindo for the purpose of allow-

ing the plan to be copied'. Here Galloway was concerned to draw the Surveyor General's attention to the fact that Mr. Lindo had altered two of the corners in lot 34 (Lindo's letter, 55/7, pointed this out). Galloway's covering note again stressed, as he had a month earlier, the careless manner in which Mr. Lindo's work was performed.

On 26 November, too, Galloway also forwarded 'a return of instruments the property of the Department' (55/114), requested by the Sydney circular (No. 55/1653) of 10 November. These items were limited to those actually held by Galloway ('now in my possession', and he added his assessment of 'their effective state':-

Description of Instrument	Condition
5 inch Theodolite	New
6 inch do.	Old and useless. Telescope smashed
4 inch "	Old but useful
Spirit level	Old but in good repair
Circumferenter	New
do.	Old but useful

Measurement problems were again featured in his letter (55/117) of 30 November, concerning the purchase by George Thom of sections of his run, and Mr. Warner's measurement of these sections at Normandy Plains.

His Monthly Progress Journal for November (No. 55/107) gave: 53 hours in the field, 10 hours in the office; 40 miles travelled on duty, and 4 miles 15 chains measured up. Beside three days (26-28 November) spent 'looking through all the maps in the office, making out lists, etc.', on 21 November he had been 12 miles down the Brisbane River to examine sites at Clunie's Flats. Most of the December correspondence from Galloway is concerned with small settlers, and closer settlement; and the new and welcome Sydney recognition of the need for exact measurement. Both Galloway's land return and Monthly Progress Journal for November were initialled by Colonel Barney, a degree of interest Mitchell had never shown at any stage. The new Surveyor General had also annotated Galloway's receipt of instructions list (55/108).

On 10 December Galloway forwarded (55/122) an application from Jeremiah Scanlan and John Westaway to lease certain sections of land north of the Pine River described as:

30 sections bounded on the North by the 5th Section line North by the North Pine - on the South by the North Pine - on the East by Hays Inlet, and part of James Carter's leased land at Redcliff Point - and on the West by "Whiteside" being the 8th Section line West of Hays Inlet.

Galloway could see no objection, nor in Sydney could Maclean, and so it was charted on the Stanley map, the land being 'put up to public competition' for lease.

On December 4 he had forwarded (55/106/121) Mr. Roberts' ideas for the design of the village at Wivenhoe, a plan which linked with various earlier memoranda. On December 10, he returned the plan for Fassfern and reported (112/123) on Mr. Warner's arrangements for the streets. The same day (113/124) he also reported injury to maps and tracings while passing by post and recommended the use of tracing linen instead of paper. His last letter that day concerned his regret for having written the letter respecting his position (*v. supra*).

The Monthly Progress Journal for December for Galloway (SG 55/128) shows 24 working days, with 103 hours in the field, and 45 in the Office; 90 miles travelled on duty and 10 miles 25 chains measured. His descriptions of duty are particularly detailed and they may be broken down thus:

Activity	Days
Looking through Maps	1
Looking through old Plottings	2
Surveying Brisbane	1
Surveying Town Boundaries of Brisbane	8
Surveying by Theodolite over rough ridges, etc.	3
Office duties	3
Examining Ipswich Township (on 13/14 December)	2
Plotting	2
Plotting Brisbane Boundaries	1
Surveying the Botanical Gardens (on 24 December)	1

The particularly interesting conclusions from entries in the Monthly Progress Journal for December are that Galloway had decided to extend the boundaries of Brisbane (5 and 6 December), that he had resolved to make a close personal inspection of Ipswich and that he had probably extended the existing Botanical Gardens, and so made one of the features of the modern State capital.

The December list of letters of instruction received (SG 55/129) at the Survey Office, Brisbane is interesting as it is the longest since Galloway's arrival. Comprising 17 items it is a testimony both to the rapidly prospering Moreton Bay area and to the fact that Galloway was now being more specifically informed as to what was going on and so expected to oversee the work of the various surveyors whose duties were now within his jurisdiction. Thus the Letter book from the Brisbane Office shows Galloway sending instructions to Licensed Surveyor Lindo, Assistant Surveyor Roberts, Mr. Licensed Surveyor Warner, H. Sanderson, J. T. Malley and H. C. Rawnsley.

Soon after this Galloway is signing himself not 'Surveyor' but 'District Surveyor', an office which he can be seen to be filling after the initial frustrating time of title without responsibility.

