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**THE CLEM LACK ORATION**

**Terrick Terrick: the Casey years, 1883-1892**

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Terrick Terrick was, for many decades, the jewel in the imperial crown of Australian Estates. The homestead of Terrick Stud, where prize merinos have long been bred, is situated some forty-five miles to the south west of Blackall. Terrick Stud, Terrick Flock, and Gowan together comprise a property which has shifted hands a few times in recent years of amalgamations and takeovers. Briefly in the control of CSR, it now belongs to the National Mutual Life Association, but it remains a property of distinction, with a fascinating past and associations throughout its history with famous names. Among these is that of R.G. Casey, the father of the celebrated political figure and Governor General of Australia, who came to Terrick in 1883 and ran the station for ten years. It was a decade of trial for the Queensland pastoral industry. Great fortunes had been made and lost in earlier times but the Casey years, ending as militant bush unionism emerged, illustrate the problems of pastoralism rather than the vast potential that it would realise. They represent an important case study within

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an industry where fortunes have fluctuated and people have struggled, not always successfully, to come to terms with an exceptionally harsh natural environment.

The historian of Queensland's central west needs more than the proverbial pair of stout boots. A stout motor vehicle is also an essential for the dirt roads that join together the small towns and their dependent properties. So too is a certain philosophical stoicism to combat the physical rigours and elation combined with frustration and disappointment that might accompany a rescue mission to save station records long preserved in a wooden shed amid drums of oil and other requirements of the non-academic life. Such was the fate of the Terrick records before they were brought back to the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland in mid 1979. Many of them had been reduced to confetti by the wildlife of the west, but the survivors were cleaned up and given a new home and tender loving care. They even acquired a benevolent patron in the Utah Foundation which made money available for their study and exploitation.

Apart from the main record collection, there existed a diary which had been carefully preserved by the Terrick Manager, Peter Harvey. This diary had been compiled by a J.W. Dickens, who had lived and worked on Terrick in some managerial role over the period 1882-98, which included the Casey years. It promised to be a valuable supplement to the other personal notes and papers of the period which were known to exist. These were the diaries and correspondence preserved by R.G. Casey and already used by his son in the writing of the book 'Australian Father and Son'.<sup>1</sup> They formed part of the former Governor General's papers, housed at the Australian National Library, and their utilisation created something of a play within a play, or rather a history within a history, since they generated a whole lot of new research in 1964 which became incorporated in the main collection of Casey manuscripts. The other main source of information on Terrick to be explored was the extensive collection of Australian Estates archival records, housed at the Australian National University in Canberra, which placed the station within the context of a great business empire. Even there, its pre-eminence as a Queensland property was in no doubt. The combination of the great station with the famous name had an irresistible attraction.

### **ORIGINS OF THE PROPERTY**

The early history of Terrick Terrick, like that of many western properties, is slightly obscure. John Govett is believed to have moved onto Terrick Downs, said to have been 'magnificent country', in June 1864 and to have stocked it with cattle purchased from Henry Harden.<sup>2</sup> Govett and James Thomson received the lease of Terrick Terrick in August 1872, at which time they also acquired other runs,

such as Battery and Quamby East, which were eventually to form part of the Terrick consolidation. Shortly after Casey came to Terrick in 1883, the station consisted of the original runs of Terrick Terrick, Battery, Quamby East, Coliban, Lauriston, Mairdample, Rokewood, Rokewood East, Berriedale, Battery South, Quamby, Broughton and Idalia Downs, all subsumed under the one name of Terrick Terrick. By this time Thomas and Charles Rome of Welford Downs had become the principal leaseholders in this area, and it was from them that Casey and his business associates made their purchase in 1883.<sup>3</sup>