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

This early period of Galloway's service at Moreton Bay has been given in considerable detail for several reasons. Firstly, it is the only time for which there survive – in Sydney – the detailed reactions and responses of Head Office to an experienced surveyor's attempts in Queensland to bring very necessary order out of chaos and modernization of methods to the most outflung section of the Department. Secondly, the events of the months August to December 1855 shed considerable light on the complex situation pertaining in the whole field of public surveying towards the end of Mitchell's time as Surveyor General and indeed continuing elsewhere until the recommendations of the 1855 Commission had some chance of taking effect. While the field books and letters of Burnett, McCabe and others in the North indicate competence, reasonable 'features work' and a love of adventurous exploration, in a sense, theirs is the work of stray visits, and there is no true history of conscientious let alone meticulous measuring and division until Galloway went to Moreton Bay. Despite lax and unsupervised licensed surveyors and his own indifferent health, the work of Galloway in this four month period indicates his firm resolve to close this open land frontier even as he had done for the Illawarra, the New England and Gwydir regions in the previous decade.

That he had ruffled some by this policy will be clear from his apparently rebellious and questioning long letters of 13 October 1855 and 5 November 1855. Yet these proved to be for the Department as a whole the last necessary birth pangs of the new system. The Royal Instructions to Governor Darling in 1825, which had ordered a general survey of the colony, had caused its eventual division into counties, hundreds and parishes. The drastic reduction of the budget of the department in 1844 had resulted in many surveyors being removed from the salaried staff of the department and then forced to work as licensed surveyors largely paid by fees. The Australian Colonies Waste Lands Act of 1841 had resulted in the raising of the minimum price of crown land to £1 per acre, with little demand for this land until after the discovery of gold in 1851.

The 1855 Commission of Inquiry to investigate the efficiency of the department and the progress of the general survey was not to result in very much immediate implementation of their recommendations generally, except the appointment of District Surveyors throughout the colony to supervise the work of various licensed and salaried

surveyors. Yet in 1856, consequent upon the introduction of responsible government, the Surveyor General's Department came under the ministerial control of the Secretary for Lands, and correspondence formerly addressed to the Colonial Secretary regarding the alienation of Crown Lands was now dealt with by the Surveyor General. In 1855 the relevant letters from Surveyors were transferred to Victoria and a similar sympathy for the northern zone seems to have occurred soon afterwards.

The decision of January 1842 to throw Moreton Bay open to free settlers had resulted in the first sale of Moreton Bay lands on December 7, the 13½ acres in question realizing £4637.10s. In 1843, on August 9 there occurred the first sale of Moreton Bay lands at Brisbane, and the first sale of local land at Ipswich on October 11, while in early 1849 Burnett had laid out the township of Drayton. Yet the earlier surveyor was of the explorer mould and despite his sending south on 9 September 1852 of a plan of Sandgate, his local surveying was slight, and by no means akin to that of Galloway in the Brisbane region. It was the Scottish surveyor's lot to be the man in the middle, someone blessed with the vision of the new order, but prematurely exhausted by the demands and style of the old. Like Samuel Augustus Perry, the Deputy Surveyor General of New South Wales, 1828-1853, John Galloway suffered much from Mitchell's spite and venom, and even more from the terrible demands made on his system by the years of continually retraversing his territory, to make minor measurements particularly when in New England, 1848-1854.

It is somewhat ironic that the old and the new should meet in Moreton Bay in the period of perhaps a year and a half after the premature death of Burnett on 18 July 1854 at the age of 39, despite what amounted to his three years of leave from 1848 to 1851. On 12 August 1855 – some 15 days before Galloway's arrival – the expedition led by the glamorous figure of Gregory had sailed north from Brisbane. In the meantime Galloway had been left to bring order to a complex and expanding community, whose population would reach 18,544 by the end of the following year. Although an explorer in his own right, notably in the north and west of New England, it was ever his role to close the frontier, assist closer settlement and to bring law and justice into the area of land speculation, annexation and the frequent attempts by squatters to crowd out small farmers or to block their access to water.

The Surveyor General in a generous letter of 8 January 1856 (56/29) made clear the new duties and responsibilities

In order that the recommendations of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Surveyor General's Department

may have a fair beginning, without loss of time, in one of the most important Districts of the Colony, – I have nominated you to the charge of the District of Moreton Bay. . .

Amid the 16 clauses of the arrangements, the ninth – that ‘All correspondence will pass through the District Surveyor’ – would have given deep satisfaction, as would the tenth – that ‘the work of the assistants will be placed in the hands of the District Surveyor, who will be responsible to me for its judicious exercise’. The thirteenth too was very close to the heart of Galloway method –

13. For yourself after the conduct of the Office, and the direction of your Assistants, you should give your zealous attention to the improvement of the Maps of your District, and to the correction of any discrepancies or errors which you may detect in its surveys.

His further letter (56/459) of 11 March 1856 made it clear that Galloway should not restrict himself merely with ‘the reputed County of Stanley . . . from the sea to the great Dividing Range . . . between the 27 and 28th parallels of latitude. . .’ but with whatever else might be necessary.

HELPED TOWARDS SEPARATION

There is not now the opportunity to expand in minute detail on Galloway’s work as District Surveyor in 1856 and 1857, but it is clear that both his responsible public behaviour and professionalism materially assisted the separatist movement, as well as providing an excellent base for the booming settlements in the County of Stanley and beyond. Burnett’s plans of January to March 1854 had aligned the following Brisbane Streets – Russell, Queen, Elizabeth, Albert, Edward, William, George, Adelaide, Stanley Quay and Eagle, but Galloway went much further. His early work was to:

show the boundaries for the ‘Police’ Towns (24 January 1856); relate these to the water supply (19 September 1856); survey Queen’s Wharf, North Brisbane (18 April 1856); regalize the land of the Custom’s Boat House (10 May 1856);

and many other features.

Some of his particular Brisbane projects may be listed, for he: worked on the Botanical Gardens, December 1855, January 1856, etc. (see also SG 56/884 of 16 May 1856); described farm blocks at Yeerongpilly (February 1856, etc); checked the alignment of Vulture Street for encroachments (January 1856, etc.); noted the need for a bridge on Stanley Creek (June 1856); commented on leases at Bulimba Creek (February 1856, etc.); laid out farms at Bulimba (August-November 1856); supervised the

road-marking from Bulimba Creek to the mouth of the Brisbane River (May 1857); made the plan for Queen's Wharf (April 1856); did the first office plans of Fortitude Valley (June 1856); marked out the site for a gaol at Brisbane (May 1857) and a later extension off Ann Street (1857); and assisted with various Church of England sites in North Brisbane (March-May 1856), notably those between Ann Street and Wickham Terrace and to the north of the central settlement.

All of this work was soundly based, since his qualms about the office chain were verified by Sydney so that it was 'adjusted and set' compared 'with the measurement on the Verandah' at the Surveyor General's Office (SG No. 56/141 – 22 January 1856). And from about May 1856 Colonel Barney refused to allow any work in Brisbane and its immediate environs to be done by anyone else. Thus he became the true shaper of all Brisbane Town. Indeed the appeal 'from various steam boat proprietors, Merchants, Settlers and other parties' made him responsible, at Sydney's behest, for the clearing of both the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers of various obstructions to navigation (SG 56/545 of 27 March and 929 of 27 May).

He directed the shape of Ipswich too by:

the topographic survey of Ipswich from 13 December 1855; making many reports on the coal lands there (from January 1856 on); supervision of the sale of many allotments at North Ipswich (February-May 1856, etc.); acting as watch-dog over the first sale of coal-bearing lands (January 1856 – SG 56/137); working on the site for the Court House there (May 1856); checking the suburbs of South Ipswich (SG 56/698, 18 April 1856); helping with the street alignment there (June 1856); reserving particular allotments on the Bremer River (February 1856, etc.); advising fencing along the new roads to and within Ipswich (July 1856); checking Flinders Peak Road and Gordon Road there (June 1856); issuing instructions to mark out the site for a hospital at Ipswich (September 1856); determining various reserves there (December 1856); correction of various anomalies in the street alignments there (April 1856, etc.); and his making arrangements for the reservation of a new Recreation Ground there (March 1856, etc.).

The first wave of his work in the more heavily settled areas is well represented by the Catalogue, given by the Surveyor General (56/881) on 16 May 1856:

the Town of Brisbane, Ipswich, Gatton, Alfred, Drayton and Warwick.