The unusual name of the station has prompted some speculation about its meaning and its origin. It has been alternatively suggested that Terrick means 'sand martin' in New South Welsh aboriginal dialect and that Terrick Terrick means 'the pool where the emus drink', but neither interpretation appears to have particular significance for the central Queensland property. The exact dating of the name is not known, but John Govett, it is believed, had already owned a Victorian property incorporating the name Terrick before coming to Queensland, and it seems likely that he brought the name with him. Another view, that it was supplied by a property resident, Terrick Hamilton, in the early seventies, seems less likely to be correct.<sup>4</sup> At all events, the station of Terrick Terrick was bought from Charles Rome in January 1882 by D.S. Wallace of Melbourne for £200,000. It was believed to consist of 836 square miles of land and to contain 140,000 sheep, 236 horses, and 100 mixed cattle. The country was described as 'undulating pebbly downs', thickly covered with Mitchell and Blue grass, saltbush, cotton bush and herbage of all kinds, lightly timbered with Boree and Myall, Gum and Coolabah on the creeks, and possessing great natural facilities for storing water.<sup>5</sup> Donald Wallace, a pastoralist and racing identity, sought a partner for his Queensland ventures and a manager for his Terrick property in Tasmanian born Richard Casey, who, at 37, had some experience of station management but had still his future to make.<sup>6</sup> In March 1883, Casey acquired a tenth share in Wallace's three Queensland properties and became managing partner of Terrick at a salary of £1500 plus his share of the profits.<sup>7</sup> These terms were improved four years later, but by this stage Casey was acquiring a larger share of debts rather than profits, and his Queensland experiences brought more disaster than fortune his way.<sup>8</sup>

### **MORTGAGE AND DEBT**

Within a few months of moving to Terrick, Casey was experiencing the harsh financial realities of pastoralism and the desperate expedients required to cope with them. In March 1884, he and his senior partner Wallace attempted to persuade Charles Rome, from

whom Terrick had been purchased, that instead of accepting the agreed annual payments for the property he should actually lend them a further £100,000 for five years, on the security of a mortgage to Rome and for interest of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ .<sup>9</sup> This could scarcely have seemed an attractive proposition to someone who thought that he had sold the property. Later in the year Casey was persuaded to tackle their principal backer, the Union Mortgage and Agency Company, by travelling to London, which he did reluctantly, in a vain attempt to reduce interest rates on their loan. He returned convinced that the lenders were determined to ruin them and take over their properties, a fate which they escaped because the current depression was rendering them unsaleable.<sup>10</sup>

The following year brought no change in his mood. In June 1885 he recorded that 'poor John Govett' had left the West after 22 years on the Barcoo without a shilling to his name, and later in the year he pleaded with the Land Board not to increase his rent; the cost of the production and transit of wool from the runs to the London market, exacerbated by drought, was absorbing the entire proceeds of his sales, and profits were now a vain phantom to be pursued.<sup>11</sup> So black was his mood by June 1886 that he advised Wallace to make other arrangements for the management of Terrick so that he could stand down. A few days only would be required to arrange his own private affairs 'before making a shot at some less unpleasant method of earning a livelihood than being fooled by the Union Company'.<sup>12</sup> He was not, however, able to extricate himself at this stage, and stayed on to record the mounting debts on the Terrick property which by 1889 exceeded its value by about £50,000. Not surprisingly, he recorded that Terrick had contributed nothing to the mortgage company's dividends and that all possible retrenchments would have to be made in every direction, including all expenditure on attempts to improve the property.<sup>13</sup>

In fact, 1889 proved to be his first year of fair prosperity. Terrick was breaking even and was being dragged down only by Wallace's other Queensland properties. Casey agreed that if the mortgage company would reduce its interest rates to 6% for five years they would have 'fresh hope and fair prospects of meeting our liabilities'. They needed an assurance that they would not be compelled to sell off any land at a time of low demand and would promise in return to liquidate some of their debt once a fair value could be obtained for land. What they in fact received from the mortgage company was 'affronts, insults and animus against us'.<sup>14</sup> By 1891 Terrick's liabilities were about down to its value, but Casey's financial cares were not over.<sup>15</sup> Increased freight charges by the railways and increased taxation by the Divisional Board, on top of a lot of other grievances, prompted him to seek a 25% rent reduction from the Land

Board in December 1892, but his term of trial was now drawing to a close.<sup>16</sup> On 22 November 1892 the three banking companies involved in his affairs released him from all claims and demands and six days later he retired from his partnership with Wallace. Its total debts were running at around £700,000 and Casey was glad to retire although, in his words, 'practically stoney broke'.<sup>17</sup> The financial tribulations of Casey and his partner over this period, their long running conflicts with creditors various, are a stern warning to any who might suppose that the great pastoralists inevitably found fortune as well as fame in their pioneering endeavours on Western properties. Behind any glamour or social status that they might enjoy was frequently the massive indebtedness that they experienced at the hands of the financiers.

### MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

The Casey years on Terrick are illuminating for their identification of the problems that beset the late nineteenth century pastoralist. If indebtedness to the finance companies was the ever present background, the foreground was dominated by the problems directly associated with raising sheep. At the outset Casey's mood was one of great optimism. He believed that properly watered the property could carry one sheep to two acres of land and that in excess of a quarter of a million might be accommodated on Terrick.<sup>18</sup> In 1892 numbers appear to have exceeded 330,000 though they fluctuated enormously and were as low as 114,500 in 1886.<sup>19</sup> Drought could



*Terrick Terrick Homestead in October 1886. Australian Estates Collection, Australian National University.*

have devastating effects on numbers and Casey had some appalling experiences of losses, for no amount of water conservation would make grass grow in periods of prolonged drought; nor did his improvements keep pace with the amount of stock that he attempted to graze. The improvement of his pastures was a matter of great concern to Casey, who recorded attempts at experimental sowing, but three quarters of a century later the CSIRO was still looking for a grass that would withstand frosts and provide nourishing pasture during the Western winters.<sup>20</sup> There is some evidence that the pastures of the eighties were superior to those of later years in that Casey's sheep were cutting about eight pounds per head in 1886, which was some compensation for his experiences of his two previous years.<sup>21</sup> In 1884 sheep had been brought together for shearing only by Chinese on foot and some potential fleeces had been lost.<sup>22</sup> In 1885 the clip was of low value because it was 'very dirty, tender in staple and light in weight.'<sup>23</sup>

In his decision to maximise the opportunities open to him Casey was one of the first people to try out the new Wolsey Shearing Machines. His results prompted mixed reactions. On 10 April 1887 he recorded that the machines were no faster than the average shearer but that they did not cut the sheep despite cutting closer and required no second cuts at the fleeces. He found that they were better than the hand-shearer on three counts and that it would therefore make sense to install them at £10 each, even if no more sheep were handled in the day and costs were virtually the same.<sup>24</sup> Casey's innovations with new technology would hardly have made him a favourite with the Unions, which were to give him considerable trouble in his later years on Terrick. By 1890 he had installed 75 Wolsey machines at Terrick and made a practice of marking all his wool 'machine shorn'.<sup>25</sup> The following year he recorded his belief that 'the worst machine shearing is better than the best Queensland hand-shearing, although the cost is considerable'.<sup>26</sup> This judgement probably reflected some of his feelings about shearers as well as their handiwork, for he also experienced regret that other forms of labour could not be replaced by machinery.

### **BATTLING THE ENVIRONMENT**

The key to the successful raising of sheep was water conservation as it is almost the key to life itself in the Central West. Although Blackall recorded 51 inches of rain in 1890, its wettest year, it would experience a rainfall of only 7.28 inches in 1926, and Casey knew some of the worst years.<sup>27</sup> In December 1885 he recorded that there had been a mere six inches of rain on one run since 1 January, and 'the ground is cracked so that horses can hardly walk on it and weak sheep can scarcely crawl on it. We have 12 men cutting scrub in an

effort to keep some sheep alive.<sup>28</sup> The Dickens' diary of the same period is virtually an account of every drop of rain that fell in every dam, waterhole and creek; drought was his major preoccupation for men had to be put on to scrub cutting, old ewes and young lambs bogged badly, and horses fell away through sheer inactivity.<sup>29</sup> Early reports by Casey on the prospects for water conservation proved unduly optimistic. He recorded on assuming control that besides natural water there were many large overshot dams, earth dams, tanks and a well and he appeared to believe that this was adequate.<sup>30</sup> There was in fact a heavy dependence in dry times on the so-called 'Chinamen's Dams' which were crude 'earth and rock dams across small waterways and depressions to hold some water after rain'.<sup>31</sup> Casey improved upon these by employing bullock teams with scoops and drays to excavate tanks and using windmills and troughs for raising water and making it available to stock.<sup>32</sup> He remained dependent throughout these years wholly on surface water with no access to the artesian flows of later times such as the Lorne Bore, 4400 feet deep, which would by the mid 1960s supply more than 20 miles of bore drains throughout the stud country.<sup>33</sup> Despite this, Casey's successor, William Hood Calder, reported in February 1894 that there were now 36 tanks and dams on the run, which he considered to be well-watered.<sup>34</sup>

If drought was the principal weather hazard, its converse, torrential downpour, was not insignificant. In January 1890 Dickens recorded in his diary that 'fences were washed down wholesale' and dams broken by heavy falls of rain. In October of the same year frequent thunderstorms halted shearing and again in November, 'shearing has been much delayed by wet weather and action of men regarding wet sheep; we have lost no less than 5 weeks . . . through delay from wet weather alone'. The summer remained very wet; shearing could not be completed, dams were broken, 500 ewes were drowned in Thornleigh Creek and in April large numbers of lambs died in the rain. And just as disastrous drought might be succeeded by disastrous downpours, so was excessive heat followed by damaging frost. In June 1889 'severe and continuous frost set in and very much cut up the grass, turning it in a few days from green to very dry and brown'.<sup>35</sup> This was a common occurrence.