His more distant work is epitomised by the following, well-documented projects, namely that he:

exercised control of the preparation of: the allotments for sale in the Village of Alfred (March 1856) and the Wesleyan Church there (August 1856);
 transcribed plans at Enoggera Creek (March 1856);
 ruled on lands at Normanby Plains (January 1856, etc.);
 erected various Trigonometric Stations for future survey use (January 1856);
 supervised the various surveys in Chuwar (1856);
 described many farm sections at Jebropilly (February 1856, etc.);
 ordered Wood to survey Bald Hills (September 1856);
 himself measured the farms on Kedron Brook (June 1856) and the access roads thereto;
 measured runs at Fassifern (May 1856) and ratified such pre-emptive purchases there as that of Mercer's Inn in Section 10;
 worked towards the Cleveland Point Road (1856);
 supervised the various markings of allotments at Wivenhoe (February, September 1856, etc.) and checked pastoral leases there;
 checked the boundaries and the base plan for Goodna Village (March 1856, etc.);
 worked over all the old tracings of Warwick (May 1857) and corrected various anomalies; and
 controlled the Gatton plan and marked out various church sites there (March 1856) and leases (June 1856 on).

He was finally to be given supervision of H. Sanderson's party of Railway Surveyors working in accordance with the intention of the Railway Commissioners to establish a line from Ipswich to Brisbane. These men, H. Sanderson, Grogan and John Malley, had been directed to Moreton Bay on 7 January 1856 (SG 56/17-18), but had been tardy in setting out (SG, 22 January) and slow to set about plans, flying levels, topographic surveys and the mass of relatively complex instructions from Sydney, to which they would report directly. Meanwhile, and almost totally separate from them, Galloway found time to follow up the spirit of the Colonial Secretary's many directives about possible railways from December 1855. Thus he:

checked a possible rail track along Warrill Creek near Fassifern; annotated a plan of survey for the Railway between Brisbane and Ipswich (October 1856); determined the site for the Railway Terminus at Ipswich (15 April 1857 and SG No. 57/577 of 20 May 1857); reported on the proposed railway to New England through the Upper Hunter and Tamworth (February 1856); and made comments on the railway survey from Maitland to Singleton (April 1856).

As with the Licensed Surveyors' work (SG 8/1/1856), Galloway finally won the right to supervise the railway work, so that George Barney directed Henry Sanderson (56/1211, 23 July 1856) – "You will consider yourself to be placed under the orders of Mr. District Surveyor Galloway, through whom all instructions to you from this office will henceforth be addressed'. Significantly he obtained a great deal more work from the group than the Head Office had been able to. Thus, despite sore provocation from the Assistant Rail Surveyors, he was gentle and compassionate towards them when Sydney would have recommended their dismissal (SG to S 56/1616, 23 September 1856), and was indirectly responsible for their obtaining better equipment (£400 per man) and more specific individual duties (SG 56/1481, 2 September 1856).

To the further west he was active and most enterprising. Thus he:

issued the formal instructions to A. Wood, Esq., to execute surveys on the Darling Downs, around Drayton, and organised various sales of blocks (April 1856);

investigated the dray tracks between Ipswich and Warwick (August 1856) and so determined the official road line between them;

worked on new plans of the Darling Downs, Drayton and Drayton Swamp (August 1856), and further plans of Drayton (November 1856);

personally cleared blockages in the Bremer River (May-August 1856); and

he helped Assistant Surveyor Roberts, particularly in the Lockyer Valley when in May 1856, the younger man was made Surveyor of Roads.

He was personally to recommend G. L. Pratten to succeed I. Perry as March 1857, the residents wished the place to be called 'Toowoomba'. be Surveyor at Rockhampton) – two unassuming young men in the Galloway mould. The latter's loyal work caused the Surveyor General to be able to refer to Galloway by the further title of Surveyor 'in charge of the Darling Downs District' (as in SG to Under Secretary for Lands, 11 December 1856, No. 56/585).

FATHER OF TOOWOOMBA

He is also to be regarded as the father of Toowoomba, seeing it as the future city, rather than Drayton (SG 56/1376). In this his work was akin to that of some five years earlier when he made the main town to the north of Armidale Furracabad (i.e. Glen Innes) and not the more isolated and limited Wellingrove). In this he was assisted by his lifelong habit of watching the movement of drays and his uncanny if subconscious mental registration of contours, soil consistencies and easy access for all to future roadings. As the Surveyor General told him on 5 March 1857, the residents wished the place to be called 'Toowoomba'

On 27 April 1857 (SG 57/477), Colonel Barney was to be requesting him to work out two acre sections

at "Toowoomba" or Drayton Swamp, as sites for a Church, School, and, Parsonage in connection with the Church of England.

as well as keeping another portion, lot 37, for Church and Police purposes.

He was also active in making maps and plans more widely available than ever before. As letters such as that of the Surveyor General on 20 June 1856 (No. 56/1058) indicate, he had an arrangement now with Sydney whereby there were two Moreton Bay copies of approved designs – one for the Brisbane Survey Office and the other for the Surveyor working in the field. As the Letterbook for 1857 makes clear, he obtained and distributed widely lithographic copies of blocks prior to their public sale.

Also, as the Surveyor General's letter of 11 March 1856 (56/459) makes very clear, the existing Reserves were very few, being only those as proclaimed on 4 July 1855 and 'in reality mere withholdings from renewal as leases under the Regulations of the 11th February 1851'. Thus Galloway had the problem of determining virtually all the likely reserves, particularly those for police, church and recreation purposes, west from Moreton Bay. As he did not have the free hand he had had in New England where he was ahead of closer settlement, his compromises and successes are a remarkable tribute to his tact and persistence, as well as being a part of his vision 'for the whole area'. While there does not survive a specific statement of his concept of the future Brisbane, Ipswich or Toowoomba, as there does for Armidale to the far southwest, there is no doubt that he had such overall concepts and that they shaped his every recommendation, particularly those for roads, courthouses, churches, schools and public recreation areas. All these activities are the more remarkable when it is noted that the legal

position regarding settlement in 1856 (SG 56/459) was not really much more advanced than at 31 December 1848.

In the midst of all this activity – for 1856 was in many ways Galloway's golden year – on 8 November he requested permission to retire from the Public Service on account of his ill health and there was a further letter in December concerning his superannuation. This matter went through very quickly and Galloway's retirement on medical grounds was approved, but not a long period of leave on full pay. After his expecting to leave the service in the autumn of 1857, it was not until the end of September that he actually departed from the office. On 10 June 1857 (No. 57/668) Colonel Barney wrote intimating that he would soon be relieved, and ended with:

I cannot conclude this communication without expressing the regret I feel to lose the services of an officer whose zeal and ability as a Surveyor have been conspicuous in the Public Service.

When the replacement was finally determined: (a skilled surveyor working at Waverley), Barney wrote a last letter to Galloway on 28 September (SG 57/1158):

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that Mr. District Surveyor Burrowes proceeds by *Boomerang* leaving on the 29th inst. to relieve you and I take this opportunity to express to you my satisfaction with the manner in which you have conducted the Survey Branch at Brisbane since you took charge.

In his last months in office Galloway not merely cleared his desk (much as he had done before leaving Armidale in January 1854) but signed his last letter (57/101) to the Surveyor General on 5 October, after handing over to Mr. Burrowes (later to be Deputy Surveyor General), concluding with:

I cannot close my official correspondence without taking the opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks for the kindness and consideration I have experienced from you personally during the time I have had the honor of serving under you.

I have etc., etc.

(Signed) J. J. Galloway, D.S.

He had in 1857 also the personal pleasure of working further on: Drayton Swamp (soon to be known as Toowoomba); the village of Dalby; the boundaries of Kedron Parish; subdivisions along Kedron Brook and the Pine River; recommending that Pratten become a Licensed Surveyor; defining the Parishes of Enoggera and Toombul; farms of small size at Indooroopilly, Tingalpa and Yerrong; work at Six Mile Creek, Parish of Goodna and at Kedron Brook.

Indeed, his final achievement is perhaps, easily measured by the list of his current working plans which he handed over to Burrowes on 5 October 1857—

1. Small farms, Jebropilly (west of Ipswich);
2. North Brisbane (Eastern), suburban allotments;
3. North Brisbane, Hanley's Valley, villa allotments;
4. Kedron Brook allotments (farms);
5. Drayton Swamp (a plan which still survives);
6. North Brisbane (Eastern), suburban allotments (further drawing);
7. Bald Hills (farms);
8. Town of Drayton;
9. Dalby (Town of);
10. Wivenhoe (Village of);
11. Bulimba (small farms);
12. Warwick (Town and Parish of);
13. Moggill (farms in Parish of).