When not worrying about the effects of a harsh climate, Casey spent much of his time worrying about the ravages, actual and potential, produced by the wildlife of the area. The great potential if unrealised threat to his existence came from rabbits and his comments on the subject are both an interesting indication of the mentality and attitudes of the time and place and a useful guide to the problem of fencing the boundaries of rabbit territory. In July 1885 Casey wrote to the editor of the *Brisbane Courier* on the matter

of the invasion scare, the rabbits that were believed to be heading north into Queensland from New South Wales.<sup>36</sup> Two years later he recorded in troubled tones: 'there was no mistake the brutes are on the march straight for us and it will not be long before they will be on the Barcoo now they have crossed the border'.<sup>37</sup> By the following April, 1888, he was contemplating a political career, going into Parliament 'to aid in passing some measures to check or stop the invasion of rabbits which I think are a most urgent danger to us all in this part of Queensland'.<sup>38</sup> At the same time the *Charleville Times* reported that Casey had seen seven rabbits within 18 miles of Adavale, which was about 100 miles further north than they were believed to be.<sup>39</sup> So preoccupied was Casey with the issue that he had a meeting with Sir Thomas McIlwraith in Brisbane on the subject of rabbits, receiving an assurance that the matter would be given prompt attention.<sup>40</sup> Four years later he was still writing about the need to tackle the rabbits with poison and netting and the news that a single rabbit had been killed within 50 miles of Terrick in October caused him to think that netting must instantly be installed.<sup>41</sup> The expected invasion did not occur and 64 years later the Chairman of the CSIRO explained to Casey's son and biographer that 'somewhere in the nineties, and by the time the rabbit advance had reached the black soil, the numbers would have fallen away and the original picture of an 'advancing menace' would have become rather ghostlike'.<sup>42</sup> This was certainly true but the occasional rabbit that did appear, even many miles to the south, continued to have the capacity to arouse great excitement. In February 1894 one was shot within two miles of Blackall and this must have been the most northerly point at which one was observed.<sup>43</sup>

The same is not true of kangaroos, which appear to have reached plague proportions by 1892 when Casey complained bitterly of the grass eaten by them and estimated that they had become as numerous as sheep on Terrick.<sup>44</sup> Such an observation undermines somewhat the modern suggestion that kangaroos have become very numerous only in relatively recent times and in response to greatly improved watering facilities that have become available to them. By the end of 1892 Casey was complaining of the refusal of the government to re-enact the Marsupial Distribution Act which was depreciating the value of his runs because of the very large increase in wallabies and marsupials of all kinds.<sup>45</sup> One year later they appeared to be even more numerous than before and the incentives for shooting them were disappearing. Whereas it had once been profitable to shoot kangaroos for their skins, these had now fallen in price and men were having to be paid to undertake the work. The going rate was 3d per head, plus rations, for attempting to keep the home paddocks clear.<sup>46</sup>



Not all pests could be tackled by employing extra hands. Flies and other insects were not so susceptible to attack. Dickens recorded in his diary in August 1886 that 'fly blow' was giving great trouble to the freshly cut lambs and that it had become necessary to treat them all with tar and turps. The following year brought heavy blowfly losses, an anticipation of the crisis which was believed to reach maximum intensity at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup> This and associated problems prompted Casey to note in his diary in April 1887 that Queensland was 'a grand country but flies, mosquitoes, cockroaches, sandflies, fever, sand blight, Barcoo rot and a few other drawbacks make it a nice place to live out of'.<sup>48</sup> He did not experience the worst of the sandfly menace, which was said to be so bad in April 1906 that for a fortnight not a kangaroo was seen and all the lambing ewes lost their young, which were killed by sandflies present on an unprecedented scale.<sup>49</sup>