In earlier articles the present writer has suggested that John Galloway has claim to be regarded as 'the Shaper of New England' and that title is hard to dispute in view of almost all of this survey work being done single-handed virtually before closer settlement had begun. While quite the same claim cannot be made for his two years leading a reluctant team in what was to become southern Queensland, there is no doubt that he has a stronger claim than most to be seen as one of Queensland's true founder fathers, as well as a rather distinctive overlander from New England.

His personal pride, zeal for his calling far beyond the call of duty, essential meekness and love of his fellows made him well able to close the frontier, to bring order to land purchase and settlement, to plan both towns and reserves imaginatively and so that they did not leave a legacy of disputation as would undoubtedly have occurred had not such a meticulous surveyor come to rescue Moreton Bay from the chaos of piece work done by the licensed surveyors.

Further, Galloway's volume of work accomplished is remarkable. His sheer dedication made him produce many times the number of surveys ever completed by his exact contemporary Burnett, his real northern successor, Gregory, or many of those who overlapped with him in the department.

Although he had to leave field and office service at the age of 39, unlike Burnett who died in office exhausted at the same age, Galloway lived on: to be appointed to the first Queensland Parliament in 1860 by Sir William Denison, the Governor of New South Wales; to become a member of the Executive as Minister without Portfolio, 28 August

1860; and to serve with genuine distinction in the second, fourth, fifth and sixth Parliaments, only leaving the House for the last time on 17 April 1872. He had the satisfaction of serving as Leader of the Legislative Council for ten weeks in 1860. Long resident as a bachelor on his own land at Galloway's Hill, he finally left Australia in 1875 to join his family in England and to move there in circles legal, clerical and administrative. He died suddenly in Brussels on 30 June 1883 and was interred at Teignmouth, Devon a week later.

He was perhaps the most literate and alert of all the officers who served under Sir Thomas Mitchell and Colonel Barney. Although the former persecuted him almost continually, the latter, after a period of cautious assessment, backed his every idea and decision and so made the last phase at Moreton Bay exciting, enormously productive, and exactly what was needed to consolidate the embryonic state capital after its limited penal origins. Lacking the glamour of Gregory, the authority of Wickham or the social rank from 'home' which would have so much modified Mitchell's attitudes, in his own sphere of regional order, exactitude in land measurement and good governance, Galloway stands alone among his colleagues. Typically he bore Gregory no illwill when the latter became the foundation Surveyor General of Queensland, but assisted him in every possible way.

Well indeed may he be styled a Founding Father to Brisbane and to Southern Queensland.

APPENDIX 1

His earlier appeals for materials for the office (5 August 1855 and 7 January 1856) resulted in the Surveyor General's sending by Steam Packet on 21 January (No. 56/144) the materials for his cartographic work—

	Tracing Paper	One Quire
	Cartridge Paper	Two Do.
	Light drawing paper	24 sheets
	Colours, Lake	1 Cake
	Prussian Blue	1 Cake
	Indian Ink	2 Slabs
	Steel Drawing Pins	2 Cards
	Red Office Tape	12 pieces
	Quills, Goose	100
	Wafers	1 Box
(5 Aug. list):	Foolscap	1 Ream
	Quills	100
	Office Pen	
	Knives	2

Black and Red Ink	Bottle of each
Pentagraph Pins	25
Indian Ink	2 Slabs
Tracing Paper	1 quire
Weights for Tracing	6
Inkstands	2
Printed Forms	All necessary
Drawing Paper	12 sheets
Cartridge Paper	2 quires
Blotting Paper	2 quires
Wafers	1 box

With these aids he was more than ready for the tasks ahead.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BACKGROUND

Most of the modern critical and biographical work on John James Galloway is by the present writer. Thus all the modern published interpretation of Galloway's work is to be found in three long articles by J. S. Ryan, each entitled:

'The Shaper of New England - Some Account of the Middle Years of John James Galloway',

and thus divided:

Part I, *Armidale and District Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, No. 17, 1974, pp. 5-20. (Covering the period from 1837 to late 1849.)

Part II, *op. cit.*, No. 19, 1976, pp. 24-40. (Summer 1849-50 to December 1851.)

Part III, *op. cit.*, No. 21, 1978, pp. 41-70. (January 1852 to January 1854.)

The last contains a table on page 70 entitled, 'An Outline of Galloway Dates and Activities'.

The same publication contains two further Galloway documents, viz:

Galloway's long letter of 7 February 1856, edited as 'The Musings of a Practical Man', and commented on by the modern New England Surveyor, C. C. Bradley in the note, 'The Shrewdness of that Frontiersman' (p. 41), both in *Journal*, No. 20, 1977 (on a railway from Maitland North).

Galloway's time in New Zealand (1840) is discussed by C. A. Lawn in *Journal* No. 21, 1978, pp. 71-72.

Galloway's own despatches are to be found in two places, namely, Sydney and Brisbane. Those in the Archives Office of New South Wales are in three box files:

2/1537 labelled 1833; (a wrong designation);

1837-40; 1841-42

2/1538 1843-1850

2/1539 1851-1855 (till his of 17 December)

[In similar fashion: J. C. Burnett's letters are at 2/1515 for 1832, 1834-5, 1835-47 and at 2/1516 for 1848-54; F. P. McCabe's are at 2/1554 for 1841-52, and at 2/1555 for 1853-5; while A. P. Lindo's for 1850, 1852 and 1855 are all at 2/1553; and J. Warner's are at 2/1586 for 1839-48, and at 2/1587 for 1849-55. Similarly, before change of system and transfer to Queensland after 1855, Roberts' letters are at 2/1574 and A. F. Wood's at 2/1595. There are also preserved, at 5/1091 Burnett's own copies of his letters to the Surveyor General from 7 October 1837 to 31 January 1844.]

There are gaps in all these series, particularly in the Monthly Progress Journals and Accounts sheets. Galloway's field books are preserved, in Sydney, for various years in which he worked in the County of Cumberland and in New England.

The official instructions to Galloway are preserved in Sydney Archives in the G sections of letter books and indexes of Surveyor General to Surveyors, e.g. AO 4/5439, 20 July 1855–26 April 1856; 4/5440, 26 April 1856–31 December 1856; 4/5441, 2 January 1857–31 December 1857.

Various letters to or concerning Galloway also occur in the Colonial Secretary's letters, particularly those to the Surveyor General. The relevant parts run from 2/1508 for late 1855, onwards. The Indexes and Letters Received from 1855 to 1857 are in the range 2470–2495.

The Sydney system numbered letters sequentially on receipt from those surveyors whose names began with that letter, G. in this case. Brisbane's system seems to have been that all from the office of origin were in the one sequence, year by year. Thus Sydney preserved surveyor letters have an issue number, i.e. Galloway's own, sequential – and a receipt number, within all the G. surveyors, i.e. Galloway's, Gorman's and others.

All these are original documents preserving the hand written details of their receipt, official commentary and record of their possible further despatch to other authorities for particular action.

The originals of the letters from later 1855 (i.e. post 17 December) until his final cessation of duties in September 1857 do not survive, but only the copies of them in the letter books, preserved at the Queensland State Archives. Naturally these lack Sydney annotation.

In the Brisbane Archives Office (QSA), much of Galloway's work in Queensland is corroborated by Sur 2, a collection of 'Reports of Sales, descriptions of lands sold, schedules of leases taken up and renewed', particularly for: Brisbane, August 1842 – April 1858; Ipswich, March 1852 – December 1859; and Maryborough, October 1853 – March 1856.

QSA SUR G2 Contains much general correspondence covering Galloway's time in charge.

SUR 1 Letters from the Colonial Treasurer N.S.W., to the Colonial Secretary, N.S.W., contains requests for deeds of lands sold in the Moreton Bay District, July–November 1855.

Most collected instruction to Galloway in Brisbane is to be found under the Queensland State Archives' classifications:

SUR/A1 Miscellaneous General Correspondence received by District Surveyor, Brisbane, 1855–1860.

SUR/B1 Register of General Correspondence received, from 1855.

His own instructions to or correspondence with those working in his area or under him occur in:

SUR/32 Letterbook of Surveyor, Moreton Bay, to field surveyors, 8 December 1855 to 11 April 1861. Letters by Galloway cover the period 24 December 1851 to 30 September 1857. His juniors are indicated as: Licensed Surveyor A.P. Lindo; Assistant Surveyor F. E. Roberts; Licensed Surveyor J. Warner; Assistant Rail Surveyors, M. Sanderson, J. T. Malley and J. H. Grogan; Licensed Surveyor George C. Pratten and, later, J. A. Barun; Assistant Surveyor M. C. Rawnsley and Assistant Surveyor A. F. Wood.