An even greater pest in Casey's eyes were the newly emerging trade unions with which he found himself in conflict during his last years on Terrick. When he sought a reduction in his rent in December 1892 one of his principal arguments was that 'owing to Unionism, strikes and labor agitators the cost of all descriptions of work on the station has much increased since the first rent under the '84 Act was fixed'.<sup>50</sup> The 'labor agitators' had indeed plagued him and his earlier notes had indicated the feelings of the embittered pastoralist as the menace had drawn near. In August 1890 he heard of labour troubles in the southern states over the issue of non-union shearing and predicted that the great danger in the west would be from maliciously started fires.<sup>51</sup> The following week he experienced a brief strike at Terrick, but the situation deteriorated in 1891. In April he ordered his manager at Terrick to keep a close watch on the woolshed as 'the strikers are firing woolsheds nearly every day — Maneroo, Lorne, Nive Downs, Gumbardo and several others'.<sup>52</sup> By June the crisis was over but he still felt the need to keep a nightly watch on the woolshed and was suspicious of the temper of his men.<sup>53</sup>

The other often perceived human threat, from aborigines, appears not to have troubled Casey and the absence of any references to this issue encourages the inference that race relations on the Barcoo had entered a quiet phase by the eighties. When Casey's son described the original Terrick homestead as a dwelling 'built of heavy logs, a little fortress loop-holed for defence against hostile aborigines, which was very necessary in these early days',<sup>54</sup> he was quoting not the records of his father but the autobiographical reminiscences of a self-styled 'Australian Bushman', Andrew Crombie, who claimed to have known John Govett and to have observed the subsequent evolution of the homestead as it became successively a store, the meat house,

the fowl house, and ultimately a bonfire, lit by a later manager 'absolutely devoid of sentiment in connection with pioneers and their achievements'.<sup>55</sup> Its precise status in Casey's time is difficult to determine, but Casey's evident preference for gracious living suggests that the original fortress would not have been considered appropriate for his lifestyle. His listing of the physical assets of the property at the time of Wallace's purchase identifies the many outbuildings and indicates the existence of an already complex society of employees and management, but it makes only the briefest reference to the 'homestead' without any elaborations about its nature. Terrick consisted, he reported, of 'everything needed to carry on a large sheep establishment' but on the details of his own accommodation his comments were sparse.<sup>56</sup> On his arrival at Terrick he drew up plans to extend and complete the homestead, along with the rest of the accommodation and facilities, but he was more inclined to record details of his new woolshed and the facilities for shearing and the handling of wool than to dwell on the details of his own home.<sup>57</sup>

One recollection of Casey was that when he left to go visiting he wore white kid gloves to drive his four-in-hand. This and other aspects of his dress and manner were said, not surprisingly, to be very different from the rough and ready style affected by station men on the Barcoo.<sup>58</sup> It is perhaps indicative of Casey's failure to assimilate more fully to the local lifestyle that on his marriage in 1888 he ceased to live on Terrick and moved to Normanby, henceforth running the property by means of frequent visits rather than by residence. His bride, Evelyn Jane Harris, of Newstead House, would certainly have experienced dramatic contrasts had she been required to move from Breakfast Creek to the Barcoo and was doubtless relieved to be allowed to live at Normanby, another partnership property, a mere 40 miles south west of Brisbane.<sup>59</sup> Although Casey employed two women to do the cooking, washing and homestead work, at wages of £1 per week, he had an evident distaste for the rough life and lack of comforts that he was compelled to endure.<sup>60</sup> His diary reference of October 1885 to his resignation from the membership of the Australia Club in Sydney and the Bohemian Club in Melbourne is a rather pathetic indication of the contrast between what he was used to and what he was now having to endure.<sup>61</sup>

The Casey diaries and correspondence provide countless insights into the society and life of the time and place. There is, for example, an interesting reference to the simple health insurance scheme in which Casey participated on behalf of his employees, paying 5d per person per week to the Blackall Hospital to cover possible hospital charges when these were incurred. In addition, Casey can be seen as a patron of the hospital, sending his £50 donation to that establishment and a further £50 to other local charities, which was doubtless expected

of someone in his position.<sup>62</sup> The incidental costs of his physical isolation also included the £4 messenger fee which he had to pay when he made his frequent use of the Blackall telegraph service and someone had to be found to carry his message across the 45 miles stretch of intervening countryside.<sup>63</sup>

It is perhaps little wonder that from the time of his marriage Casey chose to live on Normanby or that he should continue to look for a means of total escape from his Queensland commitments. Back in July 1886 he had warned Wallace that if he left Terrick he would not remain a month in Australia 'a country where I have missed my shot so completely'.<sup>64</sup> This threat was not carried out when the time came for the parting, but he certainly expressed great relief when he 'shook the dust of Queensland off my feet' in 1893.<sup>65</sup> It was a much embittered man who, according to his son, enjoyed eventual 'release from 10 years arduous and thankless work' and 'got out with little more than the clothes he stood up in'. His memories of Queensland were not happy ones.

#### NOTES

1. Lord Casey, *Australian Father and Son*, Collins, London, 1986.
2. Alex Govett to Lord Casey, 12 December, 1964, Casey MSS, Australian National Library, Box 5.
3. SLRV1, 131, 195, 197; 33V10V1, 125, 127, 211; 33V10V2, 17, 149, 190; 33V10V3, 92, 171, Lands Department, Mitchell District, Queensland State Archives.
4. Various letters to Lord Casey throughout 1960 in Casey MSS, *op. cit.*, Box 5.
5. *Ibid.*, 1885 MS.
6. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-6.
7. Account of Wallace-Casey Partnership in Casey MSS, Box 5.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Wallace and Casey to Charles Rome, 21 March 1884, in Casey MSS, Box 5.
10. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.
11. R.G. Casey's note of 27 June 1885 and Casey to Land Board, 1 December 1885, in Casey MSS, Box 5.
12. R.G. Casey to A.N. Valentine, Melbourne, 30 June 1886, Casey MSS, Box 7.
13. R.G. Casey to Union Mortgage and Agency Company, 20 November 1889, Casey MSS, Box 5.
14. Wallace and Casey to Union Mortgage and Agency Company, 1 April 1890, Casey MSS, Box 5.
15. Casey's memorandum in 1891 in Casey MSS, Box 5.
16. R.G. Casey to Land Board, 16 December 1892, Casey MSS, Box 5.
17. Account of Wallace-Casey Partnership, *op. cit.*, and autobiographical account written by R.G. Casey prior to December 1966, Casey MSS, Box 5.
18. Lord Casey to G.S. Coleman, Australian Estates, 27 November 1957, Casey MSS, Box 5.
19. Evidence before Land Board, Blackall, 26 April 1894, in Casey MSS, Box 5.
20. Casey Diary, 20 December 1887; 1. Clunies Ross to Lord Casey, 18 February 1958, Casey MSS, Box 5.
21. *Ibid.*
22. 1885 MS *op. cit.*
23. *Ibid.*

24. Casey Diary, 10 April 1887, Casey MSS, Box 3.
25. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Director of Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology to R.G. Casey, 30 December 1957, Casey MSS, Box 3.
28. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
29. Diary of J.W. Dickens, in possession of Peter Harvey, sometime Manager of Terrick Terrick.
30. 1885 MS., *op. cit.*
31. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
32. Correspondence between R.G. Casey and Australian Estates, 1964, Casey MSS, Box 3.
33. G.S. Coleman to R.G. Casey, 26 October 1964, Casey MSS, Box 3.
34. Evidence before Land Board, 1894, *op. cit.*
35. Diary of J.W. Dickens, *op. cit.*
36. R.G. Casey to Editor, *Brisbane Courier*, 20 July 1885, Casey MSS, Box 3.
37. Casey Diary, 1 November 1887, Casey MSS, Box 3.
38. *Ibid.*, 4 April 1888.
39. *Charleville Times*, 2 July 1888.
40. Casey Diary, 2 July 1888.
41. *Ibid.*, 10 September, 20 October 1892.
42. I. Clunies Ross to R.G. Casey, 5 May 1958, Casey MSS, Box 3.
43. Malcolm I. Thomis, *Pastoral Country: A History of the Shire of Blackall*, Jacaranda, Brisbane, 1979, p. 77.
44. Casey Diary, 20 October 1892.
45. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1892.
46. Evidence before Land Board, 1894, *op. cit.*
47. Diary of J.W. Dickens, *op. cit.*
48. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
49. Malcolm I. Thomis, *Pastoral Country*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
50. R.G. Casey to Land Board, 16 December 1892, *op. cit.*
51. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
55. Extract from Andrew Crombie, 'After Sixty Years or Recollections of an Australian Bushman', London, 1964, in Casey MSS, Box 5.
56. 1885 MS, *op. cit.*
57. 1884 Memorandum on Improvements on Terrick in Casey MSS, Box 5.
58. Reminiscences by A.P. Jones in Casey MSS, Box 5.
59. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 84.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
64. R.G. Casey to D. Wallace, 7 July 1886, Casey MSS, Box 7.
65. *Australian Father and Son*, *op. cit.*, p. 92; autobiographical account written by R.G. Casey, *op. cit.*