None of the letters Galloway may have written down himself survive, only the clerk's 'original' with Galloway's signature. Many 19th century spellings and variants, e.g., draftsman/draughtsman, shown/shewn, or capitalizations of common nouns have been preserved in the transcriptions in the paper, but some unnecessarily arbitrary spellings have been made more normal. Galloway was served very unevenly by his amanuenses, those of the period 1856–1857 being much less legible than the various copperplates for the years 1848–1853.

The relative gap in Survey records, let alone interpretation, is made very clear by H. J. Gibbney and N. Burns, *A Biographer's Index of Parliamentary Returns for New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, 1850–1889*, (Canberra, A.N.U. Press, 1969). See especially page 179, on Licensed Surveyors and page 154 on Civil Service Surveyors in Queensland.

Coal

Most of the important official comments on Galloway's views on the coal at Ipswich occur in the correspondence of the Surveyor General with the Under Secretary for Lands and Public Works in March 1857. Similar separation occurred with his reports on gold and serpentine in the New England years, when his reports went on to the Colonial Secretary.

Possible Promotion

Galloway's abilities were recognized early, as in Governor Gipps' Confidential Report 'on the claims of Candidates for advancement on employment in the Colony', 14 January 1843. (See Transcripts of Missing Despatches from Governor of N.S.W., 1842-3, pp. 1581-4 at AO N.S.W. A 1267.)

Maps

The fragmentary Sydney Catalogue of Maps and Plans, 1792-1887, (AO N.S.W. COD 84-87) reveals the pattern of plans for various areas of Moreton Bay. Thus, for Brisbane itself the pattern of plans is:

- Nos 1-8 22 June 1843 to 15 September 1844 Wade
- 9-11 22 October 1847 to 18 May 1950 Warner
- 15-24 9 August 1851 to 30 November 1853 Burnett
- 25 2 April 1854 to 23 July 1855 Warner
- (and work then by Roberts)
- 28-33 24 November 1855 to 5 December 1856 Galloway
- 34 17 December 1857 (Enoggera) Rawnsley

Unlike the others, Galloway's work is close in and sets down some 142 allotments in South Brisbane, North Brisbane and Hanley Vale.

His best plans, of the relatively few that are clean and separately preserved, are largely held in Sydney, although Galloway's Toowoomba Map is accessible through the Queensland Surveyor General. Several of his contour plans are illustrated in *Armidale and District Historical Society Journal* (1978) (v. *supra*).

Modern Surveyor Biography

For the other Surveyors and departmental officials, information is derived from sources similar to the above, and in the modern printed form, from J. H. L. Cumpston's *Thomas Mitchell: Surveyor General and Explorer*, (Oxford University Press, 1954) and from the following brief lives and bibliographies, given in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, for:

Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone, by D. W. A. Baker, Vol. 2, pp. 238-242;

Barney, George, - Vol. 1, pp. 60-61;

Burnett, James Charles, by Don Dignan, Vol. 3, pp. 303-304;

Gregory, Sir Augustus Charles, by D. B. Waterson, Vol. 4, pp. 293-295.

An M.A. on the work of the Department to 1855 was awarded to Mrs. Jillian Oppenheimer by the University of New England in 1979. Its full title is:

Jillian Oppenheimer, 'Land Administration in New South Wales to 1855'

For some further account of the Mitchell-produced stresses in the Department, see Nancy R. Gray, 'Samuel Augustus Perry, Deputy Surveyor General', Descent, Vol. 2 (1964), pp. 45-54.

Other Galloways

Some few references to Galloway and his father, Surgeon Thomas Galloway, are to be found in the *New South Wales Gazette* and are noted in J. S. Ryan, 1974, 1976 and 1978. Various of the transport ships to Australia to which he was Surgeon are listed in Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, (Glasgow, Brown, Son and Ferguson, 1959).

Most of the details of the lives of the Galloways in England and Scotland, as collected by the writer in the United Kingdom in the period October to November 1975, have as yet to be published.

His brother-in-law, Surgeon James Ormiston McWilliam (1808-62), M.D., F.R.S., is referred to in many books on West African exploration, as in Professor Christopher Lloyd's, *The Search for the Niger*, (London, Collins, 1973), in the later books of J. J. Keevil's series, *Medicine and the Navy, 1200-1900*, (Edinburgh and London, E. and S. Livingstone), and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287ff. John Galloway would seem to have commemorated him in the 1856 survey name, Ormiston, to be found in the Cleveland Plan